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সুবিখ্যাত কৃতিবাসী রামায়ণের সর্বোৎকৃষ্ট

অষ্টম সংস্করণ প্রকাশিত হইল

ফোর্ট উইলিয়ম কলেজ হইতে প্রকাশিত দ্বিতীয় প্রকৃষ্ট অংশবদ্ধিত মূলগ্রন্থ অনুসারে ৫৮৬ পৃষ্ঠায় সুসঙ্গুণ ইহাতে বিখ্যাত ভারতীয় চিত্রকরদিগের আঁকা রঙীন বোলখানি এবং এক বর্ণের তেজস্বিনী শ্রেষ্ঠ ছবি আছে। রঙীন ছবিগুলির ভিতর কয়েকটি প্রাচীন যুগের চিত্রশালা হইতে সংগৃহীত ছবির অনুলিপি। অগ্রাহ্য বহুবর্ণ ও একবর্ণের ছবিগুলি শিল্পীসম্রাট অবনীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর, রাজা রবি বর্মা, নন্দলাল বসু, সারদাচরণ ডকীল, উপেন্দ্রকিশোর রায়চৌধুরী, মহাদেব বিশ্বনাথ ধূরন্ধর, অসিতকুমার হালদার, সুরেন গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, শৈলেন্দ্র দে প্রভৃতির সুনিপুণ তুলিকায় চিত্রিত।

জ্যাকটযুক্ত উত্তম পুরু বোর্ড বাইন্ডিং মূল্য ১০।০, প্যাকিং ও ডাকব্যয় ১।৫০।

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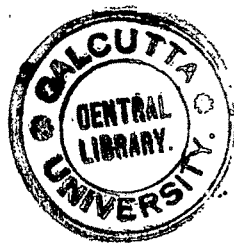
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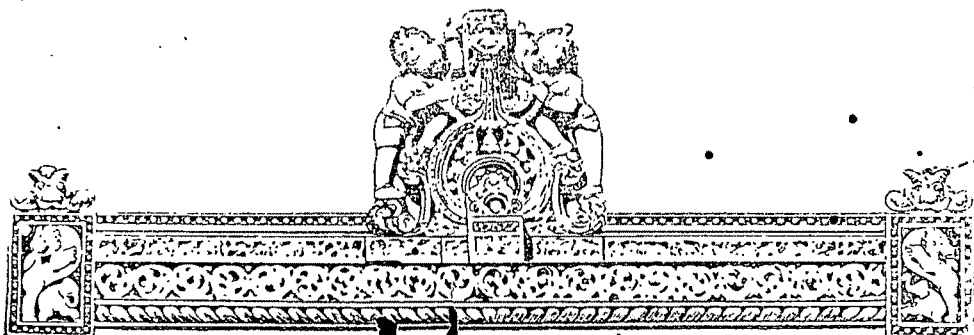
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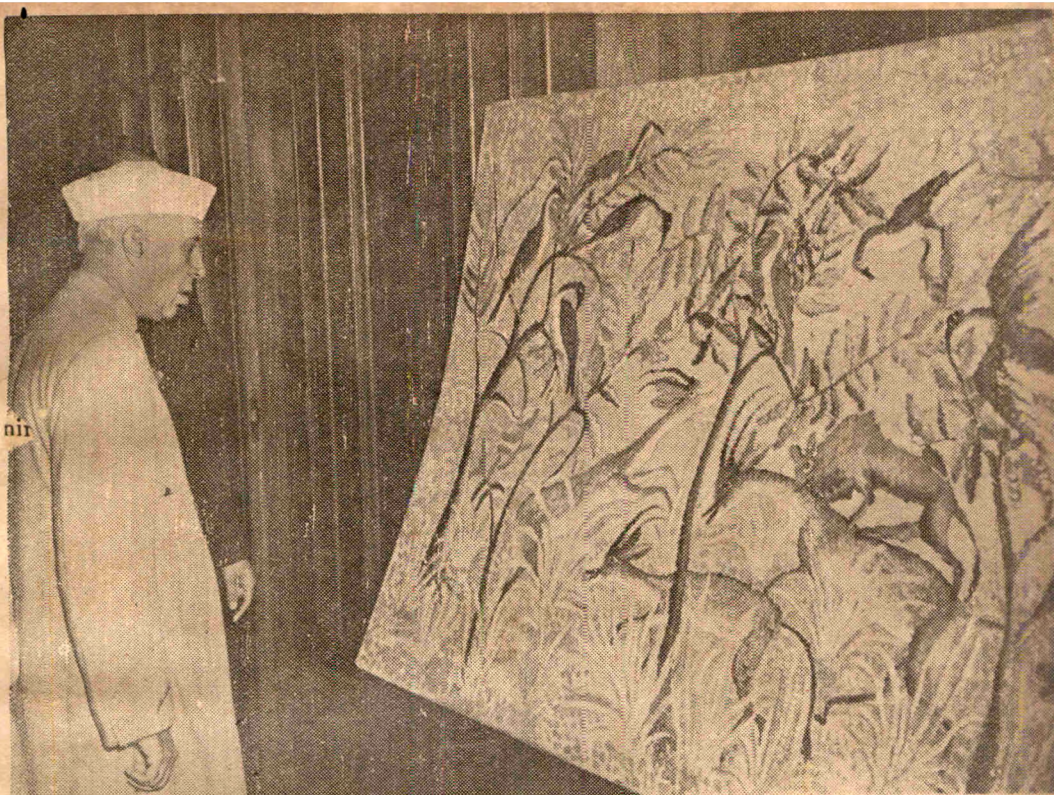
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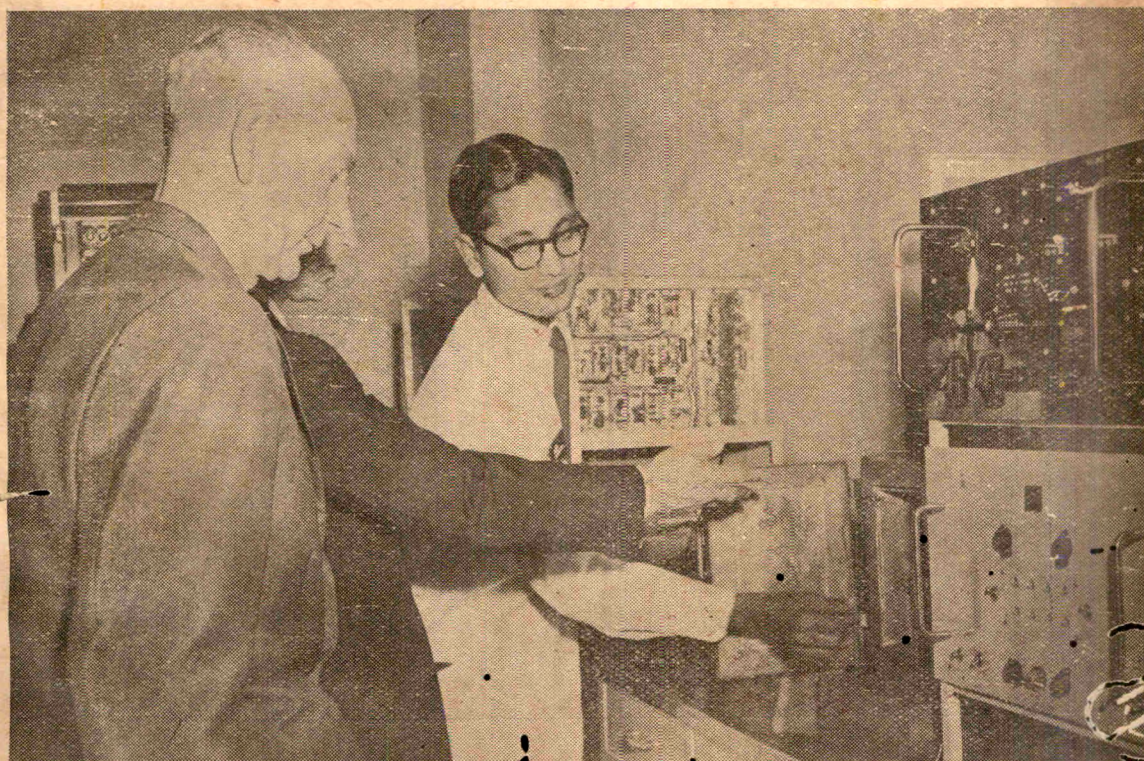


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An oil painting by Alhabeff, painter of Belgian Congo, was presented to the Prime Minister in New Delhi



The Prime Minister of Norway, Mr. Einar Gerhardsen visited the Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay during his recent visit to Bombay



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MOTHER AND CHILD
By Chittaranjan Saha

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY



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NOTES

The New Year

The New Year has brought in its train a spate of public and private celebrations and occasions. They have followed the usual stereotyped procedure with nothing new to inspire the public mind.

There has been another Post-Gandhi Congress with its usual ballyhoo, entailing waste of money and further degeneration of the once-noble organisation. The only things remarkable are the exit of Dhebarbhai from the presidential ivory tower and the carnival of cinema stars; which latter led a riot which necessitated police charges, etc. This certainly was a new feature in the history of the Congress, which the Congress Government can claim all the credit—if that be the proper name.

We have read the abstract, which we find elsewhere in this issue, of the Congress President's address, as given in one of our foremost dailies. And we can only say that we are amazed by it. We can realize, as to why Gandhiji was so anxious to leave a period to "Congress politics," just before his martyrdom. Dhebarbhai will also realise it if it severs all connection with the "Congress Government," at least for six months, and goes about the country in a daze to learn and meditate in silence. He will find how far the Congress has slid away from the moral and ethical heights to which his Bapu had lifted it.

There is not a word about the state of

public morals, nor is there a word about the debasement of the people's mind due to the deluge of corruption that is engulfing the nation. There is just a platitude about "our duty to guarantee a pure and efficient administration to the people" and a remark that "it cannot be denied that the administration has not been able to free itself from cramping procedures and delays." As if that is the sumtotal of the failings and ailments of an administration which is one of the most inefficient in the world and which is sapping the moral stamina and ethical vitals of the race with its harassment of the honest and propitiation of the corrupt.

Are the people enjoying the fruits of freedom in this twelfth year of Independence? A great authority on International politics has stated: "The victory of freedom is possible only if the world can develop into a society in which the individual is not subordinated to or manipulated by any power outside himself, be it the economic machine, the political machine, or the State; and in which the individual, with his growth and happiness, is the aim and purpose of culture; in which life does not need any justification in success or anything else; a society in which the spirit and conscience of mankind are at least as important as material things."

Will Dhebarbhai please undertake a journey all over the country, after he has freed himself completely from the soul-corrupting influences of the political satraps, and find out how the individual is placed in the scale of freedom in our little world?

Changes in the Electoral Law

The Lok Sabha on December 20 approved certain amendments to the Representation of the People Act. Two clauses of the bill were strongly opposed by a number of members. One was the clause providing for the introduction of a system of identity cards for voters with or without photographs in notified areas to prevent impersonation and other similar corrupt practices. The second issue of controversy was whether or not certain categories of government contractors should be debarred from standing for election. Both the clauses were adopted with slight modification of the official draft.

Of related interest in the Report of the Election Commission on the last general elections which was presented to the Lok Sabha on December 20. The Commission has expressed satisfaction with the conduct of the elections. The report reads: "The high standards set up in the first general elections were fully maintained and it can, perhaps, now be legitimately claimed that free and fair elections have come to stay and become part of the tradition of the Indian political life."

"The degree of political maturity displayed by the electorate even in many backward areas has, indeed, astonished many impartial observers and students of politics."

On the face of this unqualified appreciation it is odd that the Commission has simultaneously asked the Government, the political parties, the public and the health authorities to consider the question of vaccinating every voter before he receives the ballot paper instead of the present system of marking his left forefinger with indelible ink. Equally odd may appear the amendment approved by the Lok Sabha providing for the introduction of identity cards.

Among the more remarkable recommendations of the Commission may be mentioned the suggestions for making available to the recognized political parties the facilities of broadcasting election manifestoes; for declaring polling day a "dry" day, for modification of the legal provisions regarding election expenditure (the Commission considers existing scales too low and inadequate and would rather have them deleted altogether) and for setting up an efficient permanent and satisfactory election

machinery in the States at the District and Sub-Division level.

The Commission has pointed to undesirability of too many contestants in an election and has suggested for an amendment of the Representation of the People Act so as to require a candidate to poll a fifth of the valid votes instead of the present one-sixth before he may claim a refund of his election deposit. A further measure suggested to discourage multiplicity of candidates, but "which may be adopted only as a last resort" is to increase the amount of the deposit payable by the candidate. It has further been suggested that a candidate be penalized for obtaining the assistance of any Government servant without distinction of status of category.

Government Servants

The Government is the biggest employer in India—employing several crores of people. Unlike governments in the Western countries the government in India has a distinct responsibility in industry, agriculture and finance which vitally affect national prosperity and culture. The conduct of government is, therefore, a matter of prime importance in India.

The very nature of governmental involvement in India dictates that government servants in India are treated on a different footing from that encountered in the countries of the West. Unfortunately the Government Servants Commission Rules are among the things that have had little with independence—causing much confusion and loss.

An extremely interesting point was raised by Shri V. C. Shukla's (Congress) question to the Lok Sabha on the re-employment of government servants after retirement from service. The particular case, in which an ex-Chairman of the Railway Board (Shri F. C. Badhwar) was found to have taken up a senior appointment in a leading commercial firm having intimate connection with the Railway Administration on the very date of his retirement from government service, was extremely intriguing and the Railway Minister, Shri Jagjivan Prasad, was in an unenviable position facing the criticism of members in the House. He fumbled again and again, in reply to a query as to how

The officer had been carrying on negotiations with the company, frankly stated: "It is too much for me to say. *There is nothing on record to show for how long the negotiations were going on.*" (Italics added). Later on the Home Minister, Shri Govinda Ballabh Pant, disclosed that negotiations had been carried on for about a year and that the officer acted in full conformity with the instructions of the Government. However, Shri Pant's explanation still failed to explain why there should have been nothing on record in the departmental files about those negotiations.

Shri Pant's further disclosure that the Government had decided that non-pensionable officers of the Government should henceforth sign an undertaking that they would not seek employment in private firms within two years of their retirement without the Government's permission would undoubtedly go some way in allaying public fears. But the fundamental question of the position of the Government servant remained unanswered. In the State level also the Government of West Bengal's firm refusal to discuss the Government Servants Conduct Rules without the due three weeks' notice stood in the way of a discussion of the various implications.

In view of the changed circumstances in India some deviation from the British model in the formulation of the Rules is urgently called for. On the one hand, the life of the average Government servant is hedged with too many restrictions and prohibitions: he cannot read in a college, or university, cannot publish articles or writings, cannot become an office-bearer of any club or philanthropic organization, cannot take part in local or national politics and so on and so forth. If it is remembered that the employed labour force in India represents the intellectual cream of the country the adverse effects of all these restrictions upon their initiative can easily be imagined. Certainly in a free society most of these restrictions are unjustifiable.

Secondly, the Government servants, with a few exceptions, have to retire on the attainment of fifty-five years of age. It is general knowledge that at that age the greater majority of the people do retain the fullest powers over faculties. If they cannot be fruitfully employed

by the Government after that age, certainly there should be no bar in their accepting appointments in non-governmental, even foreign institutions. Moreover, purely economic and social considerations may also justify such re-employment—particularly of those belonging to the lower income group.

The problem is how to ensure the strictest standards of public conduct without having to impose under restrictions upon the initiative of Government servants. Some recent reappointments of Government servants, as that of Shri Badhwar, have raised serious doubts in public minds—not unnaturally, though. A political weekly had a few weeks earlier listed names of Ministers and Government servants—who or whose relations were in high positions in private commercial or industrial firms. Again, during the recent debate in Lok Sabha, Shri Feroze Gandhi and Shri A. C. Guha drew attention to the fact that no other Ministry, except the Railway Ministry, had met the members' request for a list of officers who had been appointed by private firms after retirement.

The fact that prominent members of Parliaments including Ministers and Diplomatic Envoys have also been found to have accepted appointment in private firms would seem to suggest that the matter demands a close examination of a broadly based expert committee. Shri Gandhi referred to the reappointment of Shri C. C. Desai, a former High Commissioner to Ceylon and Pakistan, in the firm of the Birlas. Shri Mahanti (Orissa) referred to Bird & Co. and said: "They employ not only retired Government officials but Ministers. In my State, because they have extensive mining interests, they first appointed the son of a Minister. Later when the Minister was defeated in the elections, his son was thrown away by the company. Subsequently, they appointed another person as their public relations officer who became a Minister at the Centre."

The public can hardly be blamed if they look with suspicion the re-employment of high Government officials and Ministers and the appointment of their relatives in private firms.

Monetary Developments Abroad

Ever since the Bretton Woods Agreement in 1944, the world's monetary goal has been

set forth as the establishment of free and multi-lateral convertibility of currencies and the abolition of quantitative trade restrictions. But for about a decade since its enunciation, the attainment of the goal was put off by setting up various trade barriers and by the imposition of quantitative trade restrictions. The free convertibility of currencies remained only in idea and the countries of the world followed the opposite policy, although the International Monetary Fund from time to time stressed the importance of setting up free convertibility and free trade. Only a few years ago Britain allowed her banks to buy and sell foreign exchanges, and this may be regarded as a prelude to the introduction of free convertibility of currencies.

After the Second World War, the inconvertibility of sterling was the main impediment to the free convertibility of world currencies. England is the banker of the sterling area which has a predominating influence in world trade and commerce and industry. The United Kingdom hitherto resisted the free convertibility of sterling, although the USA and the IMF insisted on that. The declaration of currency convertibility made on December 27, 1958, will therefore, usher in a new era of monetary developments for Western Europe. As many as ten European countries have accepted the convertibility of their currencies and these countries are—the United Kingdom, Belgium, Denmark, France, West Germany, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden.

The British Treasury declared that from December 29, 1958, sterling held or acquired by non-residents of the sterling area would be freely transferable throughout the world. All non-resident sterling will be convertible into dollars at the official rate of exchange in the margins for the pound against dollar, which will continue to be \$2.78 to \$2.82. The exchange control in Britain will, however, be retained and the present policy in relation to capital transfers outside the sterling area will not be altered. As regards current payments, the British Treasury announces that whether it is for trade or invisible items, no immediate change is involved. The decision of convertibility of sterling followed the recent trends in

exchange markets and was influenced by the discussion in Montreal, New Delhi and Paris. In Montreal, the conference of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers was held in New Delhi at the annual sessions of the IMF and the IBRD, the importance of convertibility of currencies was stressed.

As a result of the adoption of the sterling convertibility, the transferable sterling and the official sterling has been merged into one account. The transferable sterling, American, Canadian and registered accounts will henceforth be known as a single market in London. In Zurich and New York there had been an active market in transferable sterling against dollars. That was, however, an unofficial market. The present decision to introduce sterling convertibility will give an official recognition to an unofficial practice prevailing in some important monetary centres of the world.

The French franc has been devalued by 17.55 per cent with a new parity of 493.70 to the dollar. The franc is now fully convertible into all currencies, including the dollar, to all non-residents in France and the franc zone and in countries linked by bilateral payments agreements. The previous official dollar exchange rate was 420 francs to the dollar. This is France's seventh devaluation since the 1944 liberation and her twelfth since World War I. The new sterling rate will be 1382.39 francs to the pound sterling against 1176 at the present official rate.

As regards the sterling convertibility, the new decision only formalizes the convertibility into dollars that has already existed for many months in practice. For many other European currencies the change is greater, but they are not international currencies as sterling is. Before making their currencies convertible by non-resident holders into dollars, it would have been preferable for Britain and other European countries to test the real strength of their currencies and balances of payments by giving more freedom for imports from the dollar areas. That is, the abolition of quantitative trade restrictions should have preceded the convertibility into dollars. Since, however, other European currencies are made similarly convertible, no special strain need be expected as was the case in 1947 when speculative buying shattered

the brief experiment in convertibility. Though there might have been some speculative buying of transferable sterling this time in anticipation of the convertibility decision, any sales and consequent pressure on sterling will be short-lived.

In recent months there has been a remarkable improvement in the external position of sterling—the reserves have risen, liabilities have fallen, and the balance of payments has achieved a record proportion. Inflation has at least been checked. The convertibility will make it eventually possible to buy in the cheapest market, irrespective of currency considerations. The primary effect of the convertibility of sterling will be to transfer conversion of dollars from unofficial markets to London, with transactions at the official rate. By convertibility decision, the U.K. accepts a new legal obligation to supply gold or dollars on demand at the official fixed rate of exchange to all foreign holders of sterling. To that extent it may be regarded as a return to the old gold standard of the 1920s. This commitment may make sterling vulnerable to speculation should monetary developments turn out to be unfavourable to the U.K.

The convertibility of sterling is not expected to bring about spectacular results and the scope of convertibility is limited only to non-residents and only for current requirements. The British residents remain subject to exchange restrictions and non-residents remain restricted in respect of investment transfers. Sterling was made virtually convertible even before this convertibility decision was taken, when the British Government undertook the obligation to support the market quotations of transferable sterling in the close vicinity of official parities. In consequence the non-resident holders of sterling could sell their sterling holdings at rates which differed only slightly from the London official market rates. The U.K. Government had, however, the privilege to withdraw their support any time to the "unofficial rates" of exchange. But by the convertibility decision, the Government have merged the unofficial rates with the official rates and they are now under legal obligation to support the unified rates between \$2.78 and

\$2.82 for a pound. The formal obligation has thus been turned into a legal obligation.

Another important decision which has been taken by the ten European countries in this connection is that the European Payments Union has been terminated and replaced by the European Monetary Agreement, a scheme devised in 1955 to provide a multilateral payments system after a return to convertibility. Under the European Monetary Agreement an European Fund of \$600 million (about Rs. 360 crores) would be set up. The Fund will facilitate the settlement of monthly balances between the central banks of member countries. It will be on a hundred per cent gold basis. The Fund may also be used for the purpose of granting credits up to two years to any member country. Members of the European Monetary Agreement will not receive automatic credit as is provided by the E.P.U. and as a result there will be no net drain on the assets of the Fund as a result of the monthly settlements.

The convertibility of currencies has been held to be the most fruitful form of integration of the free world. It may also rid the ten European countries of the unfortunate bickering between the common market and the free trade area, because currencies have been misused as instruments of trade policy. Some months ago the French industrialists opposed the idea of supplementing the European Common Market with a Free Trade Area. The Common Market includes Germany (excluding Britain) and the Free Trade Area includes Britain. France today is facing stiff German competition in industrial output and exports. The French industrialists oppose the Free Trade Area because they do not desire further competition from the United Kingdom. France is facing an acute monetary crisis. By the end of May 1958—just before De Gaulle came to power—France's gold and foreign exchange reserves were exhausted. On December 28, France decided to free nine per cent of her foreign trade from quota restrictions and this would open the floodgates to the currency and would give France back her international rank in the economic field. The franc has lost international stability and previous devaluations have not been able to retrieve the lost

confidence in franc. France's political instability is mainly responsible for the instability of her currency. The political instability and weakness inherent in the Fourth Republic was considerably responsible for the disaster that befell the franc. General De Gaulle now enjoys a strong position and he commands confidence inside and outside the country and that is why he was able to take such strong steps as to devalue the franc and liberalise imports. The effect of the introduction of the European Common Market is yet to be seen *vis-a-vis* the adoption of convertibility and devaluation.

The parity of the West German mark in relation to other currencies, would remain unchanged and that the Federal Bank would buy American dollars for 4.17 West German marks and sell them for 4.23 marks. The previous fully convertible and partly convertible West German mark accounts will be converted into uniform West German accounts. The transferable and convertible categories of the Belgian franc are being unified, and the fluctuation margins of the Belgian franc remain 0.75 per cent either side of the unchanged parity of 50 Belgian francs to the dollar. With immediate effect, the transferable francs which previously could be exchanged into the European currency will be equally exchangeable into dollars at the same rate as convertible francs. The new decision does not alter the full convertibility of the Belgian francs.

In recent months sterling has gained in strength and the reserves have risen by \$1 million. Sterling liabilities decreased by £300 million in 1957-58. The U.K. balance of payments current account showed a record surplus, with more than £300 million in the first half of the year. The future strength of sterling will depend greatly on the relative extent of wage inflation in Britain and other major industrial countries. Sterling has now also recovered the ground lost to dollar during and immediately after the Second World War. It is now assumed that the dollar scarcity has lost its sting and the year 1959 will see an improvement in the dollar earnings of the European countries.

India's position remains almost unaffected by the decision of convertibility because she has now insignificant sterling holdings for con-

version into dollars. Moreover, under the terms of the Indo-U.K. sterling agreement, India used to get agreed amount of sterling for payment to dollar areas. The convertibility of the ten European countries will be greatly neutralised by the tariff barriers which are being maintained by the European countries, particularly West Germany and France and Indian exports will continue to suffer from the same drawbacks.

Recent Trends in Foreign Investment in India

According to the latest figures of the Reserve Bank, the book value of the non-banking foreign business investments in India in 1956 stood at Rs. 506 crores. With the exclusion of movements in banking capital, there was a net inflow of business investments in India from abroad in 1956 amounting to Rs. 36.4 crores. The capital inflow during the year included Rs. 12.1 crores of IBRD loans extended to steel and power companies in the private sector. Long-term business capital obtained from foreign private sources thus amounted to Rs. 24.3 crores. This rate of inflow was more or less equal to the average annual inflow of about Rs. 25 crores during the period July, 1948 to December 1953 and was higher than the average annual inflow of about Rs. 16 crores during 1954 and 1956.

In June 1948, non-banking foreign business investment was calculated at Rs. 255.8 crores. The figures for 1953 and 1955 were placed at Rs. 403.3 crores and Rs. 469.9 crores respectively. The inflow of capital was mostly of the direct investment category, branches and subsidiaries of foreign companies receiving over 90 per cent of the capital. Petroleum and manufacturing activities continued to attract a major portion of the new investments. The main investing countries are the United Kingdom and the USA. The total investment in India in the petroleum industry was approximately Rs. 241 crores out of which Rs. 214 crores represented foreign investments and Rs. 30 crores Indian capital. The investment in petroleum industry includes working capital in the companies distributing major petroleum products and the refineries in the country including the Assam Oil Company, which has exploration and production activities also.

In 1957, there was a net inflow of foreign investments for Rs. 48 crores. This figure arrived at after allowing for Rs. 32 crores of IBRD loans and Rs. 3.5 crores of capital outflow following the nationalisation of the Life Insurance business. Excluding these two items, the inflow during 1957 would be Rs. 19 to Rs. 20 crores. Movements in banking capital, which are mostly of a short-term character, recorded an inflow of Rs. 7.7 crores in 1956. But this trend was reversed in 1957 when there was a net outflow of Rs. 23.4 crores. An easing of money conditions in India during the latter half of 1957 and increased cost of borrowing of foreign funds as a result of the high U.K. bank rate appear to have contributed to the substantial outflow of banking funds during 1957.

The years 1956 and 1957 witnessed major shifts in India's international investment position as a result of large payments deficits financed mostly by drawings on the country's exchange reserves and by official borrowings from abroad. At the end of 1955, India was a net creditor abroad to the extent of about Rs. 500 crores; this was the net result of a creditor position of about Rs. 970 crores in the official sector and a debtor position of Rs. 470 crores in the non-official sector. During the two years 1956 and 1957, official sector's creditor position was reduced by about Rs. 700 crores, while the non-official sector's debtor position increased by Rs. 70 crores. As a result of these changes, India's net creditor position of about Rs. 500 crores at the end of 1955 was converted into a debtor position of Rs. 270 crores.

The business investments in India of the United Kingdom in 1956 were Rs. 406 crores as against Rs. 206 crores in 1948. In the course of eight years, the business investments from the United Kingdom increased by about Rs. 200 crores, excluding banking capital. The business investments from the USA in India in 1956 stood at Rs. 46.84 crores as against Rs. 11.17 crores in 1948; those from Germany were Rs. 3 crores in 1956 as against Rs. 8 lakhs in 1948; those from the IBRD stood at Rs. 15 crores as against nil amount in 1948. The investments from other countries in 1956 were of the order of Rs. 23.25 crores. In 1956, the business investments from Switzerland amounted to Rs. 8 crores. The remittance on private account of the investment income from India to foreign countries amounted to Rs. 20.44 crores in 1957-58 as compared to Rs. 18.92 crores in 1956-57. Of this amount, the U.K.'s share was the largest in 1957-58, being Rs. 13.75 crores.

As regards the foreign capital investments in India, the Government of India are approving those industrial schemes only which are likely to involve foreign collaboration resulting in an inflow into India of foreign capital on a long-term basis. Industrial schemes are approved by Government on the advice of Licensing Committee under the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951, which takes into account availability of raw materials and power and all other relevant factors. It is necessary also that satisfactory arrangements be made to cover the cost of imported equipment.

Foreign exchanges for the import of equipment are available under several loans negotiated on a Government to Government basis. Import licences are issued under the U.S. Export-Import Bank Loan for machinery for the cotton textile, engineering, chemical, coal mining and truck and jeep manufacturing industries. The Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India gives loans in foreign currencies to finance the import of equipment needed by Indian industries, as it has taken a loan from the IBRD for the purpose. Import of equipment can also be financed by loans or equity investment from private parties abroad. The value of equipment the import of which has been allowed against fresh long-term foreign capital during the current licensing period by the Capital Goods Committee is Rs. 1.65 crores.

The capital inflow during 1956, as during previous years, was mostly of the direct investment category, that is, investments which are accompanied by control of the enterprises concerned. These investments amounted to Rs. 23.7 crores as against Rs. 12.7 crores of other investments. Direct investment companies in India belong to two main groups, namely, (1) branches of foreign companies, and (2) the foreign controlled joint-stock companies. Of the latter, subsidiaries of foreign companies are the most important. Petroleum and manufacturing activities received most of the foreign business investments in 1956. The major recipient of foreign capital in the manufacturing

groups was the iron and steel industry which received Rs. 9.1 crores.

Calcutta Stock Exchange—Its Golden Jubilee

Stock exchanges occupy a prominent place in the national economy of a country in so far as it helps the growth and mobility of industrial finance of the country. It thus encourages savings among the people and channelises these savings into capital formation of the country. Whether it is the share of joint stock companies, or the loans of governments and public bodies, the buyers would not invest in them if there are no stock exchanges where they can convert them into cash as and when they require. The investors also want to dispose of their shares at fair prices, and the stock exchange is the place where prices are set in a fair and orderly manner.

With a view to regulating the activities of the stock exchanges in the country, the Government of India passed the Securities Contracts (Regulation) Act, 1956, which was enforced with effect from February 20, 1957. Under this Act, only the recognised stock exchanges will be allowed to operate. Under Section 4 of the Act the Government of India have recognised the following stock exchanges: (1) the Stock Exchange, Bombay; (2) the Ahmedabad Share and Stock Brokers' Association, Ahmedabad; (3) the Calcutta Stock Exchange Association, Calcutta; (4) the Madras Stock Exchange Limited, Madras, and (5) the Delhi Stock Exchange Association Ltd., New Delhi. Recently the Hyderabad Stock Exchange Limited was recognised for a period of five years with effect from September 29, 1958.

Among the stock exchanges in this country, the Calcutta Stock Exchange enjoys a leading position, it being the biggest stock exchange in the East. It has over 1,000 members representing some 278 firms who employ a clerical staff of several thousands. The total nominal value of the securities quoted on the Stock Exchange amounts to over Rs. 2,100 crores including Rs. 1,800 crores of Government and Public

bodies' loans. It has in its official list 969 securities of some 625 worthwhile companies, 23 Central Government loans, 39 State Government loans, and 54 Municipal, Port Trust and Improvement Trust Loans. The Calcutta Stock Exchange is the first among the Indian stock exchanges to undertake the publication of a Year Book and set up an Information and Research Department. It is the only Exchange in the East which has a Visitors' Gallery from where the public can have a look at the crowded trading hall humming with activity.

The stock-broking business was started in Calcutta by the end of the 18th century, but it was not until 1908 that the stock-brokers formed themselves into a body known as the Calcutta Stock Exchange Association. During the last fifty years of its existence, the fortunes of the Stock Exchange were tied up with the fortunes of the business world. Booms constitute notable events on the stock exchange, and Calcutta experienced no less than six booms over the period—the coal boom of 1904-08, the war boom of 1916-19, the world boom of 1929, the Iron boom of 1937, the post-war boom of 1946, and the national plan boom of 1955. The intervening periods were punctuated with slumps—the most disastrous among which were these following the Liaquat Ali Khan budget of 1947 and the Krishnamachari budget of 1956-57.

But the story of the Stock Exchange is not merely the story of a crude alteration of booms and slumps. Behind the story of those booms and slumps there also lies the story of the Calcutta Stock Exchange's efforts to establish an efficient market for securities. Whereas in times of booms and slumps, ugly developments that took place in other stock exchanges prompted the Government to intervene, inquire and impose legislative control, Calcutta has been free such developments and that is no mean achievement. The Calcutta Stock Exchange aims at serving the people by providing a free market for securities. To mark its golden jubilee which

fell in 1958 the Calcutta Stock Exchange has recently issued a useful symposium on "The Stock Exchange" written by some of the well-known financial journalists in the country. It is available for sale and those who are interested in the stock exchange activities, will find the publication useful.

Indians in Singapore

The *Hindu* writes in an editorial article:

"The plight of 27,000 Indians in Singapore who have been rendered virtually stateless, because of their opting for citizenship of that Crown Colony during 1957 certainly calls for urgent redress. Mr. David Marshall, Chairman of the Singapore Workers' Party has laid the blame for this state of affairs on Britain. It is their failure to amend the British Nationality Act so as to bring citizenship of the Crown Colony to international status that had led to the present state of affairs. The Indian Chamber of Commerce in Singapore had earlier addressed a communication to the External Affairs Ministry at Delhi drawing attention to their difficulties and blaming the Indian Government's representative in the colony for misguiding them into registering themselves as Singapore citizens. The facts, it is stated, are that when at the end of last year, the Singapore Government undertook a registration of voters, offering 'Singapore Citizenship' for purely internal purposes and specifically with the aim of enlarging the electorate for the 1959 elections, the India Government's Office in Singapore through the Indian High Commissioner 'gave encouragement and guided thousands of Indians to register themselves.' The result of such registration was that Indian passports held by these persons were cancelled and they could not receive any travel documents from the Singapore Government, since their citizenship was only for internal matters. They could not secure even citizenship of the U.K. and Colonies, as Singapore nationality is not mentioned in the British Nationality Act.

"When this question was raised in the Indian Parliament last month, Prime Minister Nehru denied that any special advice was given by anybody to Indians in Singapore and just

restated the Government's broad policy that 'those who had lived for some generations in the other country should decide for themselves whether to remain Indian nationals or those of the country they lived in.' While such a decision was not necessary formerly, it had become so now that India had become an independent Republic. The India Government's general advice to all Indians living abroad was that it would be advantageous to function as citizens of that country they lived in rather than as aliens. The Prime Minister had evidently by-passed the specific issue by reiterating general principles about which there is no dispute. No one, not even the Singapore Indians, seem to advocate dual citizenship in any form. But it is obviously the responsibility of the Government of India to do what is possible to resolve any difficulties that might have arisen as a consequence of Indians abroad adopting a course implicit in the policy outlined by Mr. Nehru."

Visva-Bharati

Visva-Bharati has been in the news for some time on account of the tussle over the selection of a Vice-Chancellor to succeed Prof. Satyendranath Bose who was appointed a National Professor. The factionalism that has torn this noble institution for some time found expression on this occasion in the most hideous light. The conflict has temporarily been calmed by the personal interference of Shri Nehru but is yet to be resolved satisfactorily. Shri Kshitish Chandra Chowdhury, a former Accountant-General of West Bengal and the Treasurer of the Visva-Bharati University has now been selected as the temporary *Upacharyya* (Vice-Chancellor) to carry on the administration until Shri S. R. Das, the present Chief Justice of India, takes up the responsibility.

In his Annual Convocation address, Shri Nehru said: "I have been coming here year after year on this occasion. Everytime it is an act of pilgrimage for me to come here and tread the ground that was trodden by Guru deva and to imbibe something of the atmosphere which he breathed here and develop."

Unless science and technology was controlled by something else, he said, the world

would not be saved from disaster. It is this "something" which was found in Rabindranath's message. He emphasized the special role of Visva-Bharati and warned against making it a miniature of other Universities.

Extension of Women's Education

Both the Central and State Governments were making special efforts for extension of Women's Education in India. The Government of West Bengal had earlier decided that education of village girls up to the standard of Class VII would be free. The Government subsequently declared that this facility would be extended to the cities also.

The efforts made so far had failed to generate the desirable enthusiasm among the people and there were also many administrative hitches. The Union Ministry of education recently announced its decision to liberalize its grants to the States which would mean that State Governments would no longer have the responsibility to provide a matching grant of 25 per cent before asking for Central aid.

Under the present pattern of allocation, the Central Government contributes 75 per cent of the total expenditure to be incurred for this purpose. The remaining 25 per cent has to be contributed by the States from their own resources before they can utilize the Central assistance. The new pattern of allocation comes into force during the current financial year.

The scheme, as agreed upon between the Central and State Governments, has two important aspects. It embraces a number of schemes for the elementary school teachers, especially in rural areas, and secondly, it includes beneficial schemes for elementary school children offering them inducements to attend school.

Under the first part, the scheme envisages provision of free accommodation for women teachers in rural areas; appointment of matrons to look after the school children; special teacher training courses for adult women, desiring such courses; stipends for women students for teacher training courses at the undergraduate level; refresher courses for trained women teachers; and stipends to girl students of classes eight and nine provided they under-

take to take up teaching for a period of five years at least.

Under the second part, it is proposed to grant attendance scholarship to girls, whose parents apply for it in all elementary schools except public schools. These scholarships will preferably be in kind, such as clothes, midday meals, books, etc.

Another suggestion is to allow tuition fee, exemptions to girl students in all elementary schools except public schools.

It is estimated that at present 27,014,000 girls of the age-group 6-14 are not attending school in 14 States. The Budget provision during the current financial year for the implementation of the scheme is Rs. 70,50,000.

The Tenth Planet

The launching of the Soviet cosmic rocket on January 2, is one of the most significant scientific events of our times. Moving at a terrific speed it traversed the distance of 230,000 miles from the earth to the moon in less than thirty-six hours. According to the Soviet scientists the rocket would reach its nearest point to the sun on January 14, where it would be about 91,500,000 miles from the sun and go into a 214,750,000 mile orbit and take fifteen months for each circuit. "As the cosmic rocket recedes from the earth and the moon (and thus influence on the rocket's movement will weaken)," a *Tass* statement says, "the movement of the rocket will, to an ever increasing degree, be determined only by the force of attraction of the sun, thus becoming the first artificial planet of the solar system." The Soviet scientists consider that the rocket would return to earth around the year 2113 A.D.

The Soviet cosmic rocket is the first earthly object to escape the earth's gravitational pull. Commenting upon the significance of the Soviet achievement, Mr. Kenneth Gatliff of the British Interplanetary Society said that the Soviet scientists had demonstrated the achievement of a remarkable feat of accuracy by directing the rocket so close (4,600 miles) to the moon. The Americans, in their earlier attempts with the rocket Pioneer, did not hope to go nearer than 50,000 miles of the moon. The successful launching of the rocket indicates that man's flight to the moon may not be far

off, perforce have to remain cooped up for nearly three years in a small cabin without, to quote Dr. Heinrich Faust, another German scientist, "even the most primitive comforts which on earth are available to any jailbird, and constantly tortured by the fear that they might never see their homes again." "Should these conditions ever affect one of the crew to such an extent that he lost control of his nerves, it is not difficult to imagine that he might cause damage that would seal the fate of all the rest," Dr. Faust writes.

The American Satellite

A fortnight before the launching of the Soviet cosmic rocket the American scientists had launched a huge Atlas Satellite on December 18. Weighing 8,800 lbs (about 4 tons) it was about three times heavier than Russia's biggest Sputnik and was at that time the biggest satellite sent by man to outer space. A further dramatic effect was created by the relaying of a Christmas peace message by President Eisenhower from the satellite. The President's message was actually fed to its broadcasting instrument before it had been fired and was received back on earth on December 19.

The successful launching of the U.S. Atlas satellite was the occasion for much jubilation in the USA but it was completely eclipsed by the launching of the Soviet cosmic rocket—which has become the firstly earthly object to escape terrestrial magnetism.

The Nepalese Scene

Nepal witnessed scenes of excitement and clashes over the date of elections. The Advisory Assembly, a wholly nominated body, designed to act as an *ad hoc* Parliament until general elections are held in February, 1959, which was summoned for the first time on November 19, twice voted for the postponement of the elections. Sensing, however, the general temper of the country King Mahendra has wisely decided to ignore the Assembly's views on this matter. He prorogued the Assembly on December 21.

In the general elections, due to be held on February 18, 1959, one hundred and nine seats would be filled up for the Nepalese Parliament. Up to December 26, 1958, nine hundred and

forty-two nomination papers were filed for the 107 seats. In the remaining two Constituencies—in the remote Jumla and Humla areas of extreme West Nepal—date of filing nomination papers would be announced later on.

The Communists are contesting 48 of the 107 seats; the Gorkha Parishad 82 and Mr. H. I. Singh's United Democratic Party 85; Mr. D. R. Regmi's Nepali National Congress 16 seats; the Praja Parishad (Mr. Tanka Prasad's group) 29 and Praja Parishad (Mr. Bhadrakali Misra's group) 31.

In what is considered to be a rejoinder to the critics, the Government's Chief Election Commissioner, Mr. Subarna Shamshere, today in a radio broadcast, emphasized the fact that within limitations the electoral rolls had been prepared with utmost care on the basis of the census. He described these limitations as inherent and natural.

For example, he said, communities in the northern region of the country were legally nomadic moving from one place to another at the mercy of the elements—snow and ice.

The Chinese Horizon

China—one of our neighbours—is in the midst of far-reaching changes. The impact of the revolutionary changes in China during the past decade was restricted more directly to economic and social fields. The recent changes directly affect the family and personal relationships. The most significant development in China during 1958 was the organization of communes.

A commune, structurally, represents the merger of all the co-operatives situated in a *hsiang* (the lowest administrative level under the Constitution of 1954) into one unit. Ultimately the boundary of the commune would be extended to make it co-extensive with a *hsien* (country). The commune, by definition, is a larger unit than the co-operatives; it is more over a multi-purpose economic unit. While a co-operative consisted of merely 300 households on an average, each commune has an average of more than 5,000 house-holds. And, unlike the co-operatives, the commune does not restrict itself to one branch of operation but

combines in it agriculture, industry, exchange, culture, education and military affairs.

The commune abolishes private property in land and housing. Heretofore, houses remained the private property of the respective families; but after the completion of the process of communization all houses would vest in the commune which might ask members to vacate or change their places of residence. The commune has abolished private cooking: now each family does not do its own cooking separately as was done previously in China and is still being done in the Chinese cities and other parts of the world—people now take their meals in public dining halls run by the commune. The socialization of cooking and other house-work (such as washing clothes, looking after babies and sewing, etc., which are now done by special teams of the commune) has released large number of women to be employed in fields and factories.

The commune represents a type of social insurance whereby everybody is assured of a living. There may not be affluence, but the significant point is that everybody would get food and shelter irrespective of age, sex or capacity to work. Obviously there is as yet no equality which is perhaps not feasible nor desirable at the present low level of development.

Labour in the communes is highly militarized. An idea of the organisation of labour in the communes is given by the following quotation from the *People's Daily*, Peking: "In the people's communes labour is organised along military lines, things are done the way battle duties are carried out and people live collectively. This is suited to the needs of the current leap forward. Militia divisions have been set up in various localities." (Italics added).

The movement for the organization of communes was begun in April, 1958. The pace was very slow at the start—during the five months from April to August the movement did not spread beyond the provincial confines of Honan. However, with the public announcement of the official support of the Chinese Communist Party at the end of August the pace was greatly accelerated so that at the end

of September nearly ninety per cent of the peasant house-holds were in the communes.

The great speed and the radical nature of some of the changes introduced meant that there would inescapably be certain problems calling for urgent attention. So that by the first week of December the Central Committee of the Party called upon all its adherents to pause and think over the changes already introduced. The relevant resolution roundly condemned the over-enthusiasm of Party members in certain places and corrected some of the over-optimistic mistakes. The commune signalizes revolutionary changes in the family life. Its psychological and emotional impact may be far-reaching. It is, however, too early to say anything more on it now.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Mao Tse-tung has been the undisputed leader of the Chinese Communist Movement for nearly twenty-three years now. The most remarkable aspect of Mao leadership of the Party is the virtual absence of violence and physical suppression of political opponents within the Communist Party. His hold over the Party machinery and his unrivalled popularity made him the most natural choice to fill the honourable position of the head of the Chinese State. For ten years Chairman Mao has held his position with honour and dignity. And his popularity remains as high as ever. The constitutional authority of the position of Chairman in the People's Republic of China is largely nominal—but Mao's great personality and wide popularity did not allow him to remain neutral. As a matter of fact if any person in China is to be singled out as the main agent for all the significant changes in China during the last decade, one has inescapably to name Chairman Mao. He was the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the Constitution, he personally supervised the adoption of measures for collectivisation of agriculture, nationalization of industries, increasing agricultural and industrial production and for initiating the movement for the organization of communes.

One of the most important decisions

adopted at the last plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party is the Party's approval of Chairman Mao's suggestion that his name should not be proposed during the ensuing election of the Chairman of the Republic. Mao Tse-tung would, it has been specifically stated, remain Chairman of the Party, but he would not seek re-election as Chairman of the State.

It is extremely difficult to predict about the fate of personalities in Communist States. As far as the available evidence suggests Chairman Mao still enjoys great authority and prestige both within and outside the Party in China and his decision to step down should better be interpreted to lie in his desire to make way for a younger person and to devote his time in directing Party affairs than to any intra-party strife adversely affecting his position.

The Revised Soviet Penal Code

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR unanimously approved the adoption of a revised Penal Code for the country in its session on December 25. The most remarkable feature of the new code is the abolition of recent trials and of the charge "enemy of the people" which, Khrushchev had told the twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, Stalin had invented to facilitate the physical annihilation of the people opposed to the Communist Party line. Among other changes the following may be mentioned:

The age of criminal responsibility is to be raised to 16 from the present 14, or in some regions to 12 years.

The death penalty is to be retained for high treason, espionage, terroristic acts, premeditated murder under aggravated circumstances, and banditry.

Deportation or banishment from the U.S.S.R. and deprivation of citizenship are to be abolished as penalties.

Less remission to be granted—minor criminals must serve at least half their sentence, serious criminals at least two-thirds and major criminals the full sentence.

It is now considered a crime to propagate war.

A presumption of innocence is not accepted, but the burden of proof of guilt is now placed on the prosecutor.

The average Indian would hardly be inclined to consider the changes made in the Soviet Penal Code as of any significance as he has all along been used to these things in India—even under British Colonial Administration. This however, does not mean that the changes have no significance. Quite the contrary. To the harassed Soviet citizen, however the new provision would come as a great relief from past uncertainties. To the outside world the significance of the changes lie in the prospect of the dawning of a new era of political liberty in the USSR—a hint of which was made by Mr. Anastas Mikoyan during a speech in the USA.

De Gaulle New French President

General De Gaulle was elected the first President of the fifth French Republic with an overwhelming majority. He was chosen by an electoral college of more than 81,000 "Grand Electors," consisting of Parliamentarians and representatives of Municipalities and overseas territories voting in recent ballot. Besides General De Gaulle there were two other candidates: M. Georges Marranne, a Communist and M. Albert Chatelet, Leftwing University Professor.

The final figures of the election, held on December 21, were as follows:

General De Gaulle: 62,338 votes. 77.50 per cent of the votes of Metropolitan France; 81.45 per cent of the votes of Overseas Departments, 97.04 per cent of the votes of the State of the French Community.

M. Marranne: 10,354 representing 13.14 per cent of the votes of Metropolitan France.

M. Chatelet: 6,722 or 8.46 per cent of votes Metropolitan France.

General De Gaulle assumed his position on January 8, and nominated Senator Debre one of his staunchest supporters, as Prime Minister.

General De Gaulle was hailed as the most powerful French head of State since Napoleon had been Emperor of France. His election might be the beginning of a reassertion of French Sovereignty in international political

field—particularly in relation to the United States of America which had acquired a number of important privileges in France since the end of World War Second. The new French Premier M. Debre was well-known for his vehement opposition to the supra-national type of organization such as the European Common Market which came into effect this year.

Congress President's Address

We give below a summary of the Congress President's address, taken from the *Statesman*:

In a 39-page address noted for its balanced approach to problems and dignified tone, the outgoing Congress President stressed "our duty to guarantee a pure and efficient administration to the people." It was true, he said, that the administrative machinery had to its credit great achievements in the field of integration and development but "it cannot be denied that the administration has not been able to free itself from cramping procedures and delays."

Mr. Dhebar mentioned India's relations with Pakistan, the change of regimes in the various Asian countries and some other subjects but devoted a major part of his speech to the problem of planning and Congressmen's role in national economic development. His analysis of the weakness of the development programme was frank.

After talking about India and Pakistan's common history, he deprecated the continued friction between the two countries. "We propose to live as independent countries but we can use these common bonds of history as cementing links," he said.

On the subject of planning Mr. Dhebar asserted that the country had at least ceased to think that there was any contradiction between democracy and planning. The so-called conflict between democracy and planning and the contradiction between the private and public sectors, he felt, had ceased to "confuse our thinking." He hoped that industrial and business circles would make the "mental

adjustments which have proved to be the speciality of Indian character during the last decade and a half."

The Congress President posed the question why the people did not feel enthused when so much was being done for them and went on to answer it himself. There were several reasons for their apathy. "How can we expect people surrounded by the distressing spectre of unemployment or underemployment to be enthused over development programmes except in a vague, impersonal sense?" Besides unemployment other factors responsible for the people's lack of enthusiasm in his opinion were the colossal waste of labour, discrimination between urban and rural areas, continued economic disparities and social evils such as untouchability.

He set out ten tasks before the Mandal Congress committees which must be fulfilled to make the party a "dynamic organization built upon a living Mandal organization." The field the ten points covered ranged from small savings and youth organization to land reforms and redress of public grievances against the administration.

P.T.I. adds: Mr. Dhebar said, "the colossal task of levelling up of those who are below the standard of life" was awaiting India, and unless the country rose to the demands of the situation "the only consequence will be some kind of chaos; this cannot be anybody's intention."

"Time is running against us, and we have to make good the backlog of an age and catch up with the world which is not running but flying at terrific speed."

India, he said, needed the co-operation of "every sector, and every person endowed with experience and intelligence, talent and ability to assist the people who are fighting the battle of life with their backs to the wall or, to be more exact, with their bodies submerged up to their necks in difficulties."

He told the critics of the Congress and Congress Governments that if they had sufficient realization of the tremendous magnitude of the problem they would not

be criticizing the Congress "in the manner they are doing."

The Congress President gave "some idea of the colossal task that awaits the nation." He said that India's population would be 42 crores as the third Plan commenced and would increase by five crores at the end of the Plan. Employment would have to be provided for about 2.25 crores.

"I believe that any sacrifice the private sector is called upon to make in the interest of levelling up of those who are below the standard of life would be as much welcome to them as the conceding on our part of the agreement that the way to remove disparities of income and wealth in this country is not by levelling down people who have some money."

Pointing out that India was still the lowest in per capita investment in industries he pleaded for understanding and co-operation from the private sector. "The Congress is not out to harass or harm anybody. Nor do we want to imply that in the industrial sector there is any lack of patriotism or any lack of love for the people."

He was gratified that the "shouting" against nationalization on the one side and against the existence of the private sector on the other was dying out.

The question of so-called conflict between democracy and planning and the so-called contradiction between a private sector and a socialist pattern of society "has ceased to confuse our thinking, and there is only one economy in India, whether it is financed privately or publicly, and that is the planned national economy."

Mr. Dhebar said: "The Congress, if it wants to deliver the goods, should itself come out of the narrow and deep grooves of personal and group politics and build up its strength and vitality and prepare itself for supreme effort and sacrifice."

"We have definite choice to make. Socialism and sectarianism cannot walk hand in hand. A choice has also to be made among the urges that prompt us to action in the field of popular service. If they are opposed to, or incompatible with

the broad interests of the masses, or even indifferent to their interests, then Socialism is a wrong objective for us.

"Similarly a choice has to be made in the matter of emphasis and speed. They will make all the difference to the tone and tempo of our work."

Mr. Dhebar said that development and mobilization of domestic resources must be the main concern of the third Plan. For this he urged (1) quick completion of our incomplete projects and the earliest and fullest utilization of our industrial capacity (2) setting up norms in production, (3) regulation of prices while taking into account a fair return to the producer, (4) a closer study of the wages and profits structure and (5) a similar study of ways of locating and mobilizing surplus.

He stressed the need for organization in the widest sense of the term for mobilizing on a nationwide scale all the available potential manpower and material resources.

He said that if a co-operative commonwealth was to be achieved the village panchayat would be the administrative basis, the village co-operative society its economic or business wing and the village school its cultural and social base.

As for the Congress organization he said nothing would be possible without a dynamic organization, without a living mandal organization. The mandals had to grow with all their component wings—youth, women, Seva Dal, labour, kisan, landless labour, artisan, economic study and research, publications, the Harijans and the tribals and constructive work in other fields.

The Congress, he said, "is a house that has to be made more congenial and strong."

Mr. Dhebar then traced the causes for the absence of popular enthusiasm in the Plans. Among them were the colossal waste of labour on profitless and non-productive work, the difference seen in the treatment of villages, basic defects in the community's approach to the problems of Harijans and tribals and the costly pattern of life still being cultivated.

Urging that inefficiency and corruption in the administration should be remedied at all costs, the Congress President suggested that a tribunal of judicial personnel experienced in public administration should speedily dispose of cases of corruption, etc., by public servants. The tribunal's decision should be final.

Describing 1958 as a year of crisis for democracy, Mr. Dhebar said India had lessons to learn from the crisis. Democracy in India should show it could solve effectively the problems affecting the people, "as can be done under any other system, while allowing, in addition, for human freedom and individual liberty."

Referring to Indo-Pakistan relations, the Congress President said: "It is not our desire to isolate Pakistan or harm it in any way."

He added: "The normal urge of normal people in colonial countries has been and is nationalism. Communalism has always hindered its fulfilment. If Pakistan were to look at the Arab world and the African world; it would realize that the leaders of these countries also bear testimony to this reading of history. This difference in approach (between India and Pakistan) is the root cause of our trouble."

That difference was also at the root of the Kashmir problem, added Mr. Dhebar. "The argument that Mussalmans of Kashmir cannot live freely in India does not fit in either with this fundamental urge of nationalism or with the facts of the situation. India has the largest Muslim population next only to Pakistan. Pakistan has to realize this—as India has realized, as Arab countries have realized, as the whole of Africa is realizing—that we have to eschew religious isolationism."

The Congress President said India could take pride that she had achieved in the last ten years a position of respect in the comity of nations, that while adhering to Panch Sheel she had successfully looked after the defence of her frontiers, that she had solved the gigantic problem of integration of the States and to a great extent the refugee problem. India had also been able to maintain her financial credit

in world markets and earn a reputation for financial stability despite all the pressure in a developing economy.

The Lunik

The New York Times of January 4, gives a comprehensive commentary on the cosmic rocket. As it is worthy of record, we append it below:

The Moscow radio yesterday morning carried this announcement:

On January 2, 1959, a cosmic rocket was launched toward the moon in the U.S.S.R. . . . The launching . . . again demonstrates to the world the outstanding achievements of leading Soviet science and technology.

The rocket—"Lunik," the Russians are calling it—passed the moon last night and headed for orbit around the sun. It was unquestionably the greatest achievement of the Space Age and its psychological impact upon the world was profound. It emphasized the steady widening of the horizons of the cold war.

In that struggle the Soviet feat came at a time of growing Communist challenge to the West—not only in the realm of space but also in the military, diplomatic and economic fields.

Lunik made plain that the Russians still hold the lead over the U.S. in the space competition. The American program has had major successes and is gathering momentum, yet it is now demonstrated that the Russians have more powerful rockets—and therefore greater capacity to deliver intercontinental ballistic missiles.

In the military-diplomatic field, the Russians are mounting a serious challenge to the Western position on a vital front of the cold war—divided Berlin and divided Germany. The West has refused to budge, and the big question as the new year begins is whether Moscow will press her challenge to the point of war.

In the economic area the Communist powers have been mobilizing their resources strenuously to catch up with the West and are competing increasingly in trade and aid to underdeveloped countries.

The race into space between the United States and the U.S.S.R. began just fifteen months ago today with the Russians' announcement that they had put the first satellite into orbit around the earth. The announcement had tremendous psychological and propaganda impact. It precipitated a storm of criticism in the United States about the laggard American program and spurred all agencies of the Government associated with missile development to greater efforts. Since then, Washington and Moscow have been engaged in a contest to outdistance one another in their leaps into space—a contest in which the Russians consistently have held the edge. This has been chronology:

October 4, 1957. Russians launch Sputnik I; 184 pounds; maximum altitude 560 miles. Disintegrated after three months.

November 3, 1957. Russians launch Sputnik II; 1,120 pounds, with a dog aboard; maximum altitude 1,056 miles. Disintegrated after four and one-half months.

January 31, 1958. U.S. launches Explorer I; 30.8 pounds; maximum altitude 1,587 miles. Expected to orbit for three to five years.

March 17, 1958. U.S. launches Vanguard II; 3.25 pounds; maximum altitude 2,466 miles. Expected to orbit at least 200 years.

March 26, 1958. U.S. launches Explorer III; 31 pounds; maximum altitude 1,741 miles. Disintegrated after three months.

May 15, 1958. Russians launch Sputnik III; 2,925.53 pounds (including 2,129 pounds of instruments and a carrier of unspecified weight); maximum altitude 1,168 miles. Expected to disintegrate within the next month.

July 26, 1958. U.S. launches Explorer IV; 38.43 pounds (including 18.26 pounds of instruments); maximum altitude 1,380 miles. Expected to orbit for a few years.

October 11, 1958. U.S. launches Pioneer I in an effort to hit or orbit the moon. Soared 71,300 miles, then fell back and disintegrated.

November 8, 1958. U.S. launches Pioneer II in a second attempt to reach the moon. Crashed back after flight of 7,500 miles.

December 6, 1958. U.S. launches Pioneer III aimed at passing the moon. Tumbled back and disintegrated after reaching height of 66,654 miles.

December 18, 1958. U.S. launches Atlas I; weight 8,700 pounds (including 167 pounds of instruments); maximum altitude 928 miles. Expected to disintegrate next month.

Atlas gave a great psychological boost to the U.S. in the missile race. Although the Russians were quick to point out that Sputnik III carried a far heavier payload, and a carrier that with its payload exceeded Atlas' total weight, the feeling was that the U.S. for the first time might be abreast of Russia in the space race.

Atlas' weight, the belief was, had demonstrated that the U.S. could produce intercontinental missiles of about the same thrust and firepower as the Russians. Questions were raised as to what the Russians might have been concentrating on since their last successful space venture with Sputnik III in May.

Last Friday came the answer. Radio Moscow disclosed that a multi-stage rocket had been launched "toward the moon." 220,000 miles away. At 9:59 P. M. Eastern Standard Time yesterday Moscow announced that the rocket had streaked past its nearest point to the moon at 4,660 miles—not much greater than the distance between Moscow and New York—and was continuing its flight into space under the influence of the sun, 93,000,000 miles away. Russian scientists predicted that Lunik would go into orbit around the sun and become the first manmade planet. They said the artificial planet would reach its nearest point to the sun—the perihelion—on January 14, when it will be at a distance of about 91,500,000 miles from it. Radio Moscow said the rocket will take 15 months to orbit the sun.

To break out into space, Lunik had to achieve what the Russians called "second

"cosmic speed"—about 7 miles per second. ("First cosmic speed," by the Russian definition, would be about the 6.5 miles per second needed to put a satellite into orbit.) The last stage of the rocket weighs 3,245.2 pounds and contains 796.5 pounds of instruments for measuring the moon's magnetic field; cosmic rays outside the earth's magnetic field; radio-activity around the moon, and other data. It also carries a Russian flag and the inscription "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, January, 1959." Friday night when the rocket was crossing the constellation Virgo, it emitted a sodium trail to enable Soviet scientists to photograph its flight. Western scientists estimated that the rocket must have weighed 250 tons on its launching pad.

President Eisenhower issued a statement yesterday calling the Russian achievement "a great stride forward in man's advance into the infinite reaches of outer space." He said the Soviet scientists and engineers deserved a "full measure of credit." The Russians themselves called Lunik the "first interplanetary vehicle" and said "preparations will be made to equip an expedition to the moon which would establish an observatory and intermediary base there for a future space flight."

Scientists from all over the world paid tribute to the achievement. They pointed out that the Russians once again had demonstrated the capacity to develop enormous rocket thrust in putting so heavy a vehicle into space, and said Lunik would relay invaluable data.

In the United States, Lunik came as a new jolt and a new goad. By coincidence, just a few hours before the initial Soviet announcement, the House Committee on Astronautics and Space Exploration urged the White House to order two additional rocket shots at the moon as quickly as possible. The only new U.S. moon shot now scheduled is an Army attempt tentatively set for February. Several members of Congress said they hoped the Administration would speed up the program in the light of the Soviet achievement. The

consensus was that the Russians once again had scored a tremendous propaganda and psychological triumph.

The Cold War

The same issue of the New York Times gives the following picture of the Cold War at the beginning of the New Year:

Out of the fast-moving developments in East-West relations over the past month emerged the central question: Is the drift toward an easing or hardening of international conflict and tensions?

Most of the evidence gave little ground for optimism. The Russians were as unyielding as ever in negotiations on key issues and, on the question of Germany at least, their pronouncements had taken on an ominous tone.

Berlin is only one battlefield in the cold war. Another is Geneva, where two major conferences—one on halting nuclear weapon tests and one on measures against surprise attack—were in session during the past month. There, too, the unremitting character of the cold war was evident.

The nuclear test conference recessed (December 19) for the holidays after reaching agreement on the relatively easy and routine clauses of a treaty establishing the framework for a test ban. But on the key question of control and inspection, there was as yet no evidence that the Russians were ready to accept the strict measures the West regards as vital.

As for measures against surprise attack, the two sides found themselves in complete disagreement over an approach to the issue. The West wanted to explore the feasibility of technical means to guard against surprise attack. The Russians wanted to raise at the outset political questions basic to the entire disarmament controversy. The meetings ended (December 18) with no definite date for resumption.

As against this disheartening evidence, there was the fact of the Mikoyan visit to the United States with its strong suggestion that the Russians were looking for avenues of negotiations on at least some of the major East-West issues. The visit

NOTES

itself was arranged in an unusual manner. Without advance notice, the Soviet Government (December 17) asked the United States Embassy in Moscow for a visa for Mr. Mikoyan—second most powerful official in Russia. The State Department promptly granted the request and U.S. officials let it be known that both President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles would confer with Mr. Mikoyan if he requested interviews with them.

Speculation as to Premier Khrushchev's motives in sending his top lieutenant to Washington centered on three main theories.

One was that the Soviet leader perhaps felt he overreached himself with his six-month ultimatum on Berlin and was looking for a way out in the face of the firm Western response.

A second theory was that Khrushchev's status in Russia, and the Communist world, was not as secure as outward appearances indicated, and that he might feel the need for some kind of settlement or easing of tension with the West to strengthen his position.

Finally, there is Khrushchev's long-standing desire for a bilateral summit conference with President Eisenhower—a meeting he apparently envisages as having myriad propaganda advantages from the Soviet viewpoint. The Mikoyan visit, the belief is, may be yet another attempt by the Soviet leader to open the way for such a meeting, perhaps in Washington, with himself and President Eisenhower as the only major participants.

Cuba

The fertile and sunny island of Cuba, the biggest in the Caribbean, entered into a new political chapter at the turn of the year. The details of the drama given below is an extract from *The New York Times*:

"I will be a hero or a martyr!" Fidel Castro said in 1956, the year he launched what then appeared to be a forlorn attempt to overthrow the Cuban dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista.

Last week Castro brought Batista down. The break came in a collapse of Batista's military power which destroyed his dictatorship and drove him into exile. For Castro the roads to Havana and national leadership were thrown open.

The big questions now are (1) What kind of government will Cuba have and what will be its relations with the U.S.? (2) How will the change affect U.S. relations with the Latin American world as a whole?

The lush, crescent-shaped island of Cuba, "pearl of the Antilles," is 730 miles long and about fifty miles wide. Largest and most populous island in the Caribbean, Cuba has a population of 5,000,000. 75 per cent of whom are white or mulatto 24 per cent Negro. More than half the island is farm-land with sugar (one-eighth of the world's total output), tobacco, and tourism the principal industries in that order. American mining, oil and utility companies have investments in Cuba estimated at over \$1,000,000,000.

(For a quarter of a century, General Fulgencio Batista, now 58, has been a major power in Cuba, and for the past six years, its President. He seized power in a bloodless coup in 1952. It was Batista's second venture as Cuban dictator. As head of an army clique, he controlled Cuba from behind the scenes from 1933 to 1939, then moved into the open to defeat Ramon Grau San Martin for the Presidency. Constitutionally unable to succeed himself he stepped down in 1944 and spent most of the ensuing years, until his 1952 coup in voluntary exile in the United States.

Batista's rule has been marked by corruption, cynicism and police terror. He sought to build popular support by concessions to the Government-controlled labor unions, somewhat in the manner of Peron in Argentina. But he also permitted an ever-widening circle of cronies to dip liberally into the public trough and there were well substantiated reports of connections between Batista and the racketeers who ran Cuba's profitable gambling enterprises. Increasingly the intellectuals, the middle class, and many businessmen

who had no stomach for the rampant bribery and payoffs, became alienated. Batista met the opposition by brutal police measures. Torture and murder behind prison walls became common. To his critics, Batista had one answer: the island's sugar-based economy was flourishing under his administration. Superficially that was true. But beneath the surface prosperity festered potentially explosive political discontent.

One of the discontented was Fidel Castro. This is a thumbnail sketch of Castro:

Age, 31. Son of a Spanish pick and shovel laborer who rose to rich sugar planter. Schooled in law at the University of Havana. Came into political prominence in 1952 as a student leader protesting Batista's coup. Six feet tall, olive complexion; full-faced, has worn a beard since 1956. Good talker, intense; speaks eloquent Spanish, some English. Likes cigars —with Havana flavor.

On July 26, 1953, Castro led an abortive raid on the Moncado Army barracks at Santiago de Cuba. Nearly half of the force of 165 in Castro's band were killed, most of them after they had surrendered. But the incident marked the founding of the 26th of July Movement, a revolutionary group which prepared under Castro's leadership, first in New York, then in Mexico, for an eventual assault on the Batista Government.

On December 2, 1956, Castro landed with eighty-two men on the Oriente coast. Once again, most of his followers were wiped out, but he escaped into the wild Sierra Maestra Mountains in Oriente province.

From that base for the past two years Castro has waged a constant hit-and-run guerrilla war against the vastly superior Government forces. His "army," a handful at the outset, probably has never numbered more than 5,000. But time and again he has eluded Government efforts to capture

him while his guerrillas have raided communication centers, oil depots and isolated Government encampments. During the past six months, the Castro forces have concentrated on paralyzing the sugar industry. Under the threat of economic paralysis, the tide inexorably began to turn against Batista.

Last week-end Cuba stirred with excitement. The civil war had reached the showdown stage. Batista had gambled on an all-out offensive to crush the rebellion by the New Year; Castro answered by abandoning his guerrilla tactics and launching an offensive of his own.

Three insurgent columns advanced on the rail junction of Santa Clara, 150 miles southeast of Havana, in a daring bid to bisect the island. On Sunday the biggest battle of the civil war ensued. Batista sent reinforcements by rail but the rebels defeated them. The rebels boasted: "Batista's overthrow is near." On Tuesday two of Batista's sons flew to New York, ostensibly for a "holiday." All day Wednesday the battle for Santa Clara continued. Radio Havana declared: "All is going well!" Then the Army—demoralized by their own high casualties and those of civilians—began defecting in large numbers. That night Santa Clara fell to the rebels.

Early Thursday, after attending a New Year's Eve party, Batista summoned his aides. He announced that he was resigning "to prevent further bloodshed." He named a junta headed by General Eulogio Cantillo to run the Government. Cantillo appointed Dr. Carlos Piedra, the oldest member of the Supreme Court, as Provisional President. At 3:30 A. M. Batista, accompanied by his wife and one child, fled to sanctuary in the Dominican Republic. Five other Batista children and about 400 high military and Government officials and wealthy supporters of the regime also fled by sea and air, most of them to the United States.

WORKING AND PROSPECTS OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

By PROF. RAMESH NARAIN MATHUR, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

THE recent developments leading to the collapse of parliamentary government and rise of military despotism in all Asian countries with the exception of India and Ceylon are an eye-opener to all lovers of democracy in the world. There is no doubt that the people of Burma, Indonesia, Thailand and Pakistan who are now under the heels of military dictatorship suffer from deep-rooted economic and political malaise—unemployment, grinding poverty, low levels of nutrition, lack of democratic traditions, effective leadership and organised political parties. The military dictators holding the reins of government in these regions have promised the people better standards of living and a sound economy. The people have accepted the change, however unwillingly, over-awed by the might of the dictators.

The impact of all these developments has a direct bearing to the Indian political situation and the study of this problem deserves serious consideration of all democrats in India.

It is admitted by all that dictatorship is no substitute for democracy. An enlightened monarch or even a generous and prudent dictator may honestly strive to help and elevate the masses, but wherever power rests with a man or a class, a scornful selfishness sooner or later creeps back and depraves the conduct of affairs. In such political regimes leaders become laws unto themselves and impose their will on their people by coercion and force, corrupting their minds and degrading their souls. Democracy in the words of Dewey 'has faith in the capacities of human nature, faith in human intelligence and in the power of pooled and co-operative experience'.¹ Democracy alone can call forth the whole-hearted and voluntary co-operation of all men and in it alone the average man can

hope for the betterment of his lot. Democracy need not necessarily be inefficient and inefficient in fulfilling the needs of the people. Its failure is essentially the failure of those charged with the responsibility of administering the affairs of the country. It will be worthwhile examining the working and prospects of parliamentary democracy in India.

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY AND ITS WORKING IN INDIA

India adopted in its Constitution a system of parliamentary form of government on the Western pattern. This system was not new to India and India had sufficient experience of working parliamentary institutions during the British rule. The Britishers were reluctant to introduce parliamentary form of government in India. According to them it could only work in a homogenous community where people were intelligent and well-informed, where a political consensus existed, where the majority respected the views of the minority and the minority was prepared to abide by the judgment of the majority. They pointed out that Western democracy was ill-suited to Indian traditions and institutions. The authors of the Simon Report wrote in despair that parliamentary system was 'a difficult and delicate operation to transport to India' It was native to the soil of Britain and had 'developed in accordance with the day-to-day needs of the people, and has been fitted like a well-worn garment to the figure of the wearer, but it does not follow that it will suit everybody' British parliamentarianism in India is a translation and even in the best translations the essential meaning is apt to be lost.² The Simon Commission were sceptical about the export of parliamentary system to India but did not offer

1. Intelligence in the Modern World:
John Dewey's Philosophy, p. 402.

2. *Simon Report*, Vol. II, pp. 6-7.

India any well-defined alternative. In spite of discouragement by the British reactionaries India was set on the road to self-government by the efforts of progressive Indians and British radical thinkers. The primary object of the Montford Report was to justify that 'the obstacles which British statesmanship had hitherto regarded as prohibiting a parliamentary system in India could somehow or the other be overcome.'³ The Britishers did introduce parliamentary institutions in India and conceded partially the demand for responsible government through the Government of India Acts 1919 and 1937. After the transfer of power into Indian hands parliamentary form of government has been put into operation at the Centre and in the States.

WORKING OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

The Indian Parliament has been functioning since the enactment of Republican Constitution on a rich background of parliamentary experience. However, the absence of an effective opposition party at the Centre and the States has tended to make the executive irresponsible. As pointed out by Jai Prakash Narain on the eve of the second general elections:

"An effective opposition is the essence of parliamentary democracy. It is in this essential aspect that our democracy is seriously lacking. There is practically no parliamentary opposition today and we have a near to one-party rule. This is a dangerous situation, particularly in the context of the growing power of an already too powerful bureaucracy, totally removed (at the higher levels) from the lives of the people; and also in the context of the apparent drive towards State capitalism (which is the economic side of the shield of bureaucraticism) and of the pernicious cult of personality which is sedulously being created."

Though the danger pointed out by Shri Jai Prakash Narain is very real, but it appears that parties in India are still in the process of evolution and it will take time for them to consolidate themselves with the growth of enlightened

public opinion. The opposition parties constituted at present have imperfect realisation of the nature and functions of parties and they fritter away their energies for personal interests. This partly explains why no effective or responsible opposition to the major political party has emerged at the Centre and the States. However, whatever opposition groups exist in the country are given due importance in the working of legislatures and are associated with the various sub-committees of the chambers, e.g., the Business Advisory Committee, the Assurance Committee, the Delegated Legislation Committee, the Rules Committee, the Estimates Committee, the Public Accounts Committee. It is necessary that more statutory parliamentary committees be set up on foreign policy, industrial policy, planning, labour, civil liberties and defence and various political parties be represented on them proportionately. This will inspire confidence in the minority party groups and enlist their co-operation in the work of the well-being of the nation. The opposition parties will then not indulge in irresponsible criticism of the ruling party, but support it over broad questions of national and foreign policy. This will economise the time of the legislatures and enable the latter to devote their entire time to discussion of policy issues.

Another disquieting feature revealed in the working of the parliamentary government in States is a great deal of lack of cohesion and solidarity in the ruling party. In Travancore-Cochin, Andhra, PEPSU and the Punjab, political instability resulted due to bickerings and quarrels among leaders in the party. President's rule was imposed in these States for some time to secure stability and continuity of administration and it was withdrawn when normal functioning of government became possible. Another factor weakening the solidarity of the party organization is the growth of regionalism, linguism, communalism and casteism. The Constitution of India has eschewed these by providing for joint electorates and adult suffrage, but these have been brought in by the back-door by parties choosing candidates for election on communal and caste considerations. The linguistic reorganization of States has unleashed narrow regional interests which run counter to national

3. Coupland: *The Indian Problem*, 1833-1935 p. 54.

interests. Maharashtrian and Gujarati sentiment is against the bilingual Bombay solution and they want to undo the decision of the Parliament in this matter by resort to direct action. Similarly in the Punjab, the regional formula which had brought about a settlement over the claims of Hindi and Punjabi as provincial language has again been reopened, leading to deterioration in the relationship of the two communities, Hindus and Sikhs. In Rajasthan, group rivalries have been temporarily suspended by Central intervention. Again, corruption is rampant in the administration and vested interests are putting up obstruction in the implementation of socio-economic reforms initiated by the government.

All these constitute a real threat to Indian democracy. It is worthwhile referring to the recent criticism of Shri Jai Prakash Narain on the present parliamentary system. According to him parliamentary democracy had failed in India. He suggested that it should be scrapped and replaced by a system of non-party democracy based on decentralized economy with villages as units of self-government. His suggestion for eliminating parliamentary form of government cannot be accepted as the only alternative to parliamentary democracy is totalitarianism, but his other suggestions relating to the need for purifying politics and administration cannot be lightly ignored. It is necessary to rejuvenate Congress and purge it of all evils which are degrading political life. The great need of the hour is eradication of poverty and ignorance of the masses. There is need for psychological change in the people and in their attitudes. Democracy is not firmly planted in the Indian soil. It lacks a solid base. The people of a locality have no realization of their social responsibilities and do not live on the principles of co-operation and fellow-feelings. The Panchayat and local bodies are torn asunder by petty jealousies and bickerings. It is necessary to impart civic training and education to the masses so that they may better realise their responsibilities as good citizens of their country. The greatest apathy and callous in-

difference of the people to the civic duties is largely due to their grinding poverty and hunger. No doubt the State has launched the Five-Year Plans, the Community Projects and National Extension services for the economic development of the people, but there should be no self-complacency about them. The people have reason to apprehend that with the present administrative machine improvement cannot be effected substantially. Moreover, the burden of taxation is hitting the common people hard. The people will be reassured only if great economies are made in the cost of civil administration and a drastic cut is made in the expenses of the Government of India consistent with their efficiency. There must be a sense of urgency in the execution of the socio-economic plans and people's whole-hearted co-operation should be enlisted in the solution of the problem vitally affecting them. Efforts should be made on a large scale in reinforcing the faith of the people in democracy. There should be political clubs, discussion groups, seminars which should discuss the problems of parliamentary democracy and encourage independent thinking among the people. Parliamentarians and legislators should go to their constituencies and explain to the electorate the work and activities of the legislatures and discuss with them the various problems facing the country. This will help in broadening the outlook of the people and in eliminating narrow sectional interests.

It would appear from above that chances of saving democracy in India are brighter than elsewhere. The people of India are by nature peace-loving, tolerant and co-operative. If early steps are taken to eradicate poverty and illiteracy of the masses, and people's participation in plans and projects at all levels is secured, it will reinforce their faith in democracy. Democracy in India can succeed through a co-operative endeavour of a responsible executive, a responsible legislature, a responsible bureaucracy and a responsible citizenry. It is expected that all concerned will rise to occasion and understand the needs of the people and solve them in a peaceful democratic way.

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION (XVII) Fundamental Rights: Right to Property (Continued)

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I

In our three preceding articles¹ in this series we have dealt with certain aspects of our Fundamental Right to Property. In this article we propose to deal with some other aspects of the same Right.

II

In a preceding article² we have shown that our Fundamental Right to Property as originally guaranteed by our Constitution and as expounded by our Supreme Court, has, legally speaking, been, in effect, largely abrogated by the new Clause (2) of Article 31 of the Constitution. And as will appear from what follows, there has been a further erosion of this right as a result of some other provisions of the Constitution. Thus, as shown before,³ we find, in the first place, in Clause (2A) of Article 31 of the Constitution:

"Where a law does not provide for the transfer of the ownership or right to possession of any property to the State or to a corporation owned or controlled by the State, it shall not be deemed to provide for the compulsory acquisition or requisitioning of property, notwithstanding that it deprives any person of his property."⁴

As noted before,⁵ this Clause was inserted in Article 31 by the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955. The plain meaning of the Clause appears to be that if a law does not provide for the transfer of the ownership or right to possession of any property to the State or to a corporation owned or controlled by the State, it will not come within the scope of the

new Clause (2) of Article 31 and, therefore, the question of payment of any compensation will not arise, even though the law may in effect deprive a person of his property. That is to say, even if a person is thus "substantially deprived of his property, there shall be no question of compensation" payable to him unless there is a "technical acquisition or technical requisition" under the said Clause (2).⁶ Thus, as the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Government of India (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari), pointed out in the Lok Sabha,⁷ New Delhi, on 15th March, 1955, the underlying "idea of Article 31(2A) is that mere deprivation would not entitle a person to compensation." He also stated⁸ that "Article 31(2A) has to be read with Article 31(1)" of the Constitution; that "Article 31(1) plus Article 31(2A) will constitute what is understood in American Constitutional Law as the police powers of the State" as contradistinguished from the power of eminent domain in American Law contemplated by Article 31(2) of our Constitution; and that "Article 31(5) (b) provided for circumstances similar to what we intend to provide in Article 31(2A)" of the Constitution.

Practically similar views were also expressed by the Minister in the Ministry of Law, Shri H. V. Pataskar, in the Rajya Sabha on 20th April, 1955, with regard to the object of Clause (2A) of Article 31. "Clause (2A)," he observed,⁹ "has to be read with Article 31(1) and (Article) 31(2). There seems to have been some confusion as to whether 31(1) is something different or the same thing as 31(2). 31(1) only refers to deprivation of property

1. See *The Modern Review* for January, April and July, 1958.

2. See *The Modern Review* for January, 1958, pp. 36-37.

3. See *ibid.*, p. 25.

4. For the meaning of the term "State" in this Clause, reference may be made to Article 12 of our Constitution.

5. See *The Modern Review* for January, 1958, p. 26.

6. See Shri N. C. Chatterjee's speech in the Lok Sabha on 14th March, 1955.—*Lok Sabha Debates*, 14th March, 1955, columns 1966-1967.

7. *Lok Sabha Debates*, 15th March, 1955, column 2151.

8. See *ibid.*

9. *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha, Official Report*, 20th April, 1955, columns 5336-5337.

while 31(2) refers to acquisition or requisition of property. There have been cases in which there has been (a) difference of opinion¹⁰ among the most eminent judges as to whether 31(1) and 31(2) were distinct or they were (the) same. In order to clear such doubts and to explain what is referred to in 31(1) and 31(2) we are laying down in (2A) as to what shall not amount to acquisition or requisition. That is a negative provision." And when a member of the Rajya Sabha asked the Minister in the Ministry of Law as to whether or not he was "enlarging the contents" of Article 31(1) by the insertion of Clause (2A) in Article 31, his reply was:¹¹

"Even from the beginning that was our intention. I will not go into the details but at the time when the Constituent Assembly made this provision,¹² their idea was that 31(1) was to be different from 31(2). In order to obviate any misunderstanding that may arise (2A) negatively provides what shall not amount to acquisition or requisition" (and, therefore, require the payment of any compensation).

This view was practically endorsed by the Minister of Home Affairs, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, when he stated¹³ in the Rajya Sabha on 20th April, 1955:

"(2A) is meant only to clarify the doubts and misgivings, that had been aroused by certain (judicial) decisions. With regard to (31) (1) and (31) (2) it is to indicate that (Clause) (1) which relates to deprivation of property is not in any way linked with (Clause) (2) of Article 31."

On a previous occasion* the Minister of Home Affairs had also stated in the Rajya Sabha in connexion with Clause (2A):

"The Supreme Court had inter-connected† Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31, with the

result that whenever any private property was taken possession of by the State, according to them compensation would be due. Well, this is an impossible position. In the United States, they divide the powers of the State into two categories—the police powers on the one hand and those of eminent domain on the other. The State is always competent to exercise the police powers Now, if the interpretation that has been placed (by the Supreme Court) on Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 holds the field and is allowed to remain as it is, then it becomes doubtful whether even the police powers can be exercised by the State. So what has been said in Clause (2A) leads to this that where property is acquired for a public purpose or is requisitioned for such a purpose, then generally, compensation will be payable in the manner and in accordance with the principles laid down by the Legislature, but when property is not acquired for a public purpose, if it is confiscated, say, under a law, or is taken under management for a public purpose, and for similar other purposes, then no compensation will be paid. That is the plain meaning of Clause (2A). Whatever misunderstanding and confusion would otherwise arise in consequence of the recent (judicial) decisions would be allayed and removed by this clarification of the purpose of Clauses (1) and (2)" of Article 31.

Before we deal further with the implications of Clause (2A) of Article 31, we may say a few words here with regard to the circumstances in which this Clause was inserted in the Article. It appears from the debate¹⁴ in our Parliament in 1955 in connexion with the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill that Clause (2A) was inserted in the Article, primarily, with a view to meeting the situation created by the judgments in our Supreme Court in what is popularly known as the second Sholapur Mills case.¹⁵ In this case the majority of the Judges

10. See our article in this connexion in *The Modern Review* for April, 1958.

11. *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha, Official Report*, 20th April, 1955, column 5337.

12. Obviously, for our Fundamental Right to Property.

13. See the *Parliamentary Debates* referred to in foot-note 11 above, column 5341.

* See *Debates, Rajya Sabha*, 19th March, 1955, cols. 2511-2512.

† See in this connexion our article in *The Modern Review* for April, 1958.

14. See, for instance, the *Lok Sabha Debates* of 14th and 15th March and 11th and 12th April, 1955; also the debates in the *Rajya Sabha* of 17th and 19th March and 19th and 20th April, 1955.

15. *Dwarkadas Shrinivas of Bombay V. The Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Co. Ltd., and Others.*—See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Parts VI & VII, June and July, 1954, pp. 674-738.

of the Supreme Court consisting of Patanjali Sastri C.J., Mahajan, Bose and Ghulam Hasan JJ., held on 18th December, 1953, that a particular Ordinance¹⁶ promulgated by the Governor-General of India on 9th January, 1950, and an Act¹⁷ of Parliament, enacted on 10th April, 1950, which had replaced the Ordinance, had in effect authorized "a deprivation¹⁸ of the property of (the Sholapur Spinning and Weaving) Company within the meaning of Article 31 (as it was originally) without compensation" and were "not covered by the excep-

tion in Clause (5) (b) (ii) of that Article;" and that the Ordinance and the Act thus violated "the fundamental rights of the Company under Article 31(2) of the Constitution" and were, therefore, unconstitutional.

Mahajan J. of the majority side also stated,¹⁹ in essence, in the course of his judgment in the case under consideration:

"It is the duty of (the) Courts to be watchful for the constitutional rights of the citizen and against any stealthy encroachments thereon. By promulgating the Ordinance, the Government has not merely taken over the superintendence of the affairs of the Company but has in effect and substance taken over the undertaking itself. In the situation the contention has no force that the effect of the Ordinance is that the Central Government has taken over the superintendence of the affairs of the Company and that the impugned legislation is merely regulative in character. In the present case practically all incidents of ownership have been taken over by the State and nothing has been left with the Company but the mere husk of title and in the premises the impugned statute has overstepped the limits of legitimate Social Control Legislation, and has infringed the fundamental right of the Company guaran-

16. Called the Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Company (Emergency Provisions) Ordinance (No. II) of 1950.

17. The Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Company (Emergency Provisions) Act of 1950.

It may be noted here that the net result of the Ordinance referred to in the preceding foot-note and the Act of Parliament which later on replaced it, was that the Managing Agents of the Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Company Ltd. "were dismissed, the directors holding office at the time automatically vacated their office, the Government was authorized to appoint new directors, the rights of the shareholders of the Company were curtailed in the matters of voting, appointment of directors, passing of resolutions and applying for winding up (the Company), and power was also given to the Government to further modify the Indian Companies Act in its application to the Company." It may also be noted here that "in accordance with the provisions of the ordinance new directors were appointed by the Government." All these steps were taken by the Government as, it had been alleged, "on account of mismanagement and neglect a situation had arisen in the affairs of the Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Company, Ltd., which had prejudicially affected the production of an essential commodity and had caused serious unemployment amongst a certain section of" the Indian people. Thus an emergency had arisen "which rendered it necessary to make special provision for the proper management and administration of the said Company." As a matter of fact, the Sholapur Mills had been closed under an order of the old directors of the Company with effect from 27th August, 1949.

For further details, see *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts IX and X, December, 1950, pp. 869-940; also 1954, Vol. V, Parts VI and VII, June and July, 1954, pp. 674-738.

18. What amounts to a deprivation? In the course of its judgment in *The State of West Bengal V. Subodh Gopal Bose and Others*, the Supreme Court of India had held on 17th December, 1953, by a majority (consisting of Patanjali Sastri C.J. and Mehr Chand Mahajan and Ghulam Hasan JJ.):

"No cut and dried test can be formulated as to whether in a given case the owner is 'deprived' of his property within the meaning of Article 31; each case must be decided as it arises on its own facts. Broadly speaking, it may be said that an abridgement (of the rights of ownership) would be so substantial as to amount to a deprivation within the meaning of Article 31, if, in effect, it withheld the property from the possession and enjoyment of the owner, or seriously impaired its use and enjoyment by him, or materially reduced its value."

—See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Parts VI and VII, June and July, 1954, pp. 589 and 618.

19. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, June and July, 1954, pp. 676, 691 and 704.

teed to it under Article 31(2) of the Constitution and is, therefore, unconstitutional."

And Bose J., also of the majority side, observed* in the course of his judgment in this case:

"Property includes 'any interest' in 'any commercial or industrial undertaking.' It also includes any interest in 'any company owning any interest in any commercial or industrial undertaking In my opinion, the possession and acquisition referred to in Clause (2) (of Article 31) mean the sort of 'possession' and 'acquisition' that amounts to 'deprivation' within the meaning of Clause (1) (of Article 31). No hard and fast rule can be laid down. Each case must depend on its own facts. But if there is substantial deprivation, then Clause (2) is, in my judgment, attracted. By substantial deprivation I mean the sort of deprivation that substantially robs a man of those attributes of enjoyment which normally accompany rights to, or an interest in, property. The form is unessential. It is the substance that we must seek. Has that happened here? Of course, it has. The plaintiff and the company have been left with the mere husk of title† If that is not 'deprivation' it is difficult to know what is The production of essential commodities and the employment of labour are matters for the State and statutory bodies to handle. They have the right, when the law so permits it, to take over this responsibility when the public interests so demand but if by doing so they deprive private individuals and non-statutory bodies of their interests in property in the sense explained above they must pay compensation."

It may be interesting to note here that Das J. of the Supreme Court arrived at the same conclusion as the majority of its Judges in the second Sholapur Mills case, although by a different process of reasoning. In effect, he held²⁰:

"The provisions²¹ of the Ordinance and the Act (of Parliament replacing it) are drastic in the extreme. The Managing Agents and the elected Directors (of the Sholapur Spinning

and Weaving Company) have been dismissed and new Directors have been appointed by the State. So far as the Company is concerned it has been completely denuded of the possession of its property. All that has been left to the Company is its bare legal title. It is impossible to uphold this law as an instance of the exercise of the State's police power as an emergency measure. It has far over-stepped the limits of police power and is, in substance, nothing short of expropriation by way of the exercise of the power of eminent domain, and as the law *has not provided for any compensation*²² it must be held to offend the provisions of Article 31 (2)" of the Constitution.

Thus the Supreme Court held with a virtual unanimity what we may call the Sholapur Mills Ordinance as well as the Act of Parliament which had replaced it as unconstitutional and invalid, since they had not provided for any compensation as required by Article 32(2) of the Constitution although they had, among other things, directed the management and running of the Mills by directors appointed by the Government. The action of the Government in relation to the Mills was considered by the majority of the Judges of the Court as "in effect a deprivation of the property of the (Sholapur Spinning and Weaving) Company within the meaning of Article 31 *without compensation*²³," and by Das J. as "in substance, nothing short of expropriation by way of the exercise of the power of eminent domain" *without any compensation*. As noted before, this decision of the Supreme Court led in 1955 to the insertion of Clause (2A) in Article 31. We have already referred to some official explanations of the object of Clause (2A). We may refer here to one more such explanation—we mean the explanation which the Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Govind Ballabh Pant) offered in the Rajya Sabha on 17th March, 1955, obviously with reference to the proposed Clause (2A) as provided for in the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill. "Hon. Members", he observed²⁴, "may be aware of other decisions that were taken by the (Supreme) Court in the Sholapur case which is well-

* *Ibid.*, pp. 733-35.

† See in this connexion foot-note 17 above.

20. See *ibid.*, pp. 677 and 729-30.

21. See foot-note 17 above.

22. *The italics are ours.*

23. *The italics are ours.*

known. They held that the law which enable(d) the Government to take charge of a factory which had been mismanaged or closed, temporarily, in order to set matters right and to convert it into a going and profitable concern was *ultra vires*. This goes against the social purpose. At a time like this when we are striving for the promotion and establishment of a Welfare State, we have to see that production is increased and unemployment is diminished. If those in charge of any undertaking are unable to discharge their responsibility, then the State steps in in order to serve the needs of the community and also to save them against themselves. I do not think that there can be any question of payment of compensation in such cases. Again, according to these interpretations, I think, perhaps if a person who was unable to look after his property well, were required to make over his property to the Court of Wards so that he may have the full benefit of it, then that notification too might be regarded as being *ultra vires* so that you cannot even save people who are extravagant, who are stupid and who have fallen in bad ways, even for their own benefit. So from whichever aspect one may see, it has become essential to amend this Article (*i.e.*, Article 31). We have not in any way interfered with the original Scheme²⁵. It remains as it is, but we have sought protection for these demonstrably useful and necessary measures for the good of the community, for the alleviation of suffering and for the elevation of the suppressed by making a few exceptions."

There is certainly force in the point of view of the Minister of Home Affairs.

It may also be reasonably argued that the decision of the Supreme Court which had held the Sholapur Mills Ordinance and the Act of Parliament replacing it, unconstitutional and invalid on the ground that they had, among other things, provided, *without any compensation*, for the management of the Mills virtually by the Government, would put a premium on the mismanagement of industrial and commercial concerns in future in the expectation of compensation from the State.

*There is another point to be noted here

24. *Debates, Rajya Sabha*, 17th March, 1958, Columns 2234-2235.

in connexion with the decision of the Supreme Court in the second Sholapur Mills Case. It is not very clear from the decision, as to whom compensation was to be paid and, exactly, for what reason. Although the Ordinance and the Act in question had temporarily taken away²⁵ some of the valuable rights of the share-holders of the Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Company, such, for instance, as the right to vote, the right to elect directors, etc., and although they had made a special provision for the "management and administration" of the Company virtually by the State, yet they had not provided for the transfer of the title to the property of the Company "to the State or its nominee". As Das J. stated in the course of his judgment²⁷ in the second Sholapur case, so far as the property of the share-holders was concerned, the position was that the shares still belonged to them; that they could hold them or dispose of them; that if any dividend was declared, they would get it; and that if there was any winding up of the Company and if after the payment of all liabilities there remained any surplus, they would "participate in that surplus." Thus, to quote a member of the Lok Sabha²⁸, "the property (of the Company) remained the property of the Company. The shares of the share-holders remained the shares of the share-holders. The benefits derived out of the management of the Company (by the State) went to the share-holders." It is, therefore, pertinent to ask in these circumstances to whom, exactly, compensation was to be paid. The Supreme Court appears to have been silent on this point in its decision in the second Sholapur Mills case.

III

We have shown above what may be urged in favour of Clause (2A) in Article 31 of our Constitution. We shall now see the other side of the picture.

25. This does not seem to have been the case ultimately. See in this connexion our article in *The Modern Review* for January, 1958.

26. See foot-note 17 above in this connexion.

27. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, June and July, 1954, pp. 725-30.

28. See Shri C. C. Saha's speech in the Lok Sabha on 14th March, 1955.—*Lok Sabha Debates*, 14th March, 1955, Column 2047.

In the first place, it may be noted that there is no reference in Clause (2A) to any question of public purpose as we find in Clause (2) of Article 31. This implies that a person may be deprived of his property under a law made under Clauses (1) and (2A) of Article 31, even though such deprivation is not for a public purpose. If this interpretation is, as we think it to be, correct then it has far-reaching and, sometimes, dangerous implications.

Secondly, it may be pointed out that the expression "a corporation . . . controlled by the State" in Clause (2A) is not free from difficulties. What exactly is meant by the word "controlled" in the expression? We mean: What should be the nature and extent of the control by the State over a corporation before it can be regarded as coming within the scope of the definition of a corporation controlled by the State? Does a statutory, autonomous body like say, the University of Calcutta, come within the scope of this definition? We need hardly say here that much will depend as to whether authority given by Clause (2A) is being justly used or not, on a proper definition of the expression "corporation controlled by the State." At any rate, there is enough scope for litigation here.

Thirdly, there is no safeguard in the form of any provision in Article 31 that a law as contemplated by Clause (2A) must, if made by the Legislature of a constituent State in India, receive, as required in some cases by Clause (3) of the Article, the assent of the President (of India) before it can have effect. As a result, different State Legislatures may follow different policies in regard to legislation contemplated by Clause (2A). This is hardly desirable.

Fourthly, power given by Clause (2A) may be abused and in its actual working the Clause may cause a great hardship and injustice to people without any legal remedy. Suppose that it becomes necessary for the State, or a corporation owned or controlled by the State, to divert, while executing an important irrigation project, the channel of a river along a certain area not contemplated beforehand. As a consequence, several square miles of cultivable lands are submerged and completely go out of cultivation. Will the owners of these lands be

legally entitled to any compensation in these circumstances? Ordinarily, it is submitted, they will not be so entitled unless there has been some previous legislation providing for such contingencies. The reason is that there has been, in the particular case, no legal transfer of the ownership or right to possession of the lands submerged either to the State or to the corporation owned or controlled by the State, although the owners of these lands have been, in effect, deprived of their property.²⁹ We may add here that what we have in mind is the payment of compensation to the owners of the lands *as a matter of legal right*, and is not any payment to them *ex gratia*.

Finally, it appears to us that it will under Clause (2A) be theoretically possible for a Government, not very scrupulous about its means for achieving its objects, to secure, say, in the name of slum clearance, rehabilitation of refugees, or some other so-called social welfare scheme, the enactment of laws, with the help of its obliging party majority in the Legislature, which will provide for the transfer, without the payment of any compensation, of the ownership of a property from A, B, and C to D, E, and F. Such expropriatory legislation, we submit, will not be constitutionally invalid in view of Clause (1) and Clause (2A) of Article 31.

We have shown above what may be said in favour of, and also against, Clause (2A) of Article 31. We must, however, admit here that the full implications of the Clause are not very clear to us, as to many others. Even an eminent constitutionalist like Dr. B. R. Ambedkar had stated with regard to it in the Rajya Sabha on 19th March, 1955,³⁰ during the consideration of the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill:

"Clause (2A) is a new thing . . . I cannot understand the meaning of this Clause . . . What exactly is it intended to convey?

29. See in this connexion Sri N. C. Chatterjee's speeches in the Lok Sabha on 14th March and 11th April, 1955.—*Lok Sabha Debates*, 14th March and 11th April, 1955, columns 1965-1966 and 4899-4900.

30. *Rajya Sabha Debates*; 19th March, 1955, column 2459.

Dr. Ambedkar was not a Minister at that time.

It is a sort of mysterious Clause; it has been shrouded in mystery."

We have tried above to bring out some of the implications of the Clause. We only hope that in its actual working the Clause will not cause any hardship or injustice to people.

IV

We have nothing particular to state by way of comment with regard to Clauses (3), (4), (5) and (6) of Article 31, as quoted by us in a preceding article.³¹ They are more or less self-explanatory. Clause (3) apparently provides a safeguard against any abuse of power on the part of the Legislature of a constituent State, say, in the form of a "hasty or unjust expropriatory legislation," and also indirectly helps to ensure a uniformity of legislation in our constituent States with regard to the compulsory acquisition or requisitioning of property under Clause (2) of the Article. It may, however, be noted here incidentally that it does not follow from the language of the Clause, taken along with Article 200 of our Constitution, that the "reservation" (by the Governor) contemplated by it is legally obligatory. Under the second proviso to Article 200 such reservation is legally obligatory³² only in the case of a Bill which in the opinion of the Governor concerned "would, if it became law, so derogate from the powers of the High Court as to endanger the position which that Court is" by the Constitution "designed to fill." It may also be noted here that in *Visweshwar Rao V. The State of Madhya Pradesh (and Other Cases)*, to be referred to hereinafter as the *Visweshwar Rao case*, the Supreme Court consisting of Patanjali Sastri C.J., and Mahajan, Mukherjea, Das and Chandrasekhara Aiyar JJ. unanimously held³³ in May, 1952, that, although "Article 31(3) speaks of a 'law'³⁴ being reserved for the consideration of the President, the Constitution

does not contemplate that before submitting a Bill which has been passed by" the Legislature of a State "for the assent of the President, the Governor should give his assent to it." Amplifying this point Mahajan J. observed³⁵ in the course of his separate judgment in this case:

"The Governor being empowered (by Clause (3) of Article 31) to reserve (the Madhya Pradesh Abolition of Proprietary Rights) Bill for the consideration of the President and this having been done, it was for the President either to assent to the Bill or to withhold his assent. The President having given his assent, the Bill must be held to have been passed into law. It does not seem to have been intended (by the authors of the Constitution) that the Governor should give his assent to the Bill and make it a full-fledged law and then reserve it for the President's consideration so that it may have effect."

And Das J. also stated³⁶ in the course of his separate judgment in the *Visweshwar Rao case*:

"In my judgment Article 31(3), on its true interpretation, does not require that the Governor must first assent to the Bill passed by the (State) Assembly so as to convert into a law and then reserve that law for the consideration of the President."

Clauses (4), (5) and (6) of Article 31 provide exceptions, chiefly, to Clause (2) of the Article. That is to say, the question of payment of any compensation as required by Clause (2), will not arise in any case if it comes within the purview of Clauses (4), (5) or (6).³⁷

(To be continued)

34. Apparently the term 'law' in Clause (3) of Article 31 has been used rather loosely in the sense of a Bill. See in this connexion the observations of Patanjali Sastri C.J. in *ibid.*, pp. 907-909. Also see *ibid.*, pp. 1049-1051.

35. See *ibid.*, p. 1033.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 1051.

37. See in this connexion the unanimous judgments of the Supreme Court, delivered in May, 1952, in *Visweshwar Rao V. The State of Madhya Pradesh (and Other Cases)* and *Raja Suriya Pal Singh V. The State of U.P. and Another (and Other Cases)*. *Ibid.*, pp. 1020-1090.

31. See our article in *The Modern Review* for January, 1958.

32. Also see in this connexion *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1952, Vol. III, Parts IX & X, November and December, 1952, pp. 947-909.

33. See *ibid.*, p. 1021.

TAGORE—AS THE SUN SINKS LOW

By JOGES C. BOSE

RABINDRANATH TAGORE did not live to see the division of India with its blood-stained prelude and consequences. He, however, saw all right that the stage was being set for it. In fact, in his *Crisis In Civilization*, released for publication on his eighty-first birth-day, 7th May, 1941, we are vouchsafed a glimpse of his anguished soul brooding over the shape of things to come. "Such a frightful culmination of the history of our people," says he in utter dismay, "would not have been possible but for the secret influences emanating from high places." The Second Great War had all but turned the world into a rick on fire. Hitler had smitten Europe hip and thigh. England was fighting for survival. All the same, she intensified her efforts to inflame passions for pogrom and civil war in India. This agonising appraisal needs being kept in view, for otherwise, the *Crisis* makes a harsh reading.

Increasingly weak and worn-out, Rabindranath was all-despair at the drag-back pertinacity of Churchill, taking things in the stride from the very kick-off; he had not, he said, become the king's first minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. It grated on Rabindranath's sensitive nerves. Those who were near about him at the time would bear out how he was intermittently on pins and needles with excitement. He was getting bitter to have to reconcile to India being bled white again in twenty years for imperialistic wars. Churchill completely disillusioned him. What, in fact, are these wars for? The capture of Balkan markets, the control of 'major unexploited sources of profitable enterprise,' as Harold Lasky held, and the contemplated railway line from Berlin to Bagdad are some of the principal factors to constitute the cause of the First Great War. Nonetheless, it was as solemnly loud-speakered to have been waged to make the world safe for democracy. History was repeating itself. All talks of war-guilt, therefore, dissipated into a hoax; and one power accusing the other of greed

or getting heavy with undigested booty is like the veteran thief who mixes up in the chase and shouts as lustily 'the thief, the thief.' There is a strange confirmation in Lady Margot Asquith calling the League of Nations 'a kitchen-garden of thieves'—*Autobiography*. In the sinister context of all this Rabindranath took a bird's-eye view of India *vis-a-vis* Britain. Her leaders, who were active in the field, had just been clapped in gaol, because they had the temerity to ask Britain to state in clear terms what really India stood to gain by being plunged into the desolating war. Bernard Shaw felt it strongly and issued an appeal to the king to exercise his special prerogative to set free the Indian leaders with an apology for the 'mental defectiveness' of his Cabinet.

In this tense situation Tagore wrote his *Crisis*. He had lost faith in the 'generosity' of the English race. It was at one time, he says, to the extent that he believed that 'the victor would of his own grace pave the path of freedom for the vanquished.' He, however, came to realise that the dignity of human relation had no place in their governance and that they had planted in India an economy with its centre of gravitation in London. Therefore, the initial bare-faced loot yielded to a predatory fiscal policy. It throttled India's indigenous industry and led her gallopingly to a penurious ruralisation. And whenever questions of national self-interest were involved, they disowned the highest truths of civilization, which, they said and India believed, they had accepted as their principle of rule. This bold statement needs being supplemented, lest it be ever suggested that Tagore was vituperative and said things for which there is no warrant.

Lester Hutchinson says in his *Empire of the Nabobs*—the word Nabob in eighteenth century England meant an Englishman, who had returned home with large fortunes obtained in India by deceit, cunning, cruelty and imposition—that following Plassey, Mirzafar

threw open the Bengal Treasury to Clive and his co-adjutors. They divided the swag at will. Clive received for his share £211500|-, Watts £117000|-, Kilpatrick £60750|-, Walsh £56250|-, to name only the top four. Speaking of the East India Company as a whole, H. G. Wells says, "It came to buy and sell and it found itself achieving a tremendous piracy. * * * Captains and Commanders and its officials, nay, even its clerks and soldiers came back to England loaded with spoils"—*A Short History of the World*. Within four years of the grant of the *Dewani*, the servants of the East India Company 'manufactured', as Karl Marx says in *Daskapital*, a terrible famine in Bengal by buying up all rice and then refusing to sell it except at a fabulous price. It levied a toll of Bengal's one-third population. Next in order of time comes the most blighting of all blights of British rule the Tariff Policy. It can be summed up in one sentence of R. C. Dutt that 'British goods were forced upon India without paying any duty and foreign manufacturers employed the arms of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms.' Theodore Hope, while changing customs duties in 1875, admitted that they were being done in the interest of Manchester. Two years later, Sir John Stratchey said, as he was presenting the Finance Budget of India, 'I cannot conceive of a single Englishman, who would not subordinate every other consideration to what he conceives to be the financial interest of his country.' The position in the sum-total is what Will Durant says in his forthright manner, "Exploitation was dressed in all forms of law; hypocrisy was added to brutality and the robbery went on"—*The Case for India*. This hypocrisy was the rigmarole of what Tagore calls 'the large-hearted liberalism of the nineteenth century English politics.' It made India mount over the scent and fostered a hybrid loyalty. The heavy assault of Indian leaders like Tilak, Aurobindo Ghose, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lajpat Rai and others upon Britain's planned rule and the sleek-tongued complacency of the Indian National Congress infuriated John Bull politicians. They tore off the velvet gloves and uncovered their mailed fist. Sir Joynson Hicks, Home Minister of the Cabinet of Baldwin, who passed for a pro-Indian

statesman, had the stolid candour to say, 'I know it is said in some missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of Indians. It is a cant. We conquered India as an outlet for the goods of Britain.'

The cumulative effect of all these was the continual contraction of Indian manufactures. Sir Beatson Bell of the Indian Civil Service said as a member of the Bengal Executive Council that in discussing the decline of Bengal Industries one felt as though he was passing by a large graveyard at dusk. How it bore on Bengal is to be gathered from the Report (1933) of the Director-General of the Indian Medical Service, Sir John Megaw. He says that 39 per cent of the people of India are well-nourished and 20 per cent very badly nourished; the most sorry plight is that of Bengal, where 22 per cent of the people are well-nourished and 31 per cent very badly nourished. To what pass from what the French traveller Bernier spoke of Bengal as 'a picture of health and wealth'! It zigzagged before Rabindranath's mind in one panoramic sweep. He felt fissiparous, such as it was not his wont and dipped his pen for the *Crisis* into the ink of gall and chagrin.

Disgruntled Tagore became an explosive beyond measure. He categorically challenged British administration to show in what other modern State was there such 'hopeless dearth of the elementary needs of existence, when side by side the resources of that State fed the wealth and magnificence of the ruling power.' He speaks of Russia, how in an incredibly short time some two hundred nationalities have been integrated into one nation, well-knit, mighty and prosperous. He cites the case of Japan; how she is marching abreast of the go-ahead countries of the West. He pits one system of rule against the other and draws a devastating moral.

About a month later, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., wrote an open letter to her Indian friends, in which she accused them of standing in the way of war-efforts. With a lot of cajoles, mixed up with veiled threats, she posed as one of those friends of India who wished her move on to self-determination under the aegis of British Crown. And precisely for it she felt worried that this conduct of India might make it difficult for them to plead for her in the next instalment of—thanks to the ingenuity of language—'progressive realisation of responsible

government"—1917 August Declaration of the British Cabinet. As she spoke of nightly raids blowing down classic mansions, the near and dear ones dead, mangled and swamped up in the debris, she was not without some misgivings that there might be people in India to fling at her how some local disturbances in the Punjab were made the plea to bomb from aeroplanes men, women and children *en masse*; and how England had opposed in the League of Nations the ban to bomb civil population. She, therefore, flew at a tangent to ask India forbear paying off old scores. In the same breath she enumerated the many benefits India had received from England. Education topped the list.

It was like the last straw on the camel's back. Rabindranath, ebbing out a bit too fast, sent to the press an open reply. It is difficult to beat its language of saucy pungence. "Have all the peoples of the world," he asked, "waited for the British to bring them the enlightenment?" After exposing the cheek and hollowness of the assumption that if they had not taught us we would have remained in the dark ages, he makes a counter-charge. "Through the official channel of education," the charge is, "have flowed to our children in schools not the best of English thought, but the refuse, which has only deprived them of a wholesome repast at the table of their own culture." This outburst suffers from a wrong emphasis. It is rather appropriate to point out how singularly discriminating the educational policy was in disbursing public revenue; inasmuch as 1s 5d was being spent for an Indian student against £7 4s 11½d for his English or even Anglo-Indian counterpart.† As to the extent of education under British rule, the Sargent Report fixes it at 15 per cent of the people as lettered; one in six children between age five and fourteen being at all in any school; and those in school, one in four being able to obtain anything like a

lasting literacy. But back to the War and the travails of a new birth.

The Second Great War with its ubiquitous staggering war-raids broke down the demarcating line between the home and war fronts. The theory and practice of Quit-Rent, you pay and obtain your quittance from the war-service or, as in modern terms, you pay and make the army march on their belly and be safe at home, stands exploded. This has, I believe, induced more than anything else a remorseless searching of the heart and a deep-seated aversion for the war. To go into humble details, I remember to have read that in England during the days of war-scarcity the dislike of privilege was so intense that anybody getting parcels from abroad became somewhat unpopular. At no time in the long pull was, therefore, the awareness of the danger of perpetuating domination of one people by the other or as it bears on India, perpetuating, as Wendel Wilkie puts it, 'Eastern slaves for Western profits,' so acute. Were the feeling to stay, what sweats and tears the two Great Wars had in store for mankind in cruel succession are made good correspondingly the world is conceived in terms of tested proximity.

But as against the growing consciousness that the world is one, that peace is indivisible and that nothing but a common wellbeing can rehabilitate the messed-up world, there was Churchill gasconading, 'We hold what we have.' Tagore heard in these hysterics, which all but echo the brag of the brigand, the rattles of the tumbril. His one-time faith in the Western civilization had run bankrupt and it was to him now like 'a vast heap of futility' crumbling down. He summed up his *Crisis*, "The wheels of Fate will compel the English to give up their Indian Empire. But what kind of India will they leave behind, what stark misery!" What reaction, if any, it had on the ruling class cannot be assessed with any exactitude. L. S. Amery says in *My Political Life* that in the privacy of Cabinet meetings he tried his best to persuade Churchill to change his old outlook on India. Lasky, I read in Kingsley Martin's monograph, urged Churchill to shed his traditional Britain at all costs and even desired the Labour Party to break with him on the issue.

* The word 'self-government' of the original draft was substituted by 'responsible government' at the instance of Lord Curzon, then the Foreign Secretary.

† Fenner Brockway, M.P., notes the point in his *The Indian Crisis*.

In six years' time England quitted India, but not before she broke her at each conceivable point by a chain of Ulsters.

Britain, it needs being observed in passing, preens herself on the virtue of withdrawing from India. In fact, most English people stubbornly resisted an impression gaining ground that it had, a tremendous lot to do with Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose imbuing the Indian military with the spirit of 'About Face' to British command as a test of their patriotism. Stafford Cripps, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, argued in the Parliament their absurdity of a considerable reinforcement of British troops to enforce administrative responsibility in India. They, therefore, made one last supreme effort to save their Indian market. Prime Minister Macmillan said in his Indian tour in March, 1958, that England's trade-position with India is better than during the days of British rule. Possibly then there is yet a little sand left in the glass and England may pause to reflect if she can truly bind India by absolute trust and goodwill and help realise Tagore's vision of the East and West federating under her leadership.

Be that as it may, now that England, the ar-sponsor of colonialism, has accepted even if an unexampled stress the signal of history, no Englishman need pine for Churchillian euphoria and read Tagore amiss. The weary traveller at the fag-end of a long journey found

that what he had so long banked upon crashed. He spoke the tongue of frustration. He has, however, spoken the eternal verity that by the insolence of might people disintegrate at the roots.

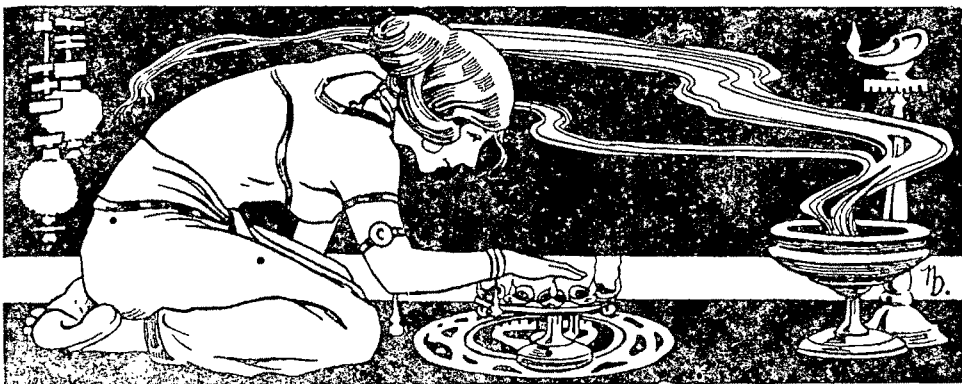
Free India has adopted Tagore's *Jana-gana-mana-adhinayaka* as one of her two national anthems*. One looming passion of the song is conveyed by the line:

The East meets the West round thy throne,
And links up a chain of love.

—Translation mine.

This is adherence par excellence to the ideal, India has even in trying bitter moments been taught to respect. In changed conditions, which have none of the poignance of the old conflict, the appeal of that song is no longer desolate but breathes life, dignity adorns. The marginal role India has been playing to save humanity from the scourge of war in order to help the process of world-federation—thanks to the broad shoulders of her Prime Minister Nehru—is just the fulfilment of the promise she gave of the use she would make of her freedom.

* The other one is Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's *Bande Mataram*, Hail Motherland. 'It is,' Mahatma Gandhi says, 'the national song, which sustained Bengal when the rest of India was almost asleep,' Rabindranath had set the tune for it. In it the Motherland is conceived in her benign smile but strong with seventy million hands of trenchant steel.



SOME STRAY THOUGHTS ON KERALA

By DR. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A., Ph.D. (London)

THE political situation in Kerala has been going from bad to worse for sometime past and has become a matter of concern and anxiety not only to political leaders, but to people at large all over the country. There have been complaints against the Kerala Government of pursuing policies involving discrimination on political grounds and refutation by the Government of such charge as being completely baseless and tendentious. There have been also counter-complaints by the Communist Party and Government of Kerala against the Congress and the P.S.P. parties of adopting unfair and obstructive tactics for bringing the Government to discredit and trying to create a situation in which administration may become impossible. The situation came to a climax in October last with the strike of the labourers led by Communist-sponsored trade unions in certain plantation estates in the High Ranges and a police-firing in its wake in two places. The incident created a sensation and commotion throughout the country and gave rise to mutual recrimination on a wide scale. The incident was discussed and debated in the last meeting of the A.-I.C.C. and a resolution was passed expressing concern at the prevalence of attacks and murderous assaults of political nature. The Congress President also visited the State for an on-the-spot enquiry after which he stated that there was a general sense of insecurity and atmosphere of uncertainty in the State of Kerala. I do not propose to enter into the rights or wrongs of these accusations or counter-accusations. Obviously these are actuated by political motives on both sides neither of which can claim to be wholly right. I propose to discuss some issues of constitutional importance that the situation in Kerala has given rise to. The cause of the whole trouble is the fact of the existence at Kerala of a Government controlled by the Communist Party, that is, a Party in opposition to the Congress Party controlling the Centre and all other States. There would have been no difficulty however, if both the parties acted up to their professions. The Congress proposed a faith in the co-existence

of different political parties with different ideologies and programmes as long as they were loyal to the Constitution and democratic way of life. The Communist Party has also professed to work the Constitution loyally accepting, by implication, democratic ideology in accordance with the new line of policy adopted by the Party at its Amritsar Session. It appears that both had made the respective professions with mental reservations. The Congress Party could not fully reconcile itself to the Communist Party holding office and power in Kerala. The Communist Party also was not quite true to its profession of faith in democratic methods. The Congress Party along with other parties have consistently tried to make political capital out of any incidents that may be shown in an unfavourable light magnifying them beyond proportion, although taking no notice of similar things in Congress-ruled States.

The incidents in Kerala pose some questions of great constitutional importance. The first is: (1) Whether the provisions of the Constitution relating to Centre-State relations can bear the stress and strain of two different parties ruling at the Centre and the States.

(2) The Second question that has assumed importance is the proper Party-Government relations under Parliamentary System of Government.

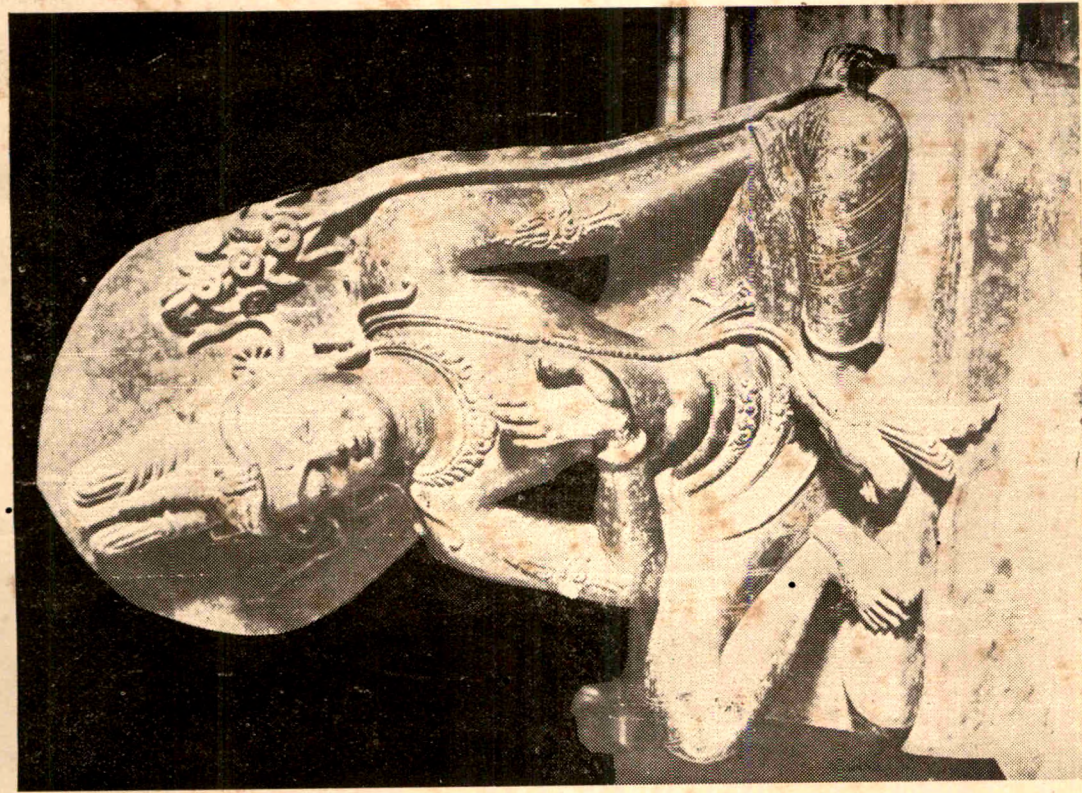
(3) Kerala State Government policy regarding the role of police raises the question of the proper place of the Permanent Civil Service under Parliamentary System.

So far as the first question is concerned, although there has been serious talk at the party level and demand not only from the ruling party, but other political parties as well for Centre's intervention in Kerala, the Union Government has shown commendable restraint in not yielding to the pressure and having resort to the emergency powers vested in the President for practically superseding the State Government under Article 352 or Article 356. These are extraordinary powers vested in the Union Executive meant to be exercised in deal-

ing with exceptionally abnormal situations and not light-heartedly for ousting political opponents, because it is a normal incident of Parliamentary system to expect different political parties ruling at the Centre and in the States. Use of these extraordinary powers amounts to virtual break-down of the Constitution at the State level and to admitting defeat in the matter of ability to work the Constitution and as such should be made with the utmost caution and in the last resort. If the ruling party makes use of these powers as it may feel tempted to, only to quell political opposition in the States it may very well be accused of wrecking the Constitution. So far the situation of Kerala in which two different parties are in power at the Centre and the State has been a novel one, but with the lapse of time and the growth of a strong organised opposition which should be hailed as a healthy political development for the successful functioning of parliamentary system in the country such a situation is expected to become quite frequent and normal. A bad precedent set at this stage will mar the prospects of successful working of the Constitution in future. The position of the Governor as an officer—appointed by the Centre and therefore, a nominee of the ruling party there and virtually independent of the State Government becomes rather difficult when the policies of the State Government do not find favour with the Central Government. It is quite natural for him to be tempted to behave as an agent of the Centre and clash with the State Government and perhaps eventually to send a report to the President about break-down of the Constitution. I do not suggest that these powers are not to be exercised under any circumstances. What I mean is that these are powers kept in reserve only to be used when otherwise the governmental machinery cannot be kept going, but in no case to be employed for breaking political opposition. In that case healthy and normal functioning of the Constitution would invariably overrule the States except when the same party rules in both and the autonomy of the States would be as dead as a doornail.

Next to come to the question of what should be proper Party-Government relations

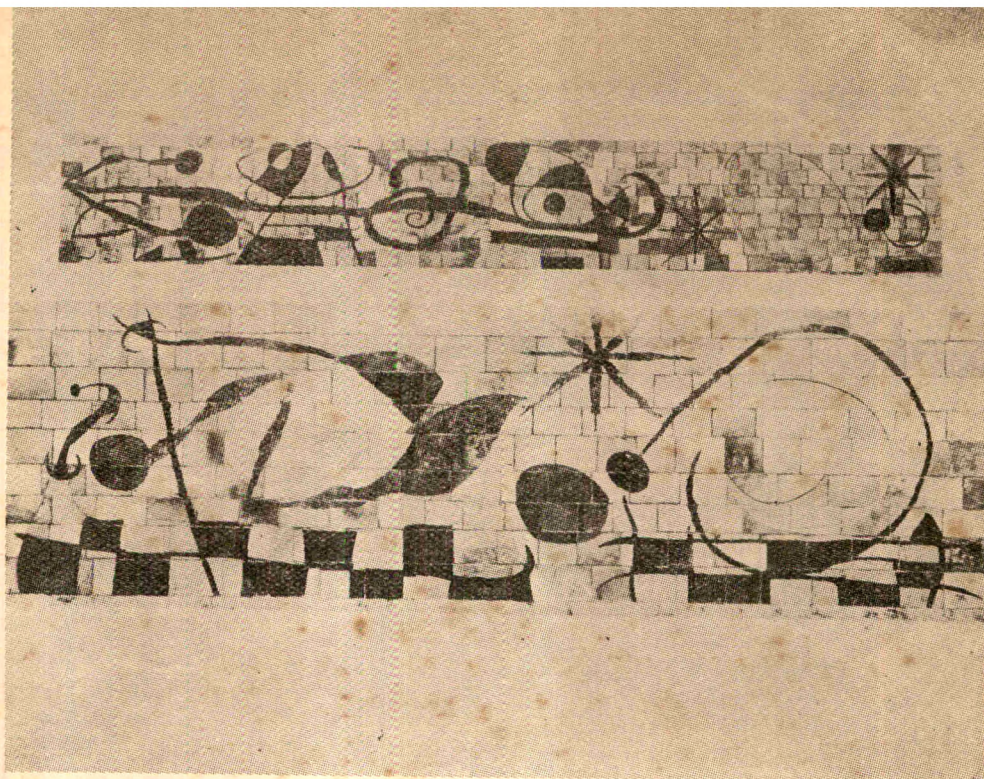
under a Parliamentary democracy. The question has come to the fore, because of the Kerala Ministry following policies in certain matters, having completely identified itself with the Communist Party on the Soviet pattern. Nobody denies that the programme and policies of the Government under Parliamentary System will be largely influenced by the party, as the party makes certain pledges to the electorate which it is honour bound to fulfil when placed in power, but these must be within the broad objectives and framework of the Constitution to which every party in Parliamentary System pledges loyalty. The difference between the different parties is only one of *modus vivendi*. The parties also have an implicit understanding to settle their differences by compromise and conference and not by violence. Now when the Communist Party fought the elections it professed to work the Constitution as a Parliamentary party, that is, accepting all these premises of Parliamentary System. But the difficulty has arisen because the Kerala Government gave these principles the go-by in certain matters. In the dispute between the planters in certain estates in the High Ranges and the workers belonging to the Communist-sponsored Labour Unions the Government completely identified itself with the workers and encouraged the strike. The Labour Minister openly declared that the strike was perfectly justified and threatened to take all possible action against the management. He thus forgot that as a Minister of State, that is, as a member of the Government representing the State which stands for the general interests of the Community at large, not merely the interests of one section, however large, his position should be absolutely ventral. As a member of the Communist Party the minister may not be well disposed towards capitalists viewing them as the enemies of the workers but as a member of Government in a Parliamentary democracy he is expected to hold the scales even between the workers and capitalists as citizens of a democratic state. Capitalism as an institution may be an anathema to the Communists. But democratic process does not permit liquidation of capitalists by the employment of the machinery of state or by violent methods by supporters of a



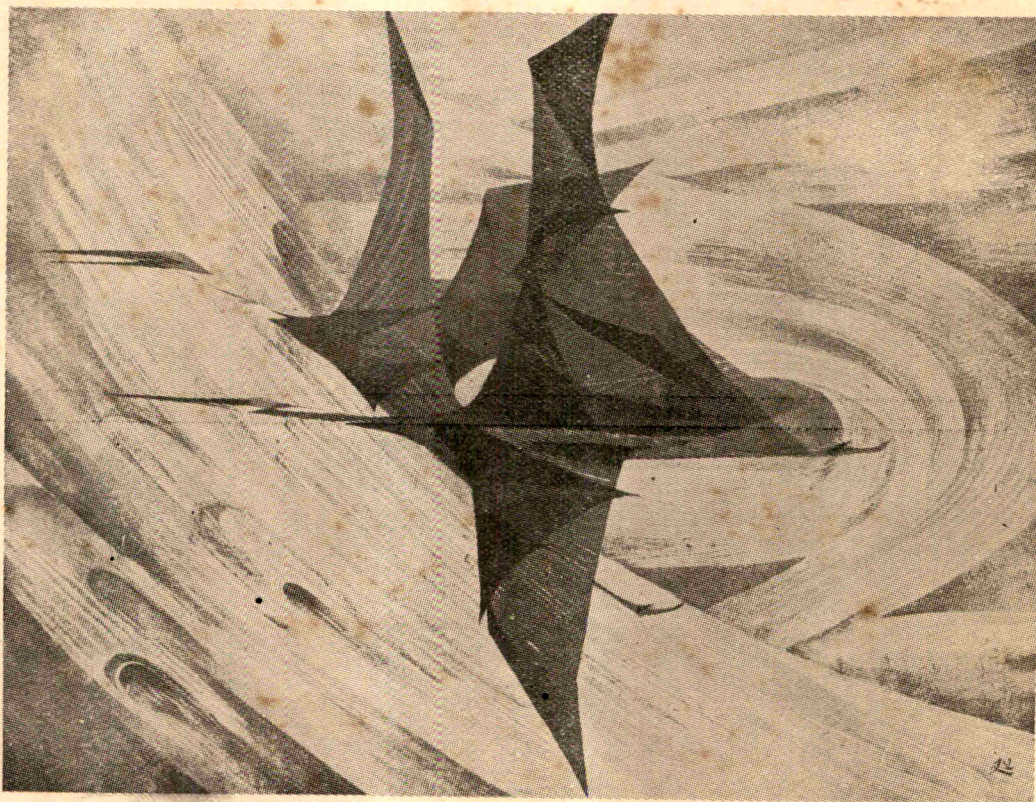
An image of Maitreya carved in the finest variety of black-stone representing the Pala School of Art (Patna Museum)



Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, LL.D., M.P.,
Prime Minister of Ghana



"Night and Day" a two-part ceramic mural (Day is shown above and Night below) by the Spanish artist, Joan Miro in collaboration with Joseph Llorens Artigas, the winner of the Guggenheim International Award for 1958



"Soar" (oil) by Matazo Kayama, a Japanese artist, honoured in the Guggenheim

Party with the connivance of the Government. They can use persuasion with the capitalists to share their wealth with the workers, as Gandhiji preached or as Vinobaji is persuading the owners of land to part with their surplus land or work up public opinion against the treatment of workers and through pressure of public opinion force them to change their ways, but they cannot, under Parliamentary System, take advantage of their position as the party in power to exterminate a particular section of the people. That would be betraying the Constitution of a democratic State which does not permit such a thing and also a breach of faith with the electorate who did not certainly vote them into office to violate the spirit of the Constitution. So long as the capitalists are there, as a Government the Communists must in all good faith accept their existence and be as fair to them as to the workers or other classes. There have also been charges against the Communist Government of failing to protect non-Communist citizens against molestation at the hands of undesirable elements in the Communist Party and to secure a general sense of security of life and property among the people. Now the charge is very grave, in all conscience, against any civilized government which forfeits its right to exist if the charge is substantiated because these are elementary responsibilities of any government worth the name. But the mere fact that such a charge has been levelled does not establish its genuineness in view of the sharp political differences between the accusers and the accused until it is proved after a thorough Judicial Enquiry by an absolutely impartial Commission enjoying the confidence of both and the Communist Government should have arranged for such an enquiry, if not for anything else, at least to clear its own reputation.

This brings us to the third question referred to above, namely, the Communist Government's policy regarding the role of the police which is a part of the larger question of the proper relation between the Government and the administrative services generally. It has been alleged by the Congress Party that Kerala Government has enunciated a policy that the police should not interfere until there

is an actual breach of peace. If that is true it is a reversal of the accepted role of the police in State which is to act as the guardians of law and order in the Community and the protection of the rights and liberties of the individual without any discrimination—a role to which the police has been accustomed so long. That implies not only remedial action but also preventive. In fact the latter is much more important than the former from the point of view of maintenance of peace and security and timely measures of prevention of crimes is a much better and more effective method of keeping the peace than detection and prosecution after crimes are committed. Now if the police force are suddenly called upon to shed their traditional role it naturally puts an undue strain upon their loyalty and may even react unfavourably upon their morale so very vital to the stability in the community. It betokens a suspicion about the good faith and integrity of the police service on the part of the government which is hardly desirable for the smooth working of administration. It is almost a textbook maxim familiar to students of political science that for the successful working of administration nothing is more important than a relation of mutual trust and confidence between the ministerial head of the Department and the administrative services and absolute political neutrality of the latter. If anything mars this mutual confidence that is disastrous for the good administration of the country. That there has been a lack of accord and understanding between the Government and the Police is proved by the episode of police firing on the strikers in the Plantation estates of the High Ranges. The Labour Minister made no secret of his sympathy and support for the strikers and he publicly stated that the Government would be taking all possible action against the management.

In the face of such categorical statement by the Minister supporting the strikers and laying the whole blame for the dispute squarely on the employers the firing on the strikers by the police could not have been viewed approvingly by the Government. How the police officers responsible for the firing have been

dealt with by the Minister of Law and Order is not known to the outside world, but their action has not been at least openly approved or defended. The State Secretariat of the Communist Party, presumably with the approval of the ministry who are leading figures in the Party hierarchy has openly blamed the police for siding with the management against the strikers. In a statement issued by the Secretariat of the Party it has been observed: "Some of the police officers appeared to be more anxious to help the owners to suppress the strike by terrorising the workers than to implement the Kerala Government's policy of not using the police to suppress the just and peaceful struggle of the toiling masses." Now whatever may have been the feelings of the ministers as individuals and as members of the Party on the question, but as a Government pledged to work the Constitution based on Parliamentary democracy they could not escape the technical responsibility for the action of their police and at least in public should have stood behind them. So far as the conduct of the police in the matter is concerned it is difficult to say how far the charge levelled by the Party Secretariat against them is justified and true, but if it is a fact that they consciously disregarded the instructions of the ministry or did not offer full and loyal co-operation to the Government in implementing its policy however improper and unwise it might appear to them they certainly did not behave as they should in a Parliamentary democracy. Any way, whatever may be the rights or wrongs of the case the fact remains that the postulates of Parliamentary democracy with regard to the relationship between the Government and the administrative services have not been faithfully carried out by either of the parties,—the Government and the administration—or by both. This is, in all conscience, a sorry state of affairs. If the Communist Party has resolved without any mental reservation to work Parliamentary System it should place the ends of that system above the consideration of the immediate gains for the party. Then alone the system can function effectively and they can serve the people through its medium. They should also remember that the electorate all over the country is keenly watch-

ing their performance in Kerala on the record of which they will give their verdict at the next General Elections. Now if it appears to them that after coming into office on a solemn pledge to work the Constitution they failed to respect it, their prospects in the next election would be black indeed. The Congress Party should also see to it that they faithfully carry out their profession of faith in the co-existence of different political parties with different ideologies. The Chief Minister of Kerala in his reply to the Congress President's accusation of Kerala Government has levelled the counter-charge that "the Congress Party has not reconciled itself to that essential principle in Constitution which may be stated as existence of Governments formed by different parties in this land of ours. The Congress Party has not reconciled itself particularly to the fact that our party remains in office in one out of 14 States in India." The charge, however, is not substantiated only if the Congress Party criticises what strikes them to be lapses on the part of the Communist Government, because criticism of the Party in power is an acknowledged right of the opposition and an essential incident of the Parliamentary System. The charge would be true only if attempt is made to oust the party in power by wilful misrepresentations or abuse of the provisions of the Constitution. Shri Namboodiripad has also accused the Congress Party of discussing in public such matters as administrative actions like transfer, postings and disciplinary actions against officers of the State Government. If the allegation is true it was a highly improper thing to do for the Congress setting a dangerous precedent calculated to undermine the discipline of the services. The Chief Minister Shri Namboodiripad has perhaps stated the nature of the problem that has arisen in Kerala due to the existence of the ruling Party remaining in power in the Centre and all States except only one where the Opposition Party has come into power. Of course Shri Namboodiripad has put it in the form of an accusation which is a matter of controversy. Without going into the truth or otherwise of that accusation we find the problem stated clearly in the following extract from Shri Namboodiripad's reply to the Congress President:

"I wish you had tried to solve the problems of how to work Parliamentary Democracy in the concrete conditions of today when the problem of different parties forming governments in different States has been posed in a very realistic manner. I hope the Congress President would reconsider the position and try to find practical solutions for the problems of Centre-State relationship and the problem of relationship between political parties in a set-up in which a party was in opposition in the country as a whole or was in office in a State and *vice versa*."

Practical solution of "the problems of Centre-State relationship and the problem of relationship between political parties" in the

existing set-up in the country can be satisfactorily found only if the parties come together not in a partisan spirit but with a sincere intention of evolving agreed conventions which both parties would be prepared to respect under all circumstances. This has become imperative in the existing set-up for the good of the country as a whole which every party professes to have in its heart for which they should work in concert instead of frittering away their energies over petty wranglings and mutual recriminations. What is wanted is a sincerity of purpose and readiness to place the larger interests of the country above the ends of the Party.

PIUS XII AND WORLD PEACE

By P. VAN NUFFEL, S.J.

It is one of the ironies of contemporary history that the Pope whose very name (Pacelli) spells Peace, whose coat-of-arms was a dove with the symbolic olive-branch in its beak, and whose motto was "Opus Justitiae Pax" (Peace is the work of Justice), should have lived through some of the most troubled years of European history. Scarcely had he ascended the papal throne in March 1939 when the Second World War broke out. When peace was restored six years later, the period that followed turned out to be almost completely devoid of that social security, international equilibrium and good-will, which are the matrix of any true peace. Pius called these years a mere "dopoguerra," a post-war.¹ In a letter to President Roosevelt he referred to such a peace as "a parenthesis of exhaustion between two phases of conflict".² This cold war, eventually led to the hot conflicts of Korea and Indo-China (1950), the Hungarian Revolt and the Egyptian War (1956), and, last of all, to the Iraqi Insurrection (1958), each threatening to send the rope-walking world plunging down into the abyss of a third universal cataclysm.

The blind, existential anguish of the last decades, the panic-stricken insecurity regarding the morrow of our race, has recently emerged into intellectual consciousness, and has found its intelligible expression in the reflexions of "culture" philosophers. Their diagnosis is generally pessimistic; R. Guardini holds,³ that for the first time in human history man has become technologically mature, but has on the other hand slid back into an infantile condition of ethical instability. In the situation thus created, man has become a modern "Prometheus," he has snatched away from the great unknown universe the powerful, mysterious fire of science; yet, in his exuberant "hybris" he is as yet unaware of the inherent destructive power of this victorious achievement. An atomic war would be suicidal. "Nothing is lost by peace, everything can be lost by war," we remember Pope Pius saying. This present study aims at giving a critical appreciation of Pius' peace action, which leaders of all creeds have well-nigh unanimously hailed as truly great and heroic. We venture to show how far the facts guarantee such an economium, *i.e.*, how far Pius has been equal to the self-imposed stupen-

1. Pius XII, First Christmas Message after the end of the hostilities, December, 1945

2. Letter from his Holiness to President Roosevelt, August 22, 1940.

3. Romano Guardini, *The End of the Modern World*, London, 1957, (Chapter III, *passim*).

does task of promoting peace in the setting of the apocalyptic conditions of our atomic age.

At Yalta, when Roosevelt suggested that the peace-proposals of the Sovereign Pontiff be considered, Stalin is reported to have retorted: "How many divisions does he (the Pope) have?" This settled the issue, and Pius' services were dispensed with. Obviously enough, though expressed in somewhat bad taste, there is a point to Stalin's remark. Why, indeed, does the Pope interfere in politics?

The answer lies in Christianity's concept of religion. Christianity is essentially a religion of incarnation, a religion in and of History. It proclaims the finite and contingent, yet unassailable reality of the world, based upon its relation of total ontological dependence upon the infinite, absolute reality of God. Hence, the Christian saint does not so much try to escape the "alluring fascination" of the 'unreal' world, as to work in its midst a divine transformation of this world. He is the leaven in the dough, the salt of the earth, and the light in the darkness. Hence, history is not an unsubstantial *acsha-pushpa*, not a sky-flower, it is not the aimless rotation of the wheel of birth and re-birth. Neither is history, as Plato would have it an infra-ontological shadow play of figures against the blind wall of a rock, nor a Plotinian process of necessary emanation, the finite springing from the infinite as flowers from the tree.

History is a divine "hapax legomenon," a mystery play never to be staged again, never repeating itself; it is a divinely finalised dynamism, for it is now already the growing kingdom of God, to be consummated only at the end of time, in the supreme transfiguration of man and universe, by the magnetic love and light of the gracious God, who will be "all in all," "the Father of all, who is above all and through all and in all."⁴

This being the case, it stands to reason that every finite act, every moment of History, is endowed with infinite value; it either falls in line with the progressive realisation of mankind's spiritual destiny or else it is a positive deviation and an obstacle to the divine purpose.

4. St. Paul, Eph. 4:6; 1 Cor. 15:28.

History is the tremendous adventure of embodied truth tending towards its final fulfilment. Wars, social injustice, moral disintegration are set-backs to be overcome at any cost. "The Church undertakes to be the protagonist of truth, not simply in the unclouded air of disembodied principle, but on the dusty plane of earthly history, where the truth must so to speak take institutional flesh before it can avail to save. The Church is, therefore, obliged to be the protagonist of those currently existing institutions which embody or support the truth, however contingent, however defective they may be."⁵ To Pius XII, leaving the world alone, closing one's eyes to human suffering in order the better to obtain the illuminations of life divine would mean an ostrich-policy and in the last analysis a betrayal of the very essence of religion. A leader of Christianity, Pius thought himself bound in conscience by the strict duty of intervening in matters of international affairs and of upholding the social and political order of society at large as well as the specific rights of its individual members.⁶

Again, whenever the spiritual destiny of mankind is at stake, the Church, because She champions the cause of the spirit, claims the inalienable right of speaking out and passing judgement. There exist ambivalent fields, where an adverse polarity of interests between Church and State is at work. Such are by their very nature: education, public morality, social jus-

5. Murray, "On the Structure of the Church-State Problem," in *The Catholic Church in World Affairs*, 1954.

6. In his encyclical letter "Darkness over the Earth" 1939, he exposed his position thus: "To bear witness of the truth is the highest debt we owe to the office we hold and the time we live in. We are bound to fulfil that duty with all the firmness of an apostle. And this involves exposing and rebuking men's errors and faults in a way which will make it possible to prescribe for the evils we have diagnosed . . . In the fulfilment of this task we shall not be swayed by human and earthly considerations. We shall not allow diffidence or disagreements or rebuffs to interfere with our undertaking; we shall not be deterred by the fear that others will fail to recognize or will distort our motives. Only in doing our part with diligence, we shall be governed by a motive of fatherly love."

tice and most of all, national and international peace. Without them the spiritual end of man: his eternal salvation, can hardly be attained. The Pope, therefore, claims the right to intervene in the imbroglio of present-day world affairs, whenever the spiritual destiny and freedom of man are endangered.

To sum up: the Pope claims "the right to assert his moral and spiritual power in international affairs,"⁷ whenever and for whatever reasons man's freedom or intellectual integrity are at stake. The title to this right is not, as has often been erroneously understood, a temporal one, it is the fact of his being the rightful, legitimate heir of the first Pope of Rome, who received from the hands of Christ spiritual authority over mankind. This title is admittedly valid only in the case of the 500 million or so of Roman Catholic believers in Christ.⁸ Yet, humanity has always been known to listen with respect to religious leaders in whose voice it recognises the deep, inner urge towards final perfection and spiritual transformation.

Pope Pius had the sixth sense of the Roman for everything that concerned statesmanship and politics. After his theological studies a double doctorate, both in civil and ecclesiastical law, was to develop to perfection his inborn talent for jurisprudence and diplomacy. Widely-

read and widely-travelled, he did not fail to establish many and varied contracts, all of which would prove so valuable in the years to come. Already in 1917 the young Bishop Pacelli was the spearhead of the Vatican's diplomatic policy. Made Papal Nuncio to the Emperor at Munich, he was entrusted with the very special task of negotiating peace with Kaiser Wilhelm II. After their historical meeting at Kreuznach on July 29, 1917, the German Emperor described the future Pope in his *Gedanken und Erinnerungen* as follows: "He has a distinguished, sympathetic appearance, he is of a high intelligence and has impeccable manners; in short, the prototype of a prince of the Church."⁹ History was to show that the Emperor had not been mistaken.

On March 11th, 1940, Joachim Van Ribbentrop, Foreign Minister of the German Reich was, after a formal request for an audience, received by the Pope in the company of Ambassador Von Bergen. "Ribbentrop immediately undertook a lengthy and aggressive exposition on the invincibility of Nazi Germany and the futility of papal alignment with the enemies of the Fuehrer, who in all likelihood, would capitulate before the end of the year." Pope Pius patiently and impassively listened to the very end of the harangue. Then, his only answer was to quietly open an enormous register on his desk and in perfect German begin to recite a long catalogue of the persecutions inflicted by the Third Reich upon specific individuals in Poland, listing the date, place and the precise details of each crime.¹⁰

This encounter perfectly exemplifies the main characteristics of Pope Pius' statesmanship. Having at his disposal a remarkably efficient and well-trained body of diplomats, he was well-informed in the sphere of international politics. Moreover, due to his unimpeachable integrity, politicians soon experienced how difficult it was to win him over by ruse or machination. He gauged and measured

7. Cfr. Lateran Treaty, 1929, art. 24.

8. "Our legal title? . . . look at the Babe in the Crib!! . . . The world talks nothing but of peace, but it has no peace. It claims for itself all possible and impossible legal titles to establish peace, yet does not know nor recognizes the mission of the peacemaker that comes directly from God, the mission of peace that has its source in the religious authority of the Church.

Poor-sighted men, whose narrow field of vision does not reach beyond the possibility of the present hour, beyond statistics of military and economic potential. How can they form the slightest idea of the worth and importance of religion's authority for the solution of the peace problem . . . But others, who, please God, are the majority, will see with more or less awareness that the denying to the religious authority of the Church her competence in effective action for peace, has but made the tragic condition of the troubled world more desperate still."—(Christmas Broadcast of 1951).

9. Kees Van Hoek, *Pope Pius XII, Priest and Statesman*, New York, 1945, page 40.

10. Oscar Halecki and James Murray Jr., *Pius XII: Eugenio Pacelli, Pope of Peace*, New York, 1956, page 111.

political actualities by the eternal principles of the Moral Law, by its concrete formulations in the code of International Rights of man as well as in the various International Pacts and Treaties, in so far as they were the legal expression of properly negotiated peace. In a matter of moments, he could abstract from legislative jargon and bureaucratic formulas and become vividly aware of the human and personal aspect of a problem. The Pope's intervention in International politics was always in respect to the individual human person. In his philosophy the texture of International Society was composed of the different nations; International Peace was, therefore, to be conditioned by the internal peace of each nation, which in turn rested fundamentally on the freedom of the individual. For it is with the social freedom of the individual that the whole structure of International Peace stands or falls. Hence, Pius' constant preoccupations with this great and vital aspect. This too explains why his only response to Ribbentrop's provocations was an enumeration of the sufferings inflicted upon specific individuals in Poland.

On various occasions Pius has exposed his own philosophy of peace. In the well-known Christmas messages of 1939, 1940 and 1941 consecutively he laid down what may be called the Magna Charta of World Peace. These various propositions can only be fully grasped in their powerful unity of thought if they are envisaged in their unifying source, *i.e.*, the two complementary fundamental principles of World Peace: justice and love. These are, indeed, the foundations which lend to Pius' famed Five-Point peace programme its inner coherence and its forcefulness.

"1. The assurance of every nation's right to life and independence (freedom, integrity and security of the nations, not by the sword . . . but by the rules of justice).

2. Liberations from the slavery of armaments (lest material force, instead of seeming to protect the right, may become an overbearing and tyrannical master: justice must be based on the observance of the moral law, not on force).

3. The League of Nations should gua-

rantee the loyal fulfilment of treaties signed (justly negotiated peace).

4. Balance between the Nations (compliance with the needs and just demands of all nations, peoples and racial minorities).

5. Observance of the principles of Universal Love."

Again, Justice and Love are the cornerstone of the famous five victories (1940):

"1. Victory over hatred by truth, justice and charity.

2. Victory over distrust by loyalty and reliability.

3. Victory over the principle that utility makes law and that might is right, by observance of the moral law.

4. Victory over the economic divergences by common sharing in the goods of the earth, free access to raw materials.

5. Victory over egoism by solidarity and brotherly co-operation of the nations."

In Pius' Weltanschauung, justice and love are the complementary basic virtues upon which a real peace has to be built. The reason is that they are but the two-fold complementary expression of rightly practised human freedom. This brings us to the very core of Pius' thought. Freedom alone is the mother of true peace: "Only the actualisation of genuine freedom can produce true peace." This genuine freedom Pope Pius speaks of, is true self-possession, self-determination according to the absolute laws of the moral order. Reflection shows that genuine human freedom ought to be a 'social' freedom, because its subject, man, is a 'social' being. Hence human freedom must express itself by way of "justice" if it is practised in respect to what the fellow man *has*, whether these be his material possessions, such as private property, or spiritual possessions, such as a good name and talents. Justice should be protected by reasonable strength, even by armed force. For, it is the necessary prerequisite for every human relationship. Yet it has not the last word. Justice is essentially to be transcended by a relationship of a higher order. Without abolishing justice, only love makes human relationship truly an 'inter-personal' dialogue. With love alone rests the last word. Human freedom, when confronted with the other person as person, *i.e.*, when practised not so much in res-

pect to the possessions of the fellow man as in respect to what he is, to his subsistent personality, ought to express itself by way of that final communion, that strong, enlightened surrender of singularity and seclusion, which is nothing else but love, the virtue of the great and the strong.

It is this intuition of true human freedom (in its complementary expressions of justice and love) which is the 'leit-motiv' of Pius' peace action.

On 23rd June 1951, in a reply to Sir Walter Roberts, British Minister to the Holy See, Pius said: "Freedom, as a basis of normal human relations, cannot be interpreted as an unbridled liberty whether there is question of individuals or parties, of an entire people, the collectivity as they say today, or even of a totalitarian state, which will use every means with utter disregard, to make sure of its purpose. No, freedom is something quite different. It is the temple of the moral order, erected on harmonious lines. It is the aggregate of the rights and duties of the individuals and the family—some of those rights imprescriptible, even when an apparent common good might challenge them,—of the rights and duties of a nation or state and of the family of nations and states. These rights and duties are carefully measured and balanced by the demands of the dignity of the human person and family on the one side, and of the common good on the other."

But the Pope is no mere champion of human freedom. His 'cult of personality' is anchored deeper than in the shallow waters of a contingent, finite human freedom. Its anchor goes far down into the deep sea of the Author of human freedom. Man is not free to be free. Man's freedom is fixed in the eternal blueprint of reality, which is beyond this freedom's choice. Human freedom, therefore, is subsumed by the Absolute will of God. Take away God and human freedom will totter and crumble down as a house built upon the sand. A society without God makes of every man his own God and ends either in extreme liberalism and unbridled capitalism, or in the total self-alienation and depersonalisation of the 'mass-man'.

That is why Pius so strongly kept vindicating the cause of religion; as he himself puts it: "The last decades, with a perspicacity suggestive of an almost apocalyptic judgement of the world, have demonstrated and warned that human freedom and peace are spiritual values, that can be won only by a faith in a personal god".

It is not only for reasons of sound philosophy that Pope Pius remains preoccupied with the freedom and specific individual rights of man. One cannot fully appreciate the acute anxiety of the late Sovereign Pontiff, if one abstracts from the quasi-traumatic experience of suffering. The two World Wars made him a typically modern Pope. His close contact with the victims of the war constrained him to alleviate the suffering millions. A careful analysis of the Pope's interventions in international politics will show that they were always occasioned by a compassion for suffering humanity¹¹.

This fact should be correctly understood. The Pope never was a weak-hearted sentimentalist who allowed his emotions to get the better of his reason. He never founded any philanthropic society. One rather would like to call the exquisite compassion that coloured his peace efforts a metaphysical quality; it was a kind of "mystique", because it was essentially religious in its inspiration¹². The first World War saw him moving among the prisoners of war, consoling, blessing, encouraging. The remarkable thing was that these were not protocol-visits. Wherever his slim, dark figures appeared, the same impression of compassionate tenderness was left.

11. Rev. Jan Olav Smit, *Pope Pius XII*, London, 1951, page 139. The author gives a touching description of the Pope's compassionate kindness during the bombing of Rome. . . . "Without escort of any sort he raced to the scene of the disaster. . . . Pius wept. . . . He was surrounded by a great crowd of the faithful who sought his benediction. He prayed for them, blessed them and then spoke words of comfort to the bereaved (page 140).

12. To the mind of Pius it was Christ's compassion for suffering mankind which, in subordination to the first motive, the extrinsic glory of God, occasioned the salvation of the fallen human race. The Incarnation and Redemption on the Cross are the sublime expres-

If the different papal documents regarding International Peace are read again from the special angle of the Pope's compassion for suffering mankind, one is struck by the fact that this compassionate kindness has been the strongest motivation for every intervention of the Pope in International Politics. One has only to read the different Christmas messages, to have even the least shadow of doubt dispelled. The very same motives inspired the Pope to distinguish carefully between the various political regimes and the people upon whom they were imposed. He never condemns a people, he condemns an ideology, whether that ideology be communism, indiscriminate liberalism or capitalism.

A growing anxiety for suffering mankind impelled the Pope in 1939 to try to prevent the impending disaster by all lawful means. On several occasions he called the representatives of the nations together and communicated special instructions to his Nuncios residing in the different European capitals. Thus Mgr. Orsenigo met Hitler in Berchtesgaden in May 1939. An international conference with the participation of Germany, Poland, France, Bri-

tain and Italy was proposed, in order to settle the controversial problems. Unlike the famous peace-proposals of Benedict XV in 1917, the terms were purposely kept elastic and non-committal. Even then it met with refusal, both on the part of Britain and Germany. On August the 31st, a second, in fact, a last-minute attempt, was made by the Pope to save the lost cause. Hitler's reply will go down in history as an outright, undreamt of flouting of righteousness and fairplay; the following morning the war with Poland broke out.

It was the very straightforwardness and integrity of the Holy Father's diplomatic mediation which doomed it to irremediable failure. Germany had throughout the negotiations been a double-faced Janus. In point of fact, the Vatican was aware, by means of International Secret Intelligence, that the professed enmity between Russia and Germany was serving the purpose of covering up a mean conspiracy against Poland, whose territory was to be equally divided between the two aggressors. Since the time when Machiavelli wrote: '*Il Principe*,' honesty and adherence to principles have never been the strong point of European Politics. Similarly the objective historian has to admit that it was not the righteous peace action of the Vatican which was the immediate cause of the final armistice, but the dropping of the Atom Bomb on Nagasaki and Hiroshima in the East, and the blazing trail of General Patton's tanks in the West.

sion of this compassion: to undergo all the weaknesses and sufferings of our human condition, all except sin. Hence the life of every true Christian has to be a participation in this salvific compassion of Christ.

A striking parallel can be found in Buddhism. It was the sight of unbearable human suffering which made Prince Gotama Siddharta set out on his peace-mission. When trying to express his doctrine in one word, the Buddha called it: compassion and kindness, '*mettaya*'. In his Buddhist Catechism, H. S. Ocott poses the following questions: 'What actually leads us to the great peace of the *nirvana*, what is the key word of the Buddha's doctrine'. His answer is: justice. Compare with this the Pope's maxim: 'Peace is the work of justice'.

From the aforesaid, the differentiating character of Buddhist and Christian compassion should appear. Christian compassion being a participation in a divine act lies in the theological sphere while Buddhist compassion (such as the Mahayana branch practised it) is the flower of human psychology, an altruistic tenderness springing from the enlightened experience of universal fellowship in suffering.

During the last World War the Pope tried to diminish as much as possible the disaster, even 'to the extent of neglecting his other duties as head of Christianity,' as he himself would later on confess. An eloquent monument to his peace action is his war correspondence with President Roosevelt, which has since been published. Though encircled by an hostile Italian Government, the Holy Father openly condemned Mussolini's frenzy. Under the pretext of needing an 'opening' to the Pacific, the Duce was determined to join Hitler. When the Low Countries were invaded, Pius XII, heedless of the danger to his own life, sent telegrams of sympathy to the three countries. Count Ciano's diary for May the 12th, 1940, mentions in this connection: 'The telegrams sent by the Pope to the Rulers of these invaded States, have incensed Mussolini, who

would like to curb the Vatican and is inclined to go to extremes"¹³. In the face of injustice the Pope never hesitated to speak out.

This brings us to another feature of papal diplomacy. The Pope never cared for popularity. Cordial and sympathetic as he was with the common people, he often manifested an air of aloofness and severity in his dealings with the great ones of the world, apparently with the intention of accentuating his unfaltering doctrinal and moral integrity. Both the Axis powers expected him to sing Hitler's praises on the latter's surprise attack against Russia. The Pope remained ominously silent, realising that any communication on his part would be politically exploited by Italy and Germany against the Allies. Yet, the Pope never permitted any soft-pedalling of Communism. Russia's snow-covered plains once more in the course of history became the graveyard of the "invincible Army." Hitler failed at Stalingrad. A wave of sympathy for the heroic Russians swept over the World. Even Roosevelt fell a victim to the uncritical enthusiasm of the moment. "I believe," he wrote to the Pope, "that the Russian dictatorship is less dangerous to the safety of other nations than is the German form"¹⁴.

A series of concessions were made by the Allies to keep the new partner satisfied. Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam are the fruit of this tendency of short-sighted compromise. At Yalta, Roosevelt was in his third term of Presidency. He had become a tired man, relying more on past successes and personal practical experience than on the established norms of statesmanship and eternal principles

13. *The Ciano Diaries*, pp. 248-249.

14. *Wartime Correspondence*, Letter of September the 3rd, 1941. A proximate occasion for the naive optimism has been Stalin's clever move of suspending for the time being Article 124 of the Soviet Constitution, forbidding the practice of religion. It took the world quite some time to understand that Stalin, according to traditional Communist logic identified the true with the momentarily expedient. Communist Truth is what conforms with the dynamism of Dialectical materialism. The names of Cardinals Mindzenty of Hungary, Stepinac of Yugoslavia, Poland's Wyszynski and Alto-Slovakia's De Beran show that the Pope's apprehensions were not unjustified.

of political justice and charity. The cunning leader of the Kremlin completely outwitted him. The rightful sovereignty of several states was tampered with. One stroke of the pen made the East-European countries disappear behind the Iron Curtain. Of course the Pope was ignored. His "narrowminded", "inconvenient" denouncements of atheistic, materialistic communism soon aroused the ill-will of the Allies. But the Pope was never a yes-man. He belonged to the stubborn, idealistic and straightforward type of leader rather than to the applause-hunting type of opportunist demagogue. Expressed in terms of Ancient Roman History, one might compare him to the conservative aristocrat Cato, as against the tribunes of the "plebs", the opportunist popular "Gracchi".

When Churchill came to see the Holy Father on August the 23rd, 1944, once again, talks on communism appear to have come to a deadlock. This eventually led to the Pope being debarred from a seat in the U.N. Estranged from the Free World's leaders, his services were dispensed with in such a vital matter as the building up of a new world after the war. The Pope, far from bearing a grudge, was all praise for the establishment of the U.N.O. True to principle, he expressed his desire "that the U.N.O. might become the full and pure expression of international solidarity and peace, cancelling from its institutions and from its statutes all traces of its origin which necessarily had been a solidarity of war"¹⁵.

The self-consistency and realism of Pius XII's approach to the problem of International Peace may be seen in his criticism of the famous Atlantic Charter. During his Christmas message of 1946 he warned the world that the famed four freedoms (freedom of expression, of religion, from want and from aggressions) were far from being realised. Keeping in between the two extreme positions of *si vis pacem, para bellum* (if you want peace, prepare for war) on the one hand, and the weak "peace at any price" on the other, he pointed out the golden via media of a peace guaranteed by international negotiations in a spirit of justice and goodwill, having at its disposal for "rea-

15. Cfr. Halecki, *Op. Cit.*, Chapter: *The Pope and Post War reconstruction passim*.

sols of prudence, the backing of force, as long as some of the parties were known to play a foul game¹⁶.

By establishing a special "Vatican Mission" at the headquarters of UNESCO at Paris, the Pope manifested his special interest in this non-political branch of the U.N. As a matter of fact, the latter's Declaration of Human Rights, which was finally adopted in the U.N. Assembly on December the 10th, 1948, closely resembles the Document of Human Dignity, which the Sovereign Pontiff gave mankind in his Christmas message of 1942. He fostered wholeheartedly the spirit of universality and more than once stressed the duty, from social justice, of helping underdeveloped countries¹⁷.

Startling some great Eastern neutralists, he openly declared himself to be a supporter of NATO. "The law", he stated, "however wise, can hardly hope to prevail—so weak and perverse is human nature—unless it has the backing of reasonable force"¹⁸. On the other hand many Western politicians disliked his strong opposition to the holding of Atomic tests. In his Christmas message of 1955 he had a special word of warning for the young nations of the East. Though granting them a legitimate desire for independence and sovereignty, he deplored exaggerated expressions of ethno-centric nationalism. In the autumn of 1956 he had equally hard words for the Russian suppression of the Hungarian insurrection and the Anglo-French armed interference in Egypt.

The question has been raised whether, to all intents and purposes, the Pope does not rank among the great neutralists. He himself has answered it: "God is never neutral towards human events in the course of history, and so neither can the Church be". He frankly condemned a non-alignment policy, when one of the parties positively professes a pernicious ideology. In the Pope's world view, Commu-

nism, professedly denying man's spiritual destiny and freedom, is such a party. In this world of ours the lamb cannot afford peacefully to co-exist with the wolf. Any flirtation, he warns us, with international Communism necessarily jeopardises the very basis of International Peace and Security, which is the Moral Law, inscribed by God in man's nature. Things being as they are today, co-existence, in Pius XII's philosophy, can only be a co-existence in fear and error, while true co-existence fights error and loves the man in error: it is co-existence in love and truth¹⁹.

At the Bandung Conference in April 1954, Sir John Kotelawala made a somewhat shrewd remark about co-existence: "Co-existence," he said, "means to live and let live. I cannot for the life of me understand why we should be expected only to let live while we ignore the threats to our own life and institutions". Pope Pius XII would have said: "I cannot understand why we should leave him in error; let us go to him with the kiss of peace, and the truth shall make him free."

In short, Pius XII was a diplomat of consummate skill; he was adamant regarding his principles, which, being based on freedom through observance of the moral law, possess perfect coherence and profess a practical idealism, crowned by a warmhearted, religiously-inspired compassion for suffering mankind: his "maitreya", which urged him relentlessly to go forward in his activities as a peace-maker. From the point of view of material achievement, his peace-mission has been a failure. Only one bright event stands out: mostly due to his intercession, Rome was declared an open city and did not suffer more damage. Yet in a deeper sense, Pope Pius has been successful. The appealing picture of a new mankind, such as it arises from his oft-propounded principles, has not been without exercising a magnetic attraction on the better minds and nobler hearts of our race. Never, may be, has the nostalgia for a "God's Peace", a genuine peace in justice and love, a peace which goes together with true human freedom, been more accentuated in human history, than in our atomic age..

16. Mgr. Koenig, *The Popes and Peace in the XXth Century*, published in *The Catholic Church in World Affairs*, 1954, page 68.

17. *Catholic Documents*, XII, (1953), page 35.

18. *Address to a group of American Senators*, on November the 17th, 1949.

19. *Christmas Message*, 1954.

DEMISE OF A GREAT PATRIOT

Dr. Taraknath Das Dies at the Age of 74

By PRAFULLA C. MUKERJI,
Consulting Metallurgist

At 2-30 A.M., December 22, 1958, Dr. Taraknath Das died at the Flower Hospital of New York City, of Coronary Thrombosis. Until the last day he was active, though his health had been failing for sometime. In fact, he was giving a lecture when he was attacked with the last stroke.



Dr. Taraknath Das

Dr. Das came to the United States as a student in the height of the Swadeshi Movement at the wake of the Partition of Bengal. He earned M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in Political Science. He taught at many colleges and universities, including New York University and Columbia University. He was connected with the latter until last year, when he retired. Even this year he was giving a course in Indian History at Pace College in New York. He also taught at the University of Hawaii and gave courses of lectures in German universities. In recognition of his services and sympathetic understanding of International Rela-

tions, the University of Munich bestowed on him the honorary degree of Ph.D. It was through the efforts of Dr. Das that an Indian Branch of the Deutsche Akademie was established. Dr. Das had been an active member of the Association for Asian Studies and the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

But all these years his main interest had been the cause for Indian independence, for which he devoted his great energy. It happened that the late Heramba Lal Gupta, two other friends and I came to the United States at about the same time and under similar circumstances as did Dr. Das. He knew us before we left home and it was not merely an accident that brought Dr. Das and us together in this country. I well remember the first letter I had from Dr. Das over 50 years ago when I was a student at the University of Pittsburgh. He was then a student in Vermont. It was written in Bengali, "One should ask mother's blessings from a mother's devotee".* We soon started to publish a monthly paper called *Free Hindustan*. Dr. Das was the editor. This was the first paper published in the United States, advocating independence for India. During the First World War, we put our heart and soul in getting American support for India's freedom. We started "Friends of Freedom for India" Society. Dr. Taraknath Das was its Executive Secretary. New York became its headquarters. Branches were opened in Washington, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago and Boston. Many prominent Americans, such as, late Senators La Follette, Borah, Stone, Norris, etc., and Mr. Villard, publisher and Editor of the *Nation*, Norman Thomas and others supported us wholeheartedly. Just when the "Friends of Freedom for India" Society started to become effective, at the instigation of the British Government the United States Justice Department took action against us. Most of us were charged with the technical offence of "Violation of

* मातृ आशीर्वाद मातृ सेवकेर काष्ठेभि निते इय

Neutrality of the United States," because United States had not joined the War yet. We were tried in the Federal Courts. Dr. Das served 22 months in the Federal penitentiary. But as he became free again, undaunted he started to work hard for India's freedom. Senator Blaine of Wisconsin soon introduced a bill in the United Senate, supporting India's independence and urging the President to recognize it as soon as it was declared by the people of India. Though the bill did not pass, it had a great moral impact on the nation. It was at this time (the time of the infamous Rowlatt Act and the massacre of Jallianwalla Bagh by the British General Dyer) that Edwin Montague, then the Secretary of State for India, said that he would not stop until he had extirpated all the turbulent Indians abroad, particularly in America, and *India Gazette* announced that we would not be permitted to land in India. Thus Dr. Das, with many of us, was forced to a life of exile in America. But he utilized every moment for the cause of India, whether be it the cause of Indian freedom or for Indian immigration and citizenship in the United States or for formation of Hindustan Association of America. Later, he helped to organize a Committee on the 'Federation of Indian Students' all over the world. In this he took an active part.

In 1930, he, together with his wife (now deceased) Mary Keatings Das, established the Taraknath Das Foundation, the main objective of which has been the promotion of human welfare, friendly relation and cultural co-operation among nations. This Foundation has sponsored and arranged memorial lectures every year in various universities on Indian History and Culture. They are dedicated to the memory of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Benoy Kumar Sarcar, Dr. J. T. Sunderland, etc. These scholarly lectures have been delivered by Asian and American Ambassadors, University Presidents and professors and visiting Indian scholars. The Foundation has also given scholarship loans to deserving Indian students. Besides few of us from India, several American educators and businessmen

are members of the Board of Directors. The Taraknath Das Foundation has branches in India, Japan, Israel and Germany. It is earnestly hoped that this very important work will continue even though the guiding hands of Dr. Das will no longer be with us.

Dr. Das is the author of several books on international politics, the most important of them are *India in World Politics*, *Foreign Policy in the Far East* and *Some Requisites for Better Understanding between the East and the West*. Some of these books have been translated into German. In commenting on *India in World Politics*, Dr. Robert Morss Lovett said:

"It is to be noted that Dr. Das does not plead the cause of India in the name of her own sufferings and indignities. He pleads it in the name of such honor as may be left among nations, in the name of British democracy, in the name of the world, so greatly in need of an act of healing and cleansing. Dr. Das calls us to judgment and at the same time he offers us a warning of the incredible complications into which our own imperialistic ventures may lead us."

Dr. Das was also a distinguished journalist. He had been a regular contributor of articles in various Indian journals including *The Modern Review*. He also wrote for American magazines on International affairs.

In recent months Dr. Das had taken an active part in the newly-formed Rabindranath Tagore Centenary Committee in America of which he was a Vice-Chairman. The Taraknath Das Foundation has offered an award of 500 dollars for writing a book on *Tagore in America*.

Those of us who had been associated with Dr. Das in various activities for the last half a century will feel the loss in every turn. His death is a great personal loss. He had been more than a brother to me. He will leave a vacuum which it will be hard to fill. In him India lost a devoted patriot and the world an earnest worker for International understanding.

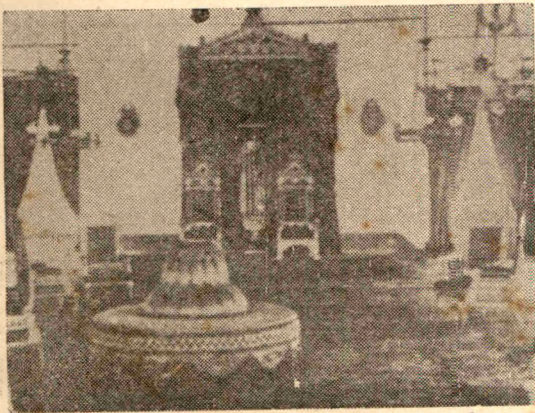
THE FACE OF HAWAII

BY DR. MATILAL DAS, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.

I spent only a week in Honolulu, the capital city of the enchanting Hawaii Island group and I was impressed by the beauty, the mystery and romance of that far-famed place.

The green mountains, the billowy white clouds, the cooling trade winds, the moonlit nights, the bright and beautiful flowers, the lovely men and women, that I met and saw in this prettiest little city from Koko head on the one hand to the Pearl Harbour on the other, from the lovely bay to the Pacific height will remain in my mind as an unforgettable memory having the sweetness and aroma of the dream-world round about it.

The graceful Hula dances with their mystic significances, their graceful movements reminded me of our own dances in India.



The throne of King Kalakana and Queen Liliuokalani as it appeared in days of Royalty

Dance in India originated in worship and I am told that here too. Hula has the atmosphere of the temple in its original purity.

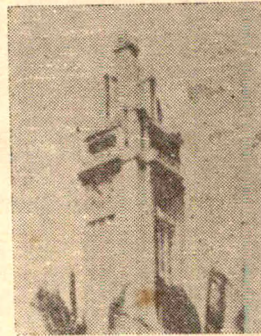
Flying on a clipper of the Pan-American airways I descended on the beautiful airport with expectations of love and friendship and I have got it abundantly and unexpectedly.

This very day while walking through the capital a nice-looking gentleman came forward and accosted me: "Are you not Dr. Das from India?" I answered in the affirmative.

He went on saying: "Yes, I am glad to learn of your delightful theory. Think what a band of wonderful clever and brave sailors

they were who could traverse the limitless ocean on tiny canoes."

My chance-found friend was Hawaiian and he expressed that he would deem it a great discovery if it could be established that his ancestor actually moved forward from India.



Abha Tower

Now, I know that time has blotted the past, never to be revealed in its glamour and colour but still we, human beings, are inquisitive. We still want to unfold the pages of that secret book of the past whose pages have been closed for ever.

Now as to the original home of the Hawaiians, an authoritative book writes as follows: "From south-eastern Asia, the ancestors of the Polynesians are supposed to have migrated



The Hula

into the western islands of Indonesia before the beginning of the Christian Era. In successive stages over the course of centuries, their descendants moved or were driven on, toward the east and by 400 or 500 A.D. had Hawaii and the islands as the centre of the Polynesian triangle."

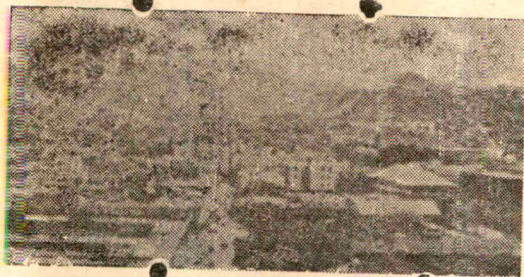
Now the question is, from what country of the south-eastern Asia. My theory is from India. In those early eras, India was at the height of her civilization and her people went forward to distant lands as cultural ambassadors. Poi made from taro the staple food of those island-inhabitants. Nobody in India is known to me using Poi. But there is a common Bengali proverb: "Eat the boiled taro." Taro is common in India and the pro-



View of Honolulu from Punchbowl

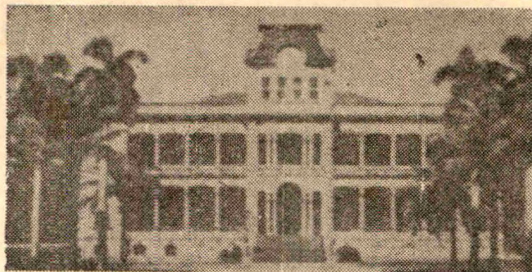
dors, as missionaries of love and peace. Their object was cultural conquest and not imperialistic exploitation. Like the Spaniards, those brave heroes of Mother India did not kill the native people, but tried to elevate them by the sublime spiritual teachings of India.

My intelligent readers will at once ask me where the proofs for such a conclusion are to be found? I cannot give him proofs. But I can point out to resemblances, which may be parallel developments.



City of Honolulu as seen from Aloba Tower

One striking proof of connection with India comes from the fire-sticks. The curious reader is requested to walk over the Bishop's Museum and see them with his own eyes. It is said that when fire had to be made, they used a Polynesian invention—"the fire plow." A pointed stick was firmly and swiftly rubbed in a groove in a plank until smoke dust rose from the heap of wood dust that accumulated in the groove. This process is strikingly similar with the Vedic process of igniting fire by rubbing wood which are called "Arani" in the Vedas.



The capitol or palace

verb shows that at some unknown part, people in India actually used taro as food.

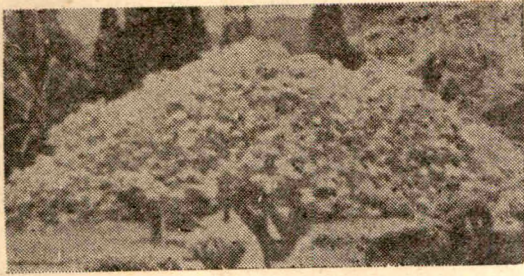
But the better proof is to be found in the religious beliefs and practices of our island-friends.

Kukendale and Day write in their book: "Religion played a great part in the life of the people. Every important activity, from making a house or a canoe to planning a battle had to be started with an appropriate religious ceremony. Their religion was a kind of Nature



Scene at Aloba Week Hawaiian village worship. The Hawaiians were impressed by the manifestations in the world about them of a mysterious power, unseen and little understood. Their ceremonies aimed to establish and pre-

serve proper relationship between men and the unseen power. The gods were personifications of natural objects and the forces of nature. Hence, there were many gods but there were thrills that stood out above all the rest, Kane, the god of light and life, Lono, the god of the harvest, Ku, the god of war. These gods were common to all Polynesia but it is said of Ku that he attained his greatest glory in Hawaii."



Colorful shower trees

The above description except for the last part is a sparkling description of the religious life of India. Who knows but it may be that Kane is the prototype of Indian Krishna, who is commonly called Kanai by the village folk.

I am not speaking like a sensation-monger but I feel what I say though I am confident that there are not very sure grounds for convincing others. I saw the stone emblem which is in the possession of Mr. David Bray. He



Surfing on the beach at Waikiki

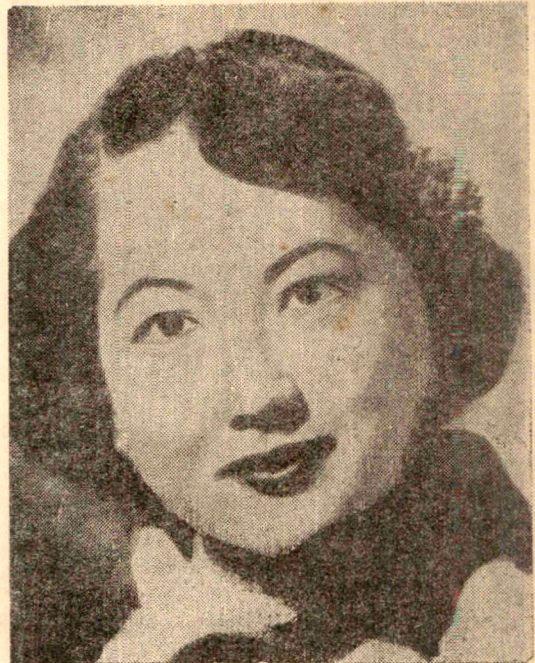
spoke to me that there are hymns for worshipping god through this symbol. This reminds me of our stone-symbol called *Salagrama* through which our God Vishnu is worshipped.

This is not all. There are many other factors to trace similarities with our Indian manners and customs. As I said before, these resemblances do not prove things, but they are indications which require scientific and careful study. Archaeology and anthropology—they are

big names—but they require to be supplemented by myths and legends, customs and manners.

We are on the verge of a new age. We look forward to that glorious epoch in which our outlook on life would be changed. Racial prejudices will go for ever and in their places we shall have an era of love and fellowship.

The scholars of present-day can therefore look back upon the hoary past with an unbiased spirit of enquire and find only inspiration and courage from the deeds of glory, done by our human ancestors, to whichever race they might belong.



Violet Tokie Niimi—A Hawaiian beauty

Adieu Honolulu, adieu, thou metropolis of leis and hula dancers. Farewell thou Hawaii islands, thou home of brave explorers, thou the cradle of Kahunas. I part from you with greetings of a distant land but I leave behind my votive wreaths of flowers in honour of those venturesome sailors who guided their small crafts by the sun, clouds, birds, currents and waves at day-time and by the stars at night. To the descendants of those brave men whose feats of navigation are unequalled in world history I bid farewell with this pious hope that let this forgotten glorious chapter of human history be taught in every school of the world instead of beating drums for the Hawaii of advertisers and vacationers.

PATNA MUSEUM

HOUSED in a building which is perhaps the best specimen in Patna of the Indo-Saracenic or Moghul-Rajput style of architecture, the Patna Museum contains exhibits ranging from the pre-historic fossil tree through the pre-Dravidian and pre-Aryan periods to the relics of the Vaisali Republic, and to the Mauryan period when Pataliputra, the site of the modern Patna, was the seat of the empire ruled by Chandra Gupta and Asoka the Great, 300 years before Christ.



The Buddhist gold-plated bronze figure of Lokanath found at Kurkihar (Gaya)

Implements of the stone age now exhibited at the Patna Museum were mostly found at different places in the Chhota Nagpur Division of the State of Bihar. Some of the beaked or keeled scrapers are peculiarly interesting because similar stones are characteristic of the earliest of the upper palaeo-

lithic deposits of Europe, belonging to the Aurignacian period and also because something like them were used by the Bushmen of South Africa. The axes, chisels, etc., were found distributed widely enough to point to a numerous pre-historic population inhabiting Singhbhum.

Most of the copper age implements at the Museum such as celts, axe-heads, etc., have been found in different parts of Bihar, viz., Palamau, Ranchi, Manbhum and Singhbhum, and they point to a definite culture that was in existence during the copper age.

As for the ancient pictorial art of India, copies of the paintings of Singanpur, Madhya Pradesh, are available in the Museum which show how far the art had developed during that period.

The Museum has two very interesting replicas in plaster of Paris; one is said to be of Udaya, the founder of Pataliputra, and the other, which is headless, is of his son, the great Emperor Nandi Vardhana of about the 5th century B. C. The originals are of sandstone and are kept in the Indian Museum at Calcutta but they were found in Bihar.

DIDARGANJ YAKSHI

The high watermark of Mauryan sculptural art is to be found in the Didarganj Yakshi statue which was discovered in 1917, a few miles from Patna city. It was fortunately rescued in time to find a home in the Museum. The figure is that of a female, the left arm of which is broken and the right hand holds the chouri (fly whisk).

The whole figure is in a slightly stooping attitude indicative of the woman's duties as chouri bearer. The stoop and the slight hollow above the waist-line at the back caused by the exaggerated breasts conforms to the description in Indian literature "drooping with the weight of beauty".

The polished lion's head from the district of Shahabad, Bihar, and the oldest Jaina torso of Tirthankara are other fine examples of Mauryan art. This torso figure was recovered from Lohanipur which is about a

mile and a half from Patna. It is finely cut in the round from a single piece of speckled Chuner sandstone. Perhaps no other museum in India has such a highly polished sandstone figure. It is unique in another way too, as it is considered the first definite stone image for worship of Mauryan period as yet discovered.



The Didarganj Yakshi statue

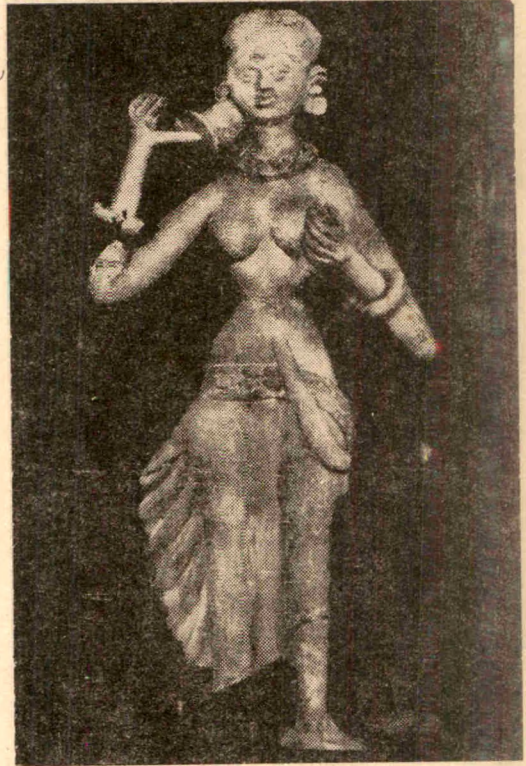
SUNGA ART

The beautiful specimen of a rectangular quasi-Ionic capital of a pillar unearthed at Bulandibagh (Patna) in 1896 and the two fragments of cross-bars from railings recovered from Bodh Gaya are fine specimens of the Sunga period.

A very interesting Mithuna Couple standing under an Asokan tree, in buff sandstone, is another example of this period. The attitude of abandonment, somewhat moderated by shyness, as indicated in the averted face of the woman, is very cleverly delineated.

The Gupta phase of the sculptural art is shown by the head of the Buddha excavated at Kumrahat (Patna). A striking example of the craftsmanship of the period is the colossal image of Vishnu set up in the garden to the north of the Museum building.

Pala and Sena schools are also well represented at the Museum. One of the earliest



The terra-cotta figurine of a dancing girl, Mauryan period, found at Bulandibagh

definitely-dated example is the image of Tara, found at Hilsa in Patna and dated as 35th year of the reign of King Deva Pala in the middle of the 9th century A. D.

The finest variety of blackstone in which almost all their images are carved gave the craftsmen of this period an opportunity to display their skill in detail. Take for example the three images from the Hasra Kol Valley (Gaya). One is a large-size Buddha, the other is that of Avalokitesvara in sitting posture and the third is that of Maitreya. These apart there is in the Museum a very

fine sculpture of a female attendant which was probably a part of the door jamb of some temple recovered from Raj Mahal. A few stone sculptures and fine stucco figures from Nalanda and Taxila are also worth careful study.



The terra-cotta figure of a laughing boy belonging to the Mauryan period

BRONZE IMAGES

The bronze images exhibited in the Bronze Room of the Patna Museum were found at Kurkihar in Gaya district and all are attributable to the Pala and Sena periods. Quite a large number of them are inscribed and dated under reigns of various rulers. They are mostly Buddhist images but there are a few Brahmanical examples too.

The metal composition of these images consists of copper, lead, tin and iron which is a tribute to the high metallurgical knowledge of the people of those periods. A striking example of high workmanship is the

bronze image of Balrama. Among the Buddhist figures, a gold-plated figure of Lokanath is outstanding.

Several bronze images which have the closest affinity with those from Kurkihar have been acquired by the Museum from Nalanda, the famous Buddhist University of the 7th century A. D.

The spread of Buddhism from India to Indonesia can be studied with the help of bronze images of Kurkihar. A valuable collection of Tibetan temple banners, acquired by the Museum from the Rev. Rahul Sankritayana as a gift, now forms a gallery of special interest to students of Tibetology.

One remarkable gallery of the Patna Museum consists of terra-cotta seals and figurines. Excavations at Vaisali, Buxar, Kumrahar and Bulandibagh have yielded a large number of such seals and figurines. The seals are those of official guilds, corporations, temples and some even of private individuals.

Among the extensive relics discovered in the Pataliputra ruins is the terra-cotta piece well-known as the "Bodh Gaya Plaque". It bears an inscription in Kharosthi script. It is the first epigraph in this Indian form of Perso-Aramaic to be found in Eastern India. The Museum possesses terra-cottas from Mathura, Kausambi, Bihta and Rajgir.

Buxar has also produced many fine terra-cotta figures of the pre-Mauryan, Mauryan and post-Mauryan periods. These are particularly interesting as displaying a vast variety of fashion in feminine head dress. Generally speaking, female figures are more numerous than male from all these sites. There are also little figures of animals, birds and serpents.

Most of these terra-cotta figurines are painted with a red slip or wash and are shown without any garment. This nudity, however, is common to archaic figures. Conventional images of the Earth or Mother Goddess are generally represented nude.—PIB

DAULATABAD

By PROF. R. N. DEB, M. A.

A child sat facing a large, brick-red curtain, on which were painted figures of large-sized semi-nude women, trying to fill their pitchers from a fountain which seemed to spout, a viscid, milky fluid.

And the child wondered as he sat on an old *duree*, as to what lay behind the curtain. For he had been told by the little fellows of his age, who belonging to the city were wise in the ways of the theatres, that, behind the curtain, there was a world of strange enchantment where they sang and danced, and there were the great actors who spoke their speeches in a manner as no ordinary man could do!

And the little fellow sat open-mouthed, in the very front row with others of his age, asking foolish questions and getting back truthful but not too complimentary replies. And the hours rolled on and the little fellow felt bored and tired and lonely when suddenly the gong made a clanging noise and a hush came over the audience, and the curtain with those hefty women, started rolling up with many a jerk and finally settled somewhere above half the height of the stage.

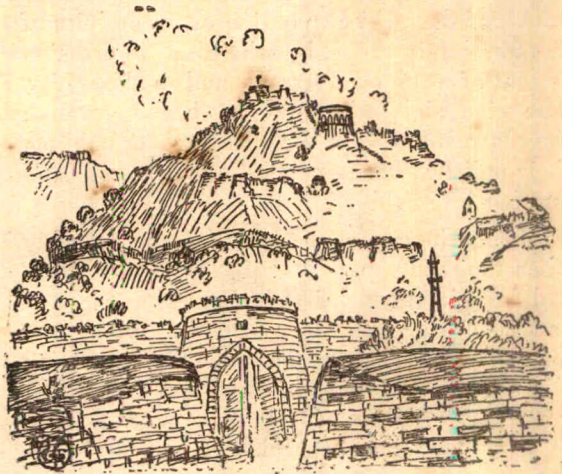
And before him there was a gilded throne, on which sat a portly king, beard and all, very much like King Henry VIII, wearing maroon-coloured cotton hose, and a three quarters blue velvet trousers and a short jacket of the same stuff with jewelled borders. To his right, stood a slim youth dressed similarly in red velvet, and to his left a hatchet-faced man with a little goatie, with lemon-coloured stockings and green velvet rigout, and who kept his hand constantly on the jewelled hilt of his sword.

For it was the court of Sultan Allauddin Khilji, and to his right stood his son Khizir, and the hatchet-faced man to the left was Malik Kafur, the conqueror of Devagiri.

And the little fellow listened half in awe to the actors spouting their lines. True, he did not understand much, but he understood that the lovely-looking tall lady, in

blue Banarsi Sari, who kept on weeping, was the captive princess of Devagiri, whom Malik Kafur had brought with much other booty, after defeating her father and destroying the famous fortress of Devagiri.

Forty years and more had passed since that mellow autumn night. A middle-aged man stood before the very fortress of which he had thought so often . . .



Daulatabad: Front view
"Chand Minar" to the right

Cities too have their span of life. Some it is true, like the phoenix, rise again and again, ever stronger, from their ashes—but many pass into memories along, perchance a broken bit of rampart stands as the last sentinel reminding one of the magnificence that it might have been. The market-place may be choked with debris and wild weeds grow over it, and denizens of the wood move silently in search of their prey across the main streets, and lizards may bask with their beady eyes in the great council halls. Troy or Tyre, Harappa or Carthage, Babylon or Ecbatana all names—just memories, as best objects for the archæologist's shovel!

And one feels this very strongly in Daulatabad. The once extensive city lay like a girdle round the foot of the citadel. A few

bits of the old wall, a broken gate or two, a ruined sentry-box perhaps—that is all that remains of this once-famous city, which, like Mandu, we are told, had a population of many lakhs. But it is all dead now.

One does not have this feeling in Mandu perhaps and certainly not in Fatehpur Sikri where the palaces are intact and one has the feeling that at any moment the slave girls and boys may come and take their places on the chess board or the lights may shine from the jalousies of the Panch-mahal.

But not so in Daulatabad. True, even today the Chand Minar and the big Hathi Hauz, or the formidable gates with their rustless iron spikes and old heavy pieces of wood, or the white pavilion or some bits of the fort retain shape, but the total impression is that of a ruined fortress and a lost city. The wind sighs through the broken walls: the *baradaris* are broken and crumbling, their polished floors cracked and caved and turning into rubble.

From the car, as we were speeding along when the white pavilion of Daulatabad Fort had from its height first gleamed upon us it had seemed so easy to reach the top of the fortress. But as we crossed the gate and climbed the first flight of steps, I realised that gone were my days of climbing when a flight of steps, the like of which I was seeing in front of me, snaking up the sharp side of the hill would have been a challenge and I would have run up the thousand steps or so without pausing for breath. But my climbing days were over now and so I sat in the shadow of one of the gun turrets, in the cool morning air. And there were my companions now, almost halfway-up like two marks of colour moving against the vast slaty side of the hill.

And in a way I was lucky. I had two hours entirely to myself. I admired the metal casting of the old cannons, the fine workmanship including the beautiful rams head of the cannon 'Medha'—a real gem of metal casting.

A little away from where I sat was a small bridge across the old moat. I moved up to it. Below me was the moat, carved on the hill side, full of green rotting waters. And at one place there was a little under-

current and the water bubbled and foamed into creamy lines which were sucked by some invisible hole from below. I do not know why this ugly dance of dead waters made me more sharply aware of the sense of desolation of the place. After crossing the moat, going through a dark tunnel-like passage, full of the foul stench of bats, I reached the half carved cave temple on the other side of the hill. The idols were there most of them half-finished, beautiful pieces too but sadly neglected and now crumbling with time.

I came back feeling a bit groggy in the sun. So I sat again on the steps of the gun turret, in its cool shadow, drew out my sketch book, and started to make sketches quite pleased with my efforts. Shadows of circling birds fell on my sketch book. I looked up, the birds had come quite low but there was nothing to be seen fit for those carrion eaters. Only a little away on a green bulge of the hill side, a heifer was grazing. She was like cattle over here, a sleek delicate creature with the grace of an antelope, specially her horns though not more than a cubit each, yet tapering into sharp points and of a greenish gray colour as if made of jade. Her dappled coat with its shining white and deep brown and black spots made her look startlingly beautiful in the rain-washed morning sun. Only yesterday while coming back from Ajanta I had seen a bull standing at the foot of a hill, a little away from the rest of the herd, his grand proportion as if encased in black velvet. He was a beautiful beast—worthy to be the sire of many prize-winners... A young couple dressed in their mela-day-best are coming up the steep path from the village beyond. They have to pass by me. The young man is handsome in a hard wiry way. His nose is sharp, perhaps a little too sharp about the bridge, which gives to his deep set eyes a hawk-like expression. He is wearing a thick pair of hand-sown chappals, a *dhoti* in the Marahati way and a loose white *kurta* and a shiny black coat—rather uncomfortable for a hot day like this. He wears a light helitrope turban on his head, hard and wiry, light but strong, sharp featured, with a determined chin—his ancestors must have roamed about with the Marahatta generals—the dreaded "borgies" collecting

chouth and sardesumkhi from every conner of the land. I try to make his sketch. He becomes self-conscious, stands a little awkwardly in the sun, gazing at me with his sharp hawk-like eyes. The woman stands behind him and however I try to catch a glimpse of her full face I cannot, for, she is standing just behind him with the veil half drawn across her face, because of the sun. She is wearing a peacock blue sari, her brilliant red urhna reaching her shapely ankles. Suddenly I catch a glimpse of her face. Her eyes are large with long lashes and her skin is like dark silk. I try to make a sketch of her but she hides her face behind her veil. But he is interested. He says, "There was an Englishman from Aurangabad who was making pictures with colours. Those were beautiful pictures, not like yours."

I laugh loudly.

"Why don't you make them with colours?" He asks a little confused. "My dear man, I don't know how to do it. I use this pencil", and I start giving finishing touches to his head.

"Do I look like this?" he suddenly asks her. She moves up, cranes her neck from behind his shoulder and looks at the sketch. She nods approvingly, her dark eyes full of amusement and a smile lurks round her soft lips.

"Will you care for one of yours?" I was about to ask her when she whispered something to her husband. "Could you give me this sketch?", he asked me after a little hesitation. Well—but then I saw her looking at me, her deep very dark eyes with those beautiful eye-lashes and I tore the page up and gave it to the man.

They moved down quickly. She was just a blaze of colour in that bright golden sun...

A little away to my right are the remains of what must have been a hanging terrace. Was it not on this very terrace that on warm moon-lit nights the princess with her favourite maids came and their jewels shone in the soft light of the moon? How many dramas of love and novel chivalry and of lust and grim death must have been acted here? And where the princess sang and the slave girl danced with silver bells on their feet the wild peacock rends the silence with his strident call and the green snake

slithers over the broken floor. Only the wind moans through the silent cells and makes muffled roar like the beating of the surf as it tousels a thousand leafy trees. For it is a sea of green all round. The hills are green, the plains are green, and a green haze has settled on the distance.



The old Sentry Box: Daulatabad
in the background

A woman is coming up the steep path, with a happy little boy, dark and serious as a gnome, holding her hands. She pants as she is coming up the path and then stands at the feet of the turret a little below me. She looks tired but happy. No wonder she is going to be a mother. She stands and watches my sketches and the little boy keeps on staring at my cigar and sucking his left thumb. The woman is eager to see what I am drawing. She moves up the step and looks at my sketch book. "Shall I make one for you?" She doesn't say "yes" but stands there holding the little fellow's hand.

I try to draw her. Her lips are thick, sensual; her teeth very white. Her face has a resemblance with some of the types one sees on the walls of Ajanta, only a bit coarsened with hard work.

She tells me about their life in the village. A little village, it is lying a couple of miles away, but now they are going to have electricity and a factory will be "coming up built

by some seths of the city". They have their own plot of land and the land is fertile. She keeps just chatting about, watching with the corner of her eyes her sketch and the little child's and she tells me that her husband has four brothers and the little boy is the youngest of them. Her sketch is not much, but she is very pleased with it and so is the little boy who opens his mouth wider and looks at his own sketch and at me.

There are others coming up the path. "They are from our village", says she and moves a little away, from where she stands watching the finishing touches to her sketches. About half a dozen of them gather around me now and want their "photos"; so I make them sit on the steps, men, women and children and make an outline and just put dots and dashes for their eyes and noses. They are very happy, like children, and amidst much laughter they take away the page from me and move down the steps hurriedly. Colour, movement and laughter, a few more turns and they shall be swallowed by the dark jaws of the old gate. Silence all over except for the faint moan of the distant breeze and the vultures circling overhead. . . .

Before me is a Pathan dome squat and heavy, lacking the sensuous grace of the Moghul ones, but solid like rock. It must have seen several centuries and though cracked and broken it still shows what great builders those old Pathans were. High up the white pavalion with its aerial grace—a gem of Moghul baradari—shines in the sun.

From the Nizamabadi Mohal—a later and poorer piece of architecture—now all in ruins—two little children emerge, jolly little fellows, glad to have escaped their parent's watchful eyes. They climb up the broken walls, run along the broken parapets and suddenly spot me out and are mightily

intrigued at a man sitting alone in the cool shadow of the gun tower and sketching. They approach me and when I ask them their names one of them makes a face at me but the other comes, looks at my sketch book, calls his friend excitedly, in a sweet shrill voice. They are so happy to be just by themselves.

The vultures circling round are moving away. Shadows fall across the face of the land. Billowy grey clouds, big with rain, rise from the west, cross the ranges, not high ranges as ours of the north are, where the clouds seem to crawl up the vast sides of the mountains, but low hills just blue and green and golden mounds really, over which the clouds come, leap frogging all the way from the sea.

Invincible fortress. Here did come Malik Kafur with the fierce zeal of a convert, bent upon destruction. Those heavy gates, repaired and rebuilt by succession of defenders and conquerors, Malik Kafur, Khan-I-Jehan or Malik Amber—how many times must have passed through them the triumphant procession of victorious soldiers, or men and women with their heads bowed, shadows of themselves—for they had known the bitter humility of defeat.

Once upon a time the pride of the country, which for a time out-rivalled Delhi—today it is lying uncared for, forgotten. And a little island beyond the ranges, known only to the pirates and to perhaps some fishermen is today the great metropolis of Bombay.

Dust, wild weeds, nature's cruel commentary on man's deeds.

They are coming down the steps. Time to close the sketch book and have a cup of tea at the tea-shop outside the gate.



GUGGENHEIM WINNERS IN STRIKING EXHIBIT

It isn't often, even in an art-conscious metropolis such as New York, that one has the opportunity of examining and comparing present-day painting from different countries in one unified show. For that reason alone the current exhibit at the Guggenheim Museum here is of singular interest.

What makes it especially significant, however, is the fact that the display represents the end product of an incredibly complex undertaking: the Guggenheim International Award.

Established in 1956 by the board of trustees of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, a private American philanthropic organization, the award—\$10,000—is given biennially. The prize-winning picture is chosen by an international jury of three art experts from among national and "extra-national" winners who receive \$1,000 each, and from some additional candidates selected by national juries as worthy of consideration.

The aim of the awards is to stimulate public interest in contemporary art and to encourage the artists themselves. The awards are outright grants, not payments for purchase, and can only go to works that have received some previous recognition by way of a public exhibit.

This year—the second time the award is being given—twenty-two countries participated: Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States and Yugoslavia. In addition, artists of Mexican, Spanish, Portuguese, Rumanian and Russian birth, but living outside their country, were represented in the "extra-national" section.

A total of sixty-six artists, critics and museum officials (comprising the national juries) plus an "extra-national award" jury of three, as well as a three-man international liaison committee were involved in the preliminary stages of judging. Ninety-seven museums, private collectors, dealers and artists

made available the 116 works that were considered for awards and honorable mentions.

Have the results been worth such effort? On the whole, yes. One may regret that the whole exhibit is made up of only thirty-four paintings, which means putting a limit on national representation at a time when American interest in the work of contemporary artists abroad seems to be exceptionally high. But even this glimpse affords an idea of what is going on beyond this country's borders—and as such is welcome.

The focal point of the show is naturally the top winner: Joan Miro's "Night and Day," a ceramic mural on two free-standing walls commissioned for and already installed on the grounds of the new UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) Building in Paris.

Designed by the world-famous Spanish artist and executed by his collaborator, Josep Llorens Artigas, the mural is, of course, exhibited by way of photographs. But even in that form, the singing colors and witty symbols are apparent.

Four honorable mentions by the international jury went to paintings by Minoru Kawabata (Japan), Edouard Pignon (France), Jean Paul Piopelle (a Canadian who lives in Paris), and Maria Helena Vieira da Silva (a Portuguese working in France).

Of these, Pignon's simple but strikingly abstract impression of an ancient olive tree, Piopelle's richly colored striated bands streaming across the canvas, and Vieira da Silva's shimmering landscape are especially memorable.

Some exceptionally handsome paintings also deserve mention. They include a lyrical composition by the British artist Ben Nicholson, winner of the Guggenheim Award in 1956; the elegant "Wood and Animal" by Kaoru Yamaguchi (Japan); the vibrant pseudo-primitive "Farmer" by the Dutch artist Gerrit Benner; the American Stuart Davis' crackling "Memo 1956"; and works by two Yugoslav artists: the



Andre Masson's "Nightfall" (oil) was judged the national winner for France by the Guggenheim International, New York, 1953

imaginative and subtly composed landscape "Stones," by Oton Giha, and the low-keyed, rugged landscape by the national award winner Frano Simunovic.

In addition to individually honored works, two national groups—the Canadian and the Japanese—were singled out for "best balanced quality." These pictures—five in each group—have been installed so that they may be viewed in juxtaposition, an arrangement that permits an interesting comparison.

While both are in the abstract vein, the Canadian group is marked by a freshness and bold use of color not previously associated with the painters of that country. The Japanese section, in contrast, is in a relatively low key,

but distinguished by vigorous and slashing design.

Save for a few exceptions—among these representing realism, a massive canvas of two monumental nudes by the Belgian prize winner Octave Londuyt—the works are in the abstract or expressionist vein. This seems to confirm the observation of Georges Salles, President of the International Council of Museums and member of this year's Guggenheim International Jury, that "Art from quite different countries takes some of the same direction."

This discovery is not really new, but to find it anew is sufficient reason for undertaking such a complex search as the one that leads to the Guggenheim International Awards —USIS.



JAGADISH CHANDRA BOSE

NOLINI KANTA GUPTA

JAGADISH CHANDRA is a scientist; his field is the world of matter—his function is to discover the truth of matter by material means. The truth has to be proved to demonstration and to be established. Science denies the truth that does not come within the purview of the senses. Observation by the external senses and examination and analysis by the intellect—these are the approved and accepted instruments of knowledge for the scientist.

Scientists are rationalists; the senses and the mind or the reasoning intellect are all they hold on to. In their quest for truth they do not rely on other faculties; for other faculties fall under the categories of guess, imagination and poetry. Science demands direct knowledge of the truth; the scientist will act in accord with the brain pure and simple; to utilise any other faculty is, for him, a frightful abuse of the scientific way. Besides, the concern of the scientist is wholly with the material world, for the discovery of the facts and principles of this domain sufficient are the five senses and the reason; there is no necessity for seeking other aids.

Again, the scientist can certainly be a poet, can have feeling, can be contemplative, can be spiritual. But that is a matter entirely for another field, another world. When the scientist is occupied with science he must shut the door upon this his other aspect. A combination of the two creates confusion. Scientific research has to be carried on under the strict vigilance of the brain and the senses. If into that there intrude hopes, desires, feelings of the heart, life or imagination, then in place of science there will emerge romance, fiction. Eddington and Lodge, despite their being great scientists, have not escaped this fault. They have always brought in extraneous things and mixed them up with things scientific. This is the mental attitude or the view-point of the orthodox scientist. Perhaps ordinary lovers of science also will support this.

About science and scientists this is no doubt the prevailing rule. But in actual practice we find something else. What distinguishes Jagadishchandra is that he is a scientist and being a scientist in the true sense of the term, he is moreover a poet; and this his poetic part is not something different from his scientific self. It is not only not-separate but is the very spring and mystery, the hidden power of his scientific genius. The poet does not mean a weaver of words; the poet means one who has a divine vision and who creates by the force of that vision. By virtue of this power Jagadishchandra often appears more like a miracle-maker than a scientist. This does not mean that Jagadishchandra alone is unique and matchless in this respect. In all creative spirits even in the realm of science we find, in more or less degree, an evidence of this power for at the root of all creation this power is bound to exist. In the brain of all discoverers from Galileo to Einstein has played the light of a suprasensual, supramental vision. All their achievements, at any rate, all the achievements of Jagadishchandra show how this vision has been brought down into the framework of mind and senses, proved and objectified.

What is it that we call a divine vision? It means an identity of feeling; we get at the truth of a thing by identifying ourselves with it. In other words, this is direct knowledge. Orthodox scientists, that is to say, those who do not create, who deal with finished articles, those who are only or, for the most part, commentators or organisers, look askance at this faculty. As already stated, they have no faith in it because they have no mastery, no possession over it. Theirs is the easy, familiar path of sense-knowledge. They move from a particular to a general conclusion; from the effect to the cause; from the material to the less material; from sense-proof to suprasensual proof; or as in mathematics, to in-

ference. Diametrically opposite is the course of direct knowledge. Here the knower does not separate the subject from himself and place it before him, does not break up its physical form for an analysis of and research into its properties and actions; at the very outset, the knower gets unified with the object to be known, his consciousness infuses itself into its being; in a sense he becomes the object itself, just as Sri Radha felt that through constant remembrance of Sri Krishna she had become Sri Krishna herself. In this state the truth, the mystery, the properties and functions of the object transmit themselves into the consciousness of the knower and become clear to it as daylight. This direct knowledge of an object from inside, through no external medium of proof, if correctly attained, is infallible and above doubt, and has the rhythm of its unity and completeness.

It is not that Jagadishchandra seized the truth by dint of his sharp intellect and keen observation through the senses, however much he might have these two faculties. With his domain of matter, particularly, with the plant world, he has established an identity, a unity of consciousness with its being; and as a result of that, the truth and nature of that world have reflected themselves upon his mind. But then his achievement—perhaps it may be called a purely scientific achievement—is that he has tested these truths attained by an inner knowledge, verified them, arranged them clearly in proper order, and proved their genuineness by practical demonstration by means of the physical mind and intellect, through the medium of the senses, by the help of material instruments. In this latter respect too—in the invention and employment of the physical instruments and processes he has shown a strange skill and simplicity—a magic—that too has been possible by that very intuitive insight.

The speciality and distinctiveness of the truth and knowledge of the object that Jagadishchandra has found without the accepted means and processes of knowledge arises from a speciality of that very direct

insight and of that divine vision, the fundamental truth of which is oneness. All matter is one—even to a scientist this truth is not new—but then the unity and oneness that has attained such intensity and perfection in these days was not a familiar fact of the olden times. Jagadishchandra has traced a new line of unity in the unity of matter, he has raised the unity of matter to a higher level and invested it with a new quality; over and above the unity of matter in the world there is a unity of life; behind the rhythm of matter is the rhythm of life. Even mineral objects feel fatigued, they faint from the application of poison, they look dying, then die. Plants also are no mere sum of material elements; they too have pulsation and nervous response, vibration of the heart and feeling of joy and sorrow, they have involved consciousness. Jagadishchandra has in this way brought matter through the corridor of life right almost to the door-step of consciousness. The ancient Aryan vision of our land has objectified itself in his genius.

All that we see is one, not many. That one is not inanimate matter, that is instinct with life, that is living, nay, not only living but conscious. The truth that the Rishi in his divine vision has seen, and experienced in his soul, how it manifests itself, how it proves itself, how the rhythm of the subtle has played into the gross, how the Self of the Spirit has not concealed itself outside or beyond its creation but has infused itself into the whole of creation, how its light has made the creation luminous—*tasya bhasa sarvam idam bibhati*—his light illumines all this—something of this knowledge Jagadishchandra has placed before the physical eye of our ordinary belief.

Thus do we find in Jagadishchandra as well the message of a large and profound synthesis, harmony and unity; on one side the hoary East, on the other, the modern West; on one side the suprasensuous, on the other the senses; on one side Spirit, on the other Matter—a bridge between this two-fold Truth.

THE GAYAWALS, THE LINK BETWEEN HEAVEN AND EARTH

By P. C. ROY CHAUDHURY

GAYA is one of the holy pilgrimages in India. It is held to be the duty of a Hindu to propitiate the spirits of the *manes* by the performances of certain funeral ceremony at Gaya some time or other. Every year a fortnight is set apart known as *Pitripaksha* when thousands of Hindus from all over India flock to Gaya to offer *Sradh* or the incumbent ceremony. The scriptures enjoin that unless this is done the spirits will not be saved.

GAYAWALS, THE LINK

Between the pilgrim and the spirits of the *manes* there is a class of men at Gaya known as *Gayawals* who practically hold the keys to heaven as it were. The *Gayawals* are the priests whose services have got to be taken according to tradition for offering the oblations.

The origin and antiquity of the *Gayawals* is shrouded in myth and tradition. Some trace them back from the *Vedic* period, some after the conquest of Brahminism over Buddhism in the 10th century, some even from the 17th century while there is a school who traces their origin from non-Aryan stock. It is however clear that after the revival of Brahminism and the decline of Buddhism, Gaya became famous as a sacred place for offering *Sradh* or oblation to the ancestors and the *Gayawals* became prominent. By the tenth century A.D. Gaya had become one of the sacred spots for the Hindus.

CEREMONIES

A series of ceremonies have to be observed at different places if a Hindu wants to follow scrupulously all that has been enjoined in the *Sastras* or the scriptures. He will have to shave and become bare-headed by the river Poonpoo near Gaya. On arrival at Gaya he

has to be conducted before the *Gayawal* who is his family priest. According to tradition once a *Gayawal* becomes the priest of a family his line continues for that function from generation to generation. Every *Gayawal* keeps a scroll in which the names of all the persons who had been helped by his family are recorded. If a pilgrim arrives at Gaya without knowing which family of *Gayawals* is his priest there is a friendly wrangle and the man who can prove his claim gets the spoil.

The *Gayawals* usually engage hired persons to take round the pilgrims and help them in observing the various ceremonies. The *Gaya Sradh*, if scrupulously observed, makes its incumbent on the pilgrim to visit a number of places known as the *vedis* which lies within the holy ground extending for some 15 miles between the Pretsila hill on the north and Bodh Gaya on the south, and which centres in Gaya itself. At three places it is absolutely necessary that the pilgrim should offer *pindas* or balls of rice to the spirits of the dead. These three places are by the side of the Falgu river which flows by the great temple of *Vishnupada* in Gaya and *Vishnupada* temple itself and under the Akshayabat or the undying fig tree near the temple. After he has finished the round the pilgrim offers an oblation of water known as *Tarpana*. He is then brought to the *Gayawal* and has to prostrate himself in worship. It is difficult to follow how the *Gayawal* himself came to be almost worshipped. It appears that a blind faith was encouraged that unless the *Gayawal* is pleased and pronounces the word *suphal* (meaning fruitful) and blesses the pilgrim, the efforts of the pilgrim to salvage the spirits of his *manes* will go in vain. It is hard on the orthodox pilgrim that the *Gayawal* has a dictatorial tradition behind him and whatever be the moral or spiritual personal equation of the *Gayawal* the

pilgrim has got to earn the word *suphal* from the *Gayawal* by material gifts. With the word *suphal* the *Gayawal* will present a garland of flowers and place a mark of sandalwood on the forehead of the pilgrim.

A DECLINING COMMUNITY

This is, of course, the orthodox picture of the *Gayawal* which existed sometime before. The impact of modernism, ill treatment and avarice of the *Gayawals* have had a reaction and today the *Gayawal* is very much short of his previous prestige and power.

There is another peculiar problem facing the *Gayawals*. As a class they face the problem of extinction. There was a time when joint family was very common in the community but the families have gone on splitting and today the strength of the average family has been reduced to two or three members. Against hundreds of *Gayawal* families before there are only about 120 families now and out of them as many as 66 families consist of less than 5 members each. The following table will show the present strength of the *Gayawals*:

Type of families	Number of families	Percentage
1 member	10	8.33
2 members	23	19.7
3-5 members	33	27.51
6-15 members	49	40.81
Above 15 members	5	4.17
	120	100

The table shows that 8.33 per cent of the total families consist of only one individual (male or female) and 19.17 per cent consist of two members. The 10 families of one individual either widow or widower are bound to die

out within a period of 20 years as they belong to 40 to 45 age-group. So far as 2 member families are concerned, out of 23 such families, 21 families consist of a husband and a wife while one family consists of a father and a son and the other consists of a widow and a widower. Regarding the other families, members of 14 families are aged above 30 and only 7 are below 30. Field investigation indicates that the procreative age-group among the *Gayawals* commences much below 30 years. On the basis of these figures and particularly from the fact that marriage is confined to their own group one may safely deduce that the *Gayawals* stand the risk of extinction very soon by the process of time and their fettering social tradition of marriage within their group.

PRESENT STATUS

The economic condition and the social status of the *Gayawals* has also very much deteriorated as the desire to make gifts to them has declined.

The impact of present trends has torn away their mask of dictatorship. There are now reformist associations who will provide priests at a fee to exactly suit the pocket of the pilgrim. In the past few centuries the contribution of the *Gayawals* to culture, literature or civic life in Gaya is practically very small. The *Gayawals*, as a class, are not taking to other occupations. The pilgrims are getting lesser in number with slashed religiosity and yet the *Gayawals* do not think it necessary to take to other occupations to improve their economic and social condition. There is also a cultural stagnation as the *Gayawals* have done very little to keep up their stature as the priest with the keys to the heaven in their hand. The *Gayawals* could be described to be living in a state of economic and cultural stagnation and in a biological muddle.



STUDY OF THE WORKS OF KALIDASA IN THE SOVIET UNION

By V. KALYANOV

INDIA's rich literature long ago aroused Russia's interest, and translations of some works began to appear in Russia as far back as the second half of the 18th century. Thus, in 1788 a Russian translation of the philosophic poem *Bhagavad Gita* came out in Moscow, the first monument of Indian literature to appear in the Russian language.

Dating back to about the same time is the first acquaintance of the Russian reading public with the fine works of the great Kalidasa. In 1792 there appeared in Moscow a Russian translation of Kalidasa's drama *Shakuntala* (Acts 1 and 4) done by N. Karamzin, famous Russian writer, publicist and historian. The translation was published under the title of *Scenes from Shakuntala, Indian Drama*. The work of India's illustrious poet elicited Karamzin's enthusiastic comment. "In almost every page of this drama," he wrote in the preface to his translation, "I have found the loftiest beauty of poesy, the most delicate feelings, a gentle, excellent and ineffable tenderness like a still May night—the purest, inimitable nature and the finest art. It can also be called a fine picture of old India just as Homer's poems are pictures of ancient Greece—pictures in which can be seen the characters, manners and customs of its inhabitants. To me, Kalidasa is as great as Homer. Both received their brushes from the hands of nature and both have depicted nature."

Later, besides translations of other monuments of Sanskrit literature appeared Russian translations of different works by Kalidasa either from translations in other languages or directly from Sanskrit. In 1879 a translation of the whole of *Shakuntala* directly from Sanskrit by Alexei Putyata came out in Moscow. In 1890 a translation of three works by Kalidasa, namely *Shakuntala*, the epic poem *Raghuvansha* and the Lyric poem *Megha Duta* was published in Vologda under the general title of *Sanskrit Poems*; the translation was by N. Volotsky.

Some years later, in 1916, a translation of Kalidasa's three dramas, *Malavika and Agnimitra*, *Shakuntala* and *Vikramorvasi* came out

in Moscow, a translation notable for its artistic merit. This translation made by the famed Russian poet K. Balmont is regarded as the finest of the translations of Kalidasa's dramas for beauty. For its preface it has an introductory sketch by Academician S. Oldenburg entitled "A few words about Kalidasa and his dramas and about the essence of Indian poetry."

Works by Kalidasa have been translated also in languages of other peoples of the USSR. In 1928 a translation in verse of Kalidasa's lyric poem *Megha Duta* came out in the Ukrainian language, the translator being Prof. P. Ritter, the Sanskritologist. Prof. Ritter also did a Russian translation of the same poem, which he prefaced with a short sketch under the heading of Kalidasa, His Time and Works. Ritter also is the author of first translations in Russian of Kalidasa's epic poems *Kumarasombhava* and *Raghuvansha*. In recent times I. Serebryakov, disciple of Academician F. Shcherbatsky, engaged in translation of different chapters of *Raghuvansha*, and a fragment of it appeared in *Leningrad magazine* in 1940.

All prominent Russian Sanskritologists are interested in the works of Kalidasa and his creative effort. Much attention was given to his notable works in the lectures on Indian literature read by I. Minayev, K. Kossovich and R. Lents who taught at St. Petersburg University; by P. Petrov, the first Russian Sanskritologist, who delivered a course of lectures on Sanskrit literature first at Kazan and later at Moscow University; by F. Knauer, who lectured at Kiev University, and P. Ritter at Kharkov University.

The study of Kalidasa's works at Leningrad University has been on an especially broad plane. From the very first days of Academician Shcherbatsky's professorship in that university the reading of and detail comments on the works of Kalidasa has been a requirement in the teaching of Sanskrit. The readers in Sanskrit contain dramas by Kalidasa in the original or in fragments. Special attention has been given to *Megha Duta*. These readers are

to this day the main text-books used by students of Sanskrit at the eastern faculty of the Leningrad University.

Kalidasa's works play an important part in the course of lectures on Indian philology and the history of old Indian literature given at Leningrad University. These lectures were delivered by Academician A. Barannikov right up to his death.

Much interest in the works of Kalidasa is

found in the Soviet Union not only among orientologists and the scientific community, but also among broad sections of the Soviet people.

In spite of the unusual medium of portrayal used in Indian poetry of the middle ages, a medium intended for a reader with special preparation, Kalidasa's celebrated works, permeated with humanism, are plain and dear to Soviet people.

—:O:—

PLACE OF ENGLISH IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA

By MAGANBHAI P. DESAI
Vice-Chancellor, Gujarat University

I

THE question of the place of English in the Universities in India has unnecessarily been complicated. As a matter of fact, the general lines of its solution have already been indicated by our veteran leaders who framed the Constitution of the Republic of India.

This solution stipulates that (1) the chief national languages of India shall replace English in the Public and Governmental intercourse in India; and that (2) Hindi which is being spoken and written by a large majority of the people in India shall be adopted and developed as an All-India Language for inter-provincial and All-India intercourse or as the "Lingua Franca" of India.

This is a clear directive principle of the Indian Constitution.

If therefore, we keep this directive principle in view while considering the place of English in higher education in India, the only and categorical reply will be that the Universities also should respect this directive principle of the Constitution and expeditiously adjust their educational programme accordingly.

2

Judging the question of the place of English in higher education in India against this

perspective, the popular opinion is definitely formulating itself along the following lines:

- (1) The medium of instruction in higher education shall not be English nor Hindi but the Regional languages of the Regions concerned.
- (2) The entire administration of a Region shall be carried on in its own language.
- (3) It will be necessary to teach Hindi to our students so as to enable them to carry on all Inter-State and All-India business through that language.
- (4) We should start preparing books in all the branches of learning in Humanities as well as Sciences, in our Regional languages; and at least so long as those books are not prepared, English Books should be used during the transitional period, and the University teachers should find out and adopt suitable techniques of doing so.
- (5) Ability to understand English language is always welcome, but the objects of teaching this language, as is being done at present, are not what they ought to be. English should be studied for the purposes of comprehension, and suitable techniques to

this end must be evolved. If this is not done in time, I am afraid, the standard of proficiency in English will gradually deteriorate and even disappear.

3

Why then do we find indifference and confusion about this in the field of education which is expected to be an important, ever-conscious, ever-progressing fact of our public life? The only answer to this question is that Public Competitive Examinations for Government services have held a great sway over our cultural life and they have giving tone to and controlling the system of English education in our Country. English is still being pursued as the medium of these examinations as before. So long as this state of affairs is not remedied, the Universities will continue to be a hand-maid to these examinations, paralysing themselves in consequence.

4

In the matter of these examinations also Regional languages should be assigned their respectable place of being their medium. It should be worthwhile to recall that the Union Government have already accepted this principle and declared their consent to implement it after consulting the Hindi or the Official Language Commission. I cannot do better in this respect than to quote an extract from the Report of the official Language Commission from Paragraph 15 of the XII Chapter. It says:

"A statement was made by the Home Member of the Government of India, in Parliament on May 2, 1955 that the Government have decided to be guided on the subject by the principles contained in the Re-

solution entitled 'Examination for All-India Services' which was passed by the Congress Working Committee on April 5, 1954."

The relevant portion of the Working Committee resolution reads as follows:

"The Working Committee recommended that progressively examinations for the All-India Services should be held in Hindi, English and the principal Regional languages, and candidates may be given the option to use any of these languages for the purpose of examinations."

The statement goes on to say:

"A detailed scheme will be prepared by Government, if necessary, after consulting the Hindi Commission."

5

It is a matter of gratification that the Hindi Commission approved of this principle and has made such a recommendation. As the Universities will go on changing their medium, the Commission suggests, - along with Hindi other Regional languages also should be made the medium of examination for higher public services. It is, therefore, clear that there is no reason on the part of the Universities to cause any delay in changing the medium of instruction and examination in the name of Public Service examination's medium which is English. The Universities will, therefore, be better advised to proceed with the change of medium and ask the Government to change the medium of their Public Service examinations. If the Universities do not take an initiative in complying with this directive principle of the Constitution which is at once their right and duty, who else will?

The Father of the Nation was right when in September 1947 he wrote: "Every day lost in making this necessary change is so much cultural loss to the Nation."





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

INDIA'S DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE WEST: By Bhaskar Anand Salotore. *The Popular Book Depot, Bombay.* 1958. Pp. 430 plus 3 plates and 2 maps. Price Rs. 25 60.

The author of this monograph has already made a name for himself by his publication of a number of scholarly works on ancient and mediæval history of India of which the most important is *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire* (2 volumes, Madras, 1924). In the present volume he has attempted, as he tells us in his Preface (pp. vii-viii), the first 'detailed account of the diplomatic theory in ancient India' along with 'a comprehensive study of diplomatic missions based on the background of Indian history as well as the history of the Western countries' and 'a comparative estimate' of the Indian and Western diplomatic practice and theory. The author deserves full credit for the extensive range of his reading covering the history of ancient India as well as the Graeco-Roman world, while his judgments on sundry controversial points are always interesting. It is not possible in the space at our disposal to call attention to the many important features of this work, but a few remarks may be made. In Chapter I he has traced the evolution of 'a definite science and practice of diplomacy' to the Sumero-Akkadians, the Assyrians and the Hittites. It is difficult to fit in this description either with the title of the work, or its subject-matter in view of the author's emphatic statement in his Preface (p. viii) that 'ancient Indian diplomatic theory was purely indigenous.' Chapter II presents a valuable historical survey of diplomatic theory in ancient India from its beginnings in the *Rig-Veda* down to its development in the *Manu-Smriti*, the two epics, and the *Puranas* and concludes with notices of the functions of ambassadors in Tamil as well as Sans-

krit classical literature. We find it difficult however to follow some of the author's chronological statements in this connection, as when he assigns (pp. 23, 27) the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* to the period after the *Manu-smriti* and before Kautilya's *Arthashastra* (the author of the last-named work being definitely identified with 'the great prime minister of Chandragupta Maurya, B.C. 320-296'), or when he places (pp. 48, 49, 50) the age of the *Puranas* differently 'between the end of the 5th and of the 6th century A.D.' and mostly between the age of Kautilya and of Kumarila Bhatta ('4th century B.C. till the first half of the 8th century A.D.'), and again fixes the lower limit of the *Puranas* 'in the 7th century A.D.' Chapter III contains a historical survey of diplomatic relations of Indian States with the Western powers principally from the time of Alexander's invasion down to the downfall of the Maurya Empire (c. 400-185 B.C.). Among the interesting points sought to be brought out by the author in this chapter, which by the way gives an unnecessarily long description of Alexander's campaign, are that the real object of Megasthenes' mission was to advance the trade with India which was an asset to Selucus Nikator, and that the object of Asoka's diplomatic missions to the West was 'to win over those provinces by persuasion to his philosophy of life,' and further, to secure the medicinal plant called silphium, to exchange philosophical ideas with the Greek ruler and to further commercial ties in the instances of Cyrene, Macedonia and Corinth respectively. Chapter IV contains a comparative study of diplomatic practice prevailing in the Western world from about the 5th to the 2nd centuries B.C. This leads the author to conclude that the inviolability of the ambassador's person was not recognised by the Western States and thus to explain two quoted texts of Kautilya and Arrian. In Chapter V the author gives a historical account of the successive missions sent from Indian Courts to

the Roman Empire from the time of Augustus to that of Julian. The sixth and the last chapter contains an account of Roman and contemporary diplomatic practice down to the 4th century A.D. The work is enriched with a number of illustrations and two maps, besides three appendices, notes and an index.

U. N. GHOSHAL

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY (1948-1953) of Indian Archaeology, Vol. XVI: *Published by the Kern Institute, Leyden, Holland. 1953*

Privileged to know in 1924 the learned editor—Dr. T. D. K. Bosch—while he was Director of Archaeology in Batavia, Dutch East Indies, we watched his scientific activities with great interest. He takes keen interest in Indology in general and our *Shilpa-shastras* in particular; so he helped many Dutch architects in restoring the wonderful temples and sculptures of Indonesia. Re-visiting Java and Bali in 1954, I was glad to find the great Siva temple of Prambanan (9th century A.D.) successfully reconstructed by generous subsidy from President Soekarno who signs his name in the memorial tablet fixed in the basement, enriched by the famous Ramayana reliefs in stone.

Even beyond Bali and Lombok, where live millions of Hindus, the remote islands of Borneo and Celebes have yielded Brahmanical and Buddhist icons and treasure-troves, as I found in the corners of the British Museum celebrating its Bi-centenary (1759-1959). Therefore Dr. Bosch's *Bibliography* is as much Indian as Greater Indian; and we appeal to the Government of India and of Pakistan, as also to the Governments of Ceylon, Burma, Malaya (newly freed) to subsidize generously the very valuable work done by the Kern Institute of Holland.

We are glad to find that Mr. F. A. Khan of Pakistan and S. Paranavitana of Ceylon have sent reports for 1948-55. Even Afghanistan and Central Asia have found their place in this *Bibliography* which gives fuller survey-reports of further India (*Indo-China* by L. Malleret) and *Indonesia* (by Bernet Kempers).

With Nepal and Tibet, the Far-Eastern countries like China, Korea and Japan (almost cut off in the Second World War) also find their places with Champa, Cambodia, Siam, Burma, Malaya and Sumatra.

During and after the Second World War we lost many renowned orientalist and we thank the Editor for publishing select notes on them in the "commemorative and obituary" section

(pp. 340-47), our late lamented Anand Coomaraswamy getting a full column.

The bulk of the *Bibliography* is devoted to the Indian sub-continent (pp. 26-257) with some introductory notes and rare photographs: Sec. A is devoted to Indian Museums, Handbooks and Studies. Sec. B to pre-historic and proto-historic Archaeology. Sec. C to Epigraphy, Numismatics, Chronology, etc. Sec. D is devoted to Plastic Art, Painting, Iconography, Architecture, Monuments, etc.

These are illustrated with rare taste by 42 plates at the end of the book which is printed in the best style. Finances should come lavishly to the Leyden Institute from all possible sources—official or non-official, for, it has rendered signal services to the cause, for over a quarter of a century. Such a book should be in every college and University where Indology and Orientalism, in some form is taught. I hope in future issues, collation from Russian works and journals of Orientalism—specially of Soviet Asia—may be given in Roman (not Russian) scripts. The migration routes of the Aryans pass through South Russia and Iran explored by many Russian scientists who should feature in this model *Bibliography*. There should be no iron-curtain in the domain of scientific Archaeology.

Communist China also is rediscovering and restoring many of her monuments of art and archaeology (mainly Buddhist) as we found from the specimens sent to New Delhi on the occasion of the 2500 anniversary of Buddha-Nirvana (1956).

We strongly recommend the *Bibliography* to Oriental Institutes as well as to general readers of Asian-Indian lore.

KALIDAS NAG

LIFE OF SAI BABA—Vol. I: *By Sri B. V. Narasimha Swami. Published by All-India Sai Samaj, Mylapore, Madras-4. Pp. 334 + XLII. Cloth-bound. Price Rs. 6.*

Sri Sai Baba was a great Saint of Shirdi in the Ahmednagar district of Bombay Presidency. Several biographies of this wonderful sage have already been written in Marathi, Gujarati, Tamil and English. The Marathi life is the best and biggest of them all and composed by Anna Saheb Dabolkar in beautiful poetry in 53 long chapters running over 1000 pages. There is an excellent English adaptation of this voluminous work by Sri Gunaji. The present work promises to be more critical and chronological in several respects.

This book begins with a foreword by the

famous Swami Shivanandaji of Rishikesh. It is said in the foreword that the light of Divinity was fully manifest in all resplendence in this blessed Saint of Shirdi. It is regretted that the early life of this spiritual giant is quite unknown. It is certain that he was not a native of the village of Shirdi, but he attained fame there when he became sufficiently advanced in age by the end of the last century and left his mortal frame there in 1918 A.D. There is an ordinary Samadhi Mandir in that obscure hamlet where his numerous devotees congregate from far and near often every year. He is said to have been brought up in boyhood by a sufi Fakir, who at the time of his death placed the boy in charge of a saintly Zamindar Gopal Rao Deshmukh at Selu. For about three decades Sai Baba wrought many miracles and acted as a God-commissioned messenger. He used to make strange statements as the following: "I am not at Shirdi but everywhere. He who thinks Baba at Shirdi alone, has totally failed to see Baba. You have been with me eighteen years. Does Sai mean only this 3½ cubits height of body?"

This book, divided into twenty-three chapters, deals not only with life but also with the personality, mission, love of devotees and experiences of Sai Baba. Many scriptures have been quoted and thirty illustrations inserted to make this cloth-bound volume attractive and interesting. Sai Baba has in large numbers both Hindu and Muslim followers who look upon him as the incarnation of Saint Kabir; for like Kabir or Dadu, Sai Baba dedicated his divine life to unite the Hindus and Muslims in a common fraternity in this land of religious harmony. Hence this book deserves a serious perusal by the liberal aspirants of the Hindu and Muslim communities of both Hindusthan and Pakistan.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

DIVERSITIES: Essays in Economics, Sociology and other Social Problems: By D. P. Mukerji. People's Publishing House (Private), Ltd., New Delhi. October, 1958. Pp. viii + 332. Price Rs. 15.00.

SOCIAL CHANGES IN MALABAR: By K. S. A. Rao, M.A., Ph.D. The Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Bombay-7. Pp. 127 + 228. Price Rs. 15.00.

PLANNING IN INDIA: By G. P. Khare, F.A., LL.B., Ph.D. Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Pp. iv + 148 + iv. Rs. 3.75.

PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC PLANNING IN INDIA: By O. K. Ghosh. Kitabstan, Allahabad. Pp. viii + 159. Rs. 5.50.

Among our academicians, Professor Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji holds a distinct position through a rare combination of great scholarship, wide interest, an extremely rational mind and profound humanism. Unlike most social scientists, Indian and foreign, of our day he never forgets man—the starting point and end of all enquiry. This distinction lends all his writings a character that is instructive, interesting and highly stimulating at the same time. *Diversities*, which is a collection of Prof. Mukerji's articles on economics, history, sociology and social problems of literature, is throughout imbued with this social purposiveness and is, therefore, so valuable a volume. It is not easy to single out any essay but if one should still do so one must refer to "Man and Plan in India," "An Economic Theory for India" (discussing the relative merits of Marxian economic analysis), "Indian Tradition and Social Change" (urging upon Indian scholars the urgency of taking up an *Indian stand* in studying Indian history and society), and "Sociology of Indian Literature." The publishers are to be complimented for bringing out this collection. The production is also good except that one misses an index, which should have appeared to be an inalienable part of such a volume.

Malabar is present-day Kerala. In this illuminating study, which is the revised form of a doctoral thesis accepted by Bombay University, Dr. Rao traces the changing pattern of life in Malabar under six heads: occupational activities, family life, religious activities, educational activities, leisure-time activities and community activities. His findings are extremely interesting: during the past fifty years, great change has taken place in Malabar society—mainly through the impact of industrialisation and technological change. Despite the insertion of a list of corrections, the book contains too many irritating spelling mistakes.

Dr. Khare's book also is the result of a doctoral thesis accepted by the University of Kansas (U.S.A.). The book summarises earlier attempts at planning in India and presents an interesting analysis of the First Five-Year Plan.

Shri O. K. Ghosh, at present Accountant-General of Uttar Pradesh, has in this extremely valuable volume discussed the problems of economic planning in India. He discusses not only the economic problems, but also the social,

political and constitutional aspects of planning in India. The book would thus be found useful not only by economists but by administrators and general readers alike.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

G. V. MAVALANKAR: *Published by the Harold Laski Institute of Political Science, Ahmedabad. Pages 56. Price Rs. 1-8.*

This is a short life-sketch of the late Mr. Mavalankar, Speaker of the Lok Sabha. In the words of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, our Prime Minister, "He was the first Speaker of the Lok Sabha, we might almost say, the Father of the Lok Sabha." Besides being a great Parliamentarian, Dada Saheb Mavalankar, as he was lovingly called, was a great social worker throughout his life and never spared himself when called upon to work for the country. A great fighter for the cause of India's freedom he had to court imprisonment on several occasions. The book contains tributes from Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, G. B. Pant, John Mathai, and others.

A. B. DUTTA

MEDIEVAL STUDIES: *By Anil Chandra Banerjee. A. Mukherjee and Company Private Ltd., 12, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 4.*

Students of Medieval Indian history should be thankful to Dr. Banerjee for this collection of eight learned essays written by him at different times. Each bears the stamp of the author's erudition, intellectual integrity and independent thinking.

Dr. Banerjee's style has a charm all its own and the present volume, unlike many learned treatises, can be read with both pleasure and profit. Some of his conclusions may not be accepted by all. But the reader is impressed by the manner in which the author argues his case, the wide range of his studies and his critical approach.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

THE YOGA OF SRI AUROBINDO (*Parts Eight and Nine*): *By Nolini Kanta Gupta. First Edition, 1956 and 1958. Published by the Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Pages 154 and 116 D.C. 1/16. Price Rs. 2/- each.*

These form part of a series of volumes incorporating the talks given by the Mother to the young children of the Ashram. These were published regularly in the Ashram Journals,

1955-56 and 1957-58. Here we find Self-analysis on a Spiritual basis and guidance in the onward march of life. Attainment of a consciousness higher than the mind is the objective. We particularly recommend these volumes to the guardians and teachers who are interested in the welfare of children. Such talks are not to be heard now-a-days. Sunday Schools and Nity Vidyalay of the Brahmo Samajes who used to have such talks are also defunct. Our children are roaming in wilderness.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

SANSKRIT

THE VALMIKI-RAMAYANA, Vol. I, Fas. 1: *Edited by Pandit G. H. Bhatt. 1958.*

If the Mahabharata is the cultural cyclopaedia of Bharata, the Ramayana is its earliest *Maha-Kavya* or Great Epic which grips, even today the heart of the men and women of India. Srimati Hansaben Mehta was the first woman Vice-Chancellor of Indian Universities, and, as Vice-Chancellor of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda she has initiated the national undertaking of publishing a critical edition of the Ramayana. We are thankful to her, to the editor and to his learned colleagues for publishing the first fascicule of 80 pages (with 4 plates) up to the 10 Sarga of the Bala-Kanda.

The revised and partly "reconstituted" text of the Epic is based on 37 manuscripts in different scripts of India, both Northern and Southern. It is very appropriate; for the Ramayana is our first book to link up the Indian culture of the North and the South, so the Dravidian texts and commentaries may give us now for the first time new lights on the great North-Indian Epic.

The strategic-*can*-geographical objective of the Ramayana was the island of Lanka which may be Ceylon or some island of Indonesia; for Java first appears in our Ramayana text which partly was translated by the Buddhists (of Dasaratha Jataka) and also by the Chinese, as shown by Prof. Sylvian Levi.

We should therefore be grateful to the M. S. University, Baroda, and the Editorial Board for offering to give us soon the complete critical edition.

As in the case of the Mahabharata, the early *vulgate* of the Ramayana also was printed in 1832 by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the mother of many oriental societies. The Bir Library of Katmandu, Nepal, has sent micro-

film copy of a rare MSS, dated 1020 A.D., nearly a thousand years old. A Darbhanga Maithili MSS comes from Lakshmana Samvat 24=1360 A.D. when our venerable Krittivasa of Fulea, Bengal, completed his Bengali Ramayana nearly three centuries before Tulsidas.

The Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, Bengali MSS in spelling, etc., agrees with almost all codices of Maithili (motherland of Sita). And the philosopher king Janaka of Videha links up the Vedic agricultural economy with the expanding Arya-Khatriya culture of the central hero Rama. Banga-Magadha was the jumping ground of Aryanism to the Dravidian South via the Savaraland of Andhra-Kalinga, all emerging in the later Vedic age and the Ramayana. Its Jaina-Buddhistic tinge of *ahimsa*, amidst cruel carnage, is also very noticeable. To the relative emphasis on violence and non-violence, in the narratives of the Bards of the North and the South—of the saga of Rama and of Ravara—should engage our close attention.

Sanskrit and Prakrit (Middle Indian) texts apart, the Ramayana, in special episodes, got the best attention and skill of our sculptor-cousins of Greater India: from Malaya and Siam, Laos and Camboj, Java and Bali. The temples like Prambanam and Panataram with stone reliefs from 9th to 13th century A.D., should be procured and reproduced in photograph, from the liberal Indonesian government of President Sukarno who, I hope, will extend his patronage to the Baroda University.

We wish the noble venture all success and shall review other fascicules which we hope to receive soon.

The typography, printing and other items of the book are praiseworthy.

KALIDAS NAG

SLOKA SAMGRAHA: *Eighth Enlarged Edition. Navavidhan Publication Committee, 95, Keshub Chunder Sen Street, Calcutta-9. Price not mentioned.*

We have here 'a compilation of theistic texts from Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Sikh,

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Jewish, Christian, Mahomedan, Parsee and Chinese Scriptures with Hindi, Bengali and English versions'. The work which is passing through its eighth edition was initiated by Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen and intended for the use of the members of the Brahmo Samaj. It was first published in 1866. The contents of the present edition are nearly double of its predecessor and about eight times of the first edition, showing how the work has developed during the last ninety years. The addition in this edition are Hindi and English translations of the texts, the inclusion of six verses from the *Dhammapada* in the Buddhist section and the introduction of a new section on Jainism with fourteen verses. The original texts accompany the translations of Hindu, Buddhist, Jain and Sikh Scriptures while we have translations alone of the rest. The inclusion of Sanskrit transliterations of non-Sanskrit portions of Buddhist and Jain Scriptures as well as of Parsee Scriptures together with their texts would have been helpful and welcome to Sanskrit-knowing people. On the whole the book which brings together the lofty ideas of the scriptures of different lands and of different times demonstrating ideological and spiritual unity in the midst of all sorts of external diversities is a very interesting and useful production. Its value might be increased in future editions if short accounts about the various source-books are appended. There is also room for improvement of the Bengali translation and the printing.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

SRI SRI SIDDHWA BABAR AMRITA BANI: *Collected by Dr. K. M. Das. 126, Ashutosh Mukherjee Road, Calcutta-25. Pages 180. Price Rs. 2/- only.*

In this small book are collected the spiritual teachings of Sri Sri Siddhwa Baba, the celebrated saint of the Vindhyachala. Many famous physicians and surgeons of Calcutta, who are his devoted disciples, recorded his sayings delivered in different places of Bengal and Bihar to pious people. Born in a well-to-do family of East Bengal, Siddhwa Baba renounced the world and visiting on foot many holy places reached the Dhuniya Hill near Gaya and became there a disciple of Udashi Mahatma Thakurdas. His *guru* saw in him latent signs of spiritual perfection and gave him this significant designation. After attaining God-vision after years of austere *sadhana*, Siddhwa Baba spent about 35 years of his godly life in the

secluded hills of the Vindhyachala and was widely known as the Siddhwa Baba of the Vindhyachala. He was intimately known to Swami Vivekananda and his co-disciple Mahapurush Shivananda and other spiritual giants. Towards the end of his life, he took profound delight during Easter Holidays in feeding and serving heartily ten or twelve thousands of Sadhus, devotees and poor people. Rai Bahadur Surya Prasad, the king-maker of Bihar, and other distinguished men and women took shelter at his holy feet for spiritual enlightenment. Though thousands of people used to flock to him for life and light wherever he went, he initiated only 308 genuine aspirants during the last twenty years of his ecstatic life. He never wore *gerua* robe or matted hairs like other *sadhus* and never founded any monastery. He used to say with a smile, "Wherever I stay, that place becomes my hermitage for the time being". After his demise a memorial temple has been erected by his sincere disciples at Barisha near Calcutta. He passed away on Thursday, 30th May, 1940, last. Before casting off his earthly frame, he often chanted this English poem in an indistinct voice:

Dull Vesture of decay

This mortal coil.

Thus let me die

Unknown and unlamented,

Not a stone to tell where I lie.

An exhaustive biography of this great Saint of Bengal should come out in English in near future. The present book contains two beautiful pictures of Siddhwa Baba.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

HINDI

PRATAP: *By Thakur Sri Ranvir Singh Saktavat (Rasik). Published by Samanta Sahitya Sadan, Piplaj, Po. Kekri, Ajmer. 1958. Price Rs. 6.*

The author of this 'Maha Kavya' had already earned the title of 'Sukavi' from an appreciative audience composed of distinguished men. The subject-matter of the poem—Pratap Singh of historical fame who stood out against Akbar and who was a name to conjure with in a fight to the last for the sake of independence—lifts the whole narrative to a lofty height. The 21 cantos lend themselves to rapid reading. The epic theme is, however, not always maintained by means of his medium *khori boli*, and we miss the epic diction; and though the poet has adopted the rule observed in Sanskrit Maha-Kavyas about the varieties of metre in a Maha-Kavya, there are lapses here and there.

But in some of the verses the poet has caught the true ring for *Vira ras* and used Bhushan's pattern very well, specially in the correspondence between Pratap and Prithi Singh. There are lines again which remind one of Hali's quatrains, but the performance is quite good and does credit to the poet. It is a finely got-up volume, and reading public will no doubt expect more volumes to follow, to exalt our feelings and communicate delight.

P. R. SEN

GUJARATI

SAHITYA PRAVESHKA: By Himmatlal Greshji Anjaria, M.A., LL.B. Printed at the Sashi Sahitya Press, Ahmedabad and published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Bombay and Ahmedabad.

1951. Thick card-board. Pp. 413. Price Rs. 2-8.

We congratulate the society for selecting this manual of literature as one of its publications. Ex-Principal Anjaria of the Indian Women's University's Bombay College has been an ardent student of Gujarati literature and a devoted educationist all his life. The Second Edition of this manual (*Praveshika*) treats of Gujarati writers, poets, dramatists, etc., from the earliest to the present times. Not a single writer of note, old or new, has been omitted. That is the most valuable aspect. The life and life-work of each have been summarised in such a way as to give the reader a correct idea of the worth of the work of the writer.

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Indian Periodicals

The Influence of Thoreau, Emerson, Ruskin and Tolstoy on Indian Thought

R. Bangaruswami writes in *The Aryan Path*:

The Vedas and the Upanishads, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the Puranas and the Bhagavad-Gita, have all given spiritual and mental nourishment to many an ardent Western scholar. The German philosopher, Schopenhauer, declared that the Upanishads had given him solace in life and he hoped that they would give him solace in death also.

The New World did not fail to profit from India's hoary wisdom. In the nineteenth century a group of writers, dubbed "The Brahmins" by Oliver Wendell Holmes, the well-known author of *The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table*, interested themselves in studying the sacred books of India. Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson, who lived on terms of intimate friendship, were the leading lights of this group. Thoreau read with admiration works on Hindu philosophy, which he said he loved, and he tried in his own way to live a part of what he read. He gave up hunting, took to a diet largely of rice for some time and lived alone a life of natural simplicity in the woods in a cottage built by himself, even as the Indian "Rishis" did in days of yore. Thoreau's writings are replete with quotations from the Puranas and the Gita. He wrote that in the morning he bathed his intellect in the stupendous and cosmogonical philosophy of the Bhagavad-Gita.

Emerson wrote a poem, "Hamatreya," based on a passage in the Vishnu Purana, and another well-known one entitled "Brahma."

India during the nineteenth century was politically and intellectually subordi-

nate to Britain. English became the official language, with the hallmark of respectability attached to it, and the English-educated Indian became a gilt-gingerbread phenomenon, as Carlyle might have called him.

But this dark night was at last followed by a brighter dawn: a vigorous spirit of nationalism and swadeshi arose. A hopeful renaissance began which made some Indians yearn for the sweets of their own literary heritage even if it came to them through Western minds: Sir Edwin Arnold, Max Muller, Sir John Woodroffe and many others were read. Nor was this all. The books of great Western writers like Thoreau, Emerson, Whitman, Ruskin, Carlyle and Tolstoy, with their love and reverence for the Indian way of life, at least in certain aspects, coupled with their own contributions to the world's knowledge and literary richness, attracted the attention of a few Indian students of English literature.

Mahatma Gandhi, who more than any one else in India dominated the political scene for three decades and made the country's history, took to reading appreciatively the writings of these authors.

Let us first consider Thoreau. We learn from his biography that he refused to pay the poll-tax as a protest against his Government's support of slavery. Consequently he was at last arrested and lodged in the village gaol for a night. But on the next day he was released, the fine having been paid by one of his relatives. Later Thoreau embodied his thoughts on civil disobedience in a paper which Gandhiji styled a "masterly treatise." It suggested to him a name for his own "Civil Disobedience" Movement in South Africa, a method which, later introduced in India, secured "Swaraj." Gandhiji was, however, conscious of the limitations of Thoreau. For

one thing, according to him, Thoreau was not an out-and-out champion of non-violence; for another, he probably limited his breach of statutory laws to the revenue law, i.e., refusing to pay taxes. Gandhiji moulded and improved the technique of Thoreau's non-violent weapon in the light of his own experience, knowledge of Indian conditions and further studies, making it a branch of "Satyagraha," Truth-Force or Soul-Force.

Thoreau's philosophy of simplifying the complexities that overwhelm modern life is quite congenial to Indian thought and quite in consonance with its ideals, and it finds echoes in Gandhiji's life. "I introduced as much simplicity as was possible," wrote Gandhiji in Chapter XXII of his autobiography.

Thoreau's love of walking and his extolling of its virtues also found a ready response in Gandhiji. Nay, he even made use of walking to serve political ends, as in his famous Dandi March during the days of the Salt Satyagraha, and later his Noakhali walking tour to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. If Thoreau praises the virtues of walking and of "ruminating while walking," Gandhiji called it the "prince of exercises." Gandhiji's advocacy of Nature Cure possibly may also be traced to Thoreau.

The influence of John Ruskin on Gandhiji was also profound. Ruskin wrote in a powerful and luminous manner and his thoughts, which he clothed in superb language, were also both powerful and luminous. His *Unto This Last* gripped Gandhiji heart and soul and, to quote his own words, "brought about an instantaneous and practical transformation" in his life. He translated the book into Gujarati and called it *Sarvodaya*, which means "universal welfare." As clearly understood and summarized by Gandhiji, the main teachings of *Unto This Last* were that the good of the individual is one with the good of the community, that each, whether barber or lawyer, has the same right to earn a livelihood from his work and that the life of the tiller and the craftsman is the life most worth living. "I arose with the dawn, ready to reduce these principles to practice," wrote Gandhiji. And he was as good as his word. In his mental outlook and his approach to the problems of life

Gandhiji became what he later described as a farmer and a weaver.

But Gandhiji was even more intimately connected with Leo Tolstoy than with any of the other writers previously mentioned. Early in life he had come under the spell of Tolstoy's ideals; also, he acquainted Tolstoy by letter with the details of the Civil Disobedience Movement in the Transvaal; the news, it is recorded, touched the heart of the old Russian and in his reply he expressed his happiness at coming into contact with Gandhiji. Gandhiji's next letter in 1910 made Tolstoy think of him as a person very close to him and made him observe that Passive Resistance was a question of the greatest importance, not only for India, but for all humanity. Gandhiji's final letter in the same year, which was that of Tolstoy's death, mentioned in particular his opening of the Tolstoy Farm in collaboration with Mr. Hermann Kallenbach. Replying to this, Tolstoy reiterated his faith in passive resistance as nothing other than "the teachings of love uncorrupted." The sympathy and esteem of this great Russian author and philosopher must certainly have contributed in shaping the Mahatma of future years.

Besides Mahatma Gandhi, there have been other leaders of India who looked to these great Western writers for guidance and who imbibed their ideals and their ideas. Rabindranath Tagore's Santiniketan perhaps owed its inspiration to Tolstoy's school wherein he himself taught the children of the serfs. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru explains anarchism in his *Glimpses of World History* by a quotation from Thoreau: "That Government is best which governs not at all; and when men are prepared for it that will be the kind of government which they will have." Shri C. Rajagopalachari had read Thoreau even before he had contacted Gandhiji. Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, as great a scholar as he is a statesman, made Thoreau, Emerson and Whitman the subjects of three broadcast talks in 1945. Another great scholar and patriot, V. V. S. Iyer, translated Emerson's essays into Tamil many years ago. Thoreau's *Walden* has also recently been rendered into Tamil.

Indian educationists have always exhibited a partiality for the writings of

Ruskin and of Emerson. Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilies*, *Unto This Last* and *The Crown of Wild Olive* have been prescribed for detailed study by undergraduates in Indian schools and universities. Emerson's *Essays* also are often included as prescribed reading, especially his essay on "History"; and at least one doctoral thesis on Emerson has been submitted to an Indian university. Tolstoy's short stories have been told and retold for children and numerous Indian students have read and loved them. Some of his novels, too, have been translated into Indian languages. Thoreau, and Thoreau alone, had remained unfamiliar to Indian students until 1953 when the Andhra University made history by prescribing an abridged edition of *Walden*. The year after this edition, prepared by Dr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, was adopted was the centenary year of the publication of *Walden*.

Great men, from the East or from the West, souls of vision and judgment whose greatness defies geographical frontiers, are the real pilgrims of humanity; they may be the beacons of every country and nation which turns to them for enlightenment. Their greatness is born of "simplicity, goodness and truth" as Tolstoy would have it. Their riches are not confined to gold and other precious metals but embrace the whole universe of Love. They live with God and their voice is as sweet "as the murmur of the brook and the rustle of the corn."

Let us then mingle "the pure Walden water with the sacred water of the Ganges," as Thoreau said.

Our Population Problem

Dr. S. Chandrasekhar observes in *The Indian Review*:

The population problem has come to be recognised as one of the most basic of all human problems because it affects almost every aspect of man's social life. It affects the health and happiness of individual families; it affects the material prosperity and social progress of nations; and it affects international

security and peace, for population problems have led in the past, and may lead in the future, to war.

Our population problem has numerous aspects and these touch almost every sphere of human endeavour ranging all the way from biology and cultural values to marital patterns and preventive medicine. But the most fundamental aspect of the problem is the ratio between the total available natural resources and the minimum needs of man. In other words the problem is how to bring about a better and a more stable balance between the fertility of the soil and the fertility of man; between human production and human reproduction.

I shall attempt to examine the problem under three headings—the facts, the problem, and a policy or solutions.

I cannot, unfortunately, go into all the relevant facts or the cumulative significance of their inter-relationships. But what are some of the important, demographic facts? Our population has been growing at a fairly rapid rate of 1.2 per cent per annum during the last several years. Actually, this rate is not very high, because there are certain countries in the West which exceed this rate. But because we have a massive population to begin with, even a nominal rate of increase gives us a net annual addition of some five millions. This means that we add every decade about fifty millions, or as much as the population of Great Britain or Western Germany. It is obvious that this rate of growth and the net addition progressively increase under the conditions prevalent in our country.

Today our population is probably around 398 millions, and I am afraid that the 1961 Census—only three years away—will reveal that we have passed the 400 million mark. The projection of our growth, of course, depends on the nature of assumptions one makes about the trends of our birth and death rates.

What about our birth and death rates? The crude birth rates do not reveal as much as fertility rates, or even better, what are called specific fertility rates. The fertility rate represents the number of female children born each year per 1000 women between 15 and 45 years of age. Since there are variations in the age groups in the proportion of total women of child-bearing age, specific fertility rates give a more accurate picture of our population growth. But unfortunately we do not have reliable statistics to do any detailed refinements. Such evidence as we have, after adjusting the rates, shows that the birth rate is around 40

per thousand. The important point here is that our birth rate is not only high but that it has shown no definite declining trend during the last decade. A decline in the birth rate will, of course, depend on the number of girls born, the number and the age at which the girls marry, the number of children they bear and whether they complete their reproductive period, etc. Anyway, we have not witnessed so far any definitive decline in our birth rate.

What about our death rate? Any scientific answer to this question must examine the various components such as the infant mortality rate, the maternal mortality rate, their sex differentials and the overall mortality rate for both sexes in all age groups. Further, the infant mortality rate (which is the number of infants who die per 1000 live births in a year) must be examined in the light of pre-natal loss of life, still-birth, peri-natal (one week) mortality, neo-natal (one month) and post-neo-natal mortality. Here again we do not have accurate figures but such figures as we have and as we can accept after refinement, reveal that our death rate is one of the highest in the world—around 30 per 1000. But fortunately it is declining. For instance, the infant mortality rate which is a sensitive index of our socio-economic conditions, shows a decline. Our infant mortality rate, if official figures are accepted, is around 115 per 1000 live births, whereas in most advanced countries the rate is between 20 and 30. But even here, the rate is declining. This is a very welcome feature, for the nation's children are too precious to be wasted by premature death or preventable disease.

What about the future? Thanks to the efforts of our Second Five-Year Plan, we have declared war on disease with better preventive, diagnostic and curative services, better sanitary and hygienic facilities, more medical personnel and hospitals, and new wonder drugs. But a welcome decline in our death-rate has an unfortunate effect on our population problem for it increases the net addition to our population if nothing happens to our birth-rate. For instance, if we can reduce our infant mortality by, say, fifty per cent, our net annual addition to our population can increase from its present five millions to almost ten millions—an alarming prospect! And yet all of us are dedicated to the ideal of alleviating human suffering, postponing death and prolonging human life.

And we also want to raise the expectation of life at birth for our people.

What about our standard, or rather level, of living? No matter how one defines the concept of a level of living, we all know that our level of living is relatively low. This does not need any statistical evidence! Even those who do not believe in abundant living and want simple and austere living, must grant that our per capita "consumption" of food, clothing, housing, education, medical help, cultural amenities, etc., is far from satisfactory according to any Asian (not European or American) optimum standard of living. All of us are agreed that we do not want any citizen of our country to go chronically hungry, much less die from hunger; to go about semi-naked; to live on our pavements in squalor; to suffer or die from curable disease; or to be illiterate or ignorant.

We want everyone in our country to attain the highest possibilities and develop to the most their inborn and acquired abilities. This can be possible only in an economy of abundance and not one of scarcity. Our low living standard is simply an index of too many people trying to share very limited resources.

There are numerous other demographic, socio-economic facts bearing on this question. I can only recommend the reader to read the 1951 Census Report. Usually government reports, particularly census reports, make dull reading; but Mr. R. A. Gopalaswamy's census report makes fascinating reading and it is well worth any interested layman's perusal.

The population problem in its simplest formulation is this: How can we raise our standard of living (which means more of everything for everybody) and cut down our death-rate (which means keeping alive more people who would otherwise die) when we are unable to support the existing population even at the present miserable standard of living, if at the same time our population continues to increase by five or more millions every year? It is simply impossible. We should forget all about raising our standard of living and perhaps even lower our already

low standard. Or else we must raise our death-rate. But no one can seriously sponsor such a proposal. What then is the way out?

What is the solution to our population problem? There are obviously two approaches to the question. One is to increase tremendously our agricultural and industrial production so that the per capita income in our country is raised. Or rigidly control our population growth. But if we increase production and also add to our population, then we can only maintain the *status quo*. That is, we shall have to run very hard to stand still.

Therefore, the better way is to raise the production of our food and manufactures as far as possible on the one hand, and control population growth on the other so that standard of living can go up.

What about increasing our production? The Government's efforts as seen in our two plans are dedicated to this ideal. We are doing our best to bring more land under cultivation; we are trying to raise better crops; in fact, we are trying to raise our total food supply so that we can be self-sufficient and save the much-needed foreign exchange. Secondly, we are trying to industrialise our economy. Industrialisation needs raw materials, skilled labour, capital, machinery and technological "know-how." We are trying to import Western machines and hire foreign experts. Despite numerous difficulties we are trying to shift under-employed people from over-crowded agriculture to productive urban factories. I am one of those who believe that large-scale and rapid industrialisation will go a great way to solve our population problem. Apart from raising the level of living of our people through more goods, and services, industrialization may also result in a lower birth rate.

The second major solution is that of family planning. The mere mention of this term raises heat and controversy in many parts of the world. I have travelled in many parts of the world and have discovered that the mere mention of this term raises heat and controversy. There is so much cultural,

political and religious prejudice on this question that our country stands high for having taken a courageous and progressive stand on family planning. Prime Minister Nehru, who has taken this position that we should control our numbers, deserves all the praise, for this policy is an effective step in promoting international peace in the long run.

The Government and voluntary agencies must carry this reform to the nooks and corners of our country. Our fashions must change and it must be considered unpatriotic for any young newly-married couples to have more than two or three children. I realise that there are numerous very real difficulties in the path of implementing family planning in rural India, but we must pioneer and perhaps explore methods of permanent conception control. Here again we are fortunate that the Ministry of Health and Shri D. P. Karmarkar are not only aware of the magnitude of the problem, but are making serious efforts in the right direction. Once our family planning movement gets under way and gains momentum, then we shall be able to stabilize our population at some desirable number till economic standards are perceptibly raised.

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The third and last approach is women's education. In technical demographic discussions, women's education is never mentioned but I think the solution of our population problem will be nearer and easier if all young women can have some liberalising education. By education I do not mean what is conventionally imparted in our colleges and universities. We need new educational values for our women so that they may cultivate a sense of dedication to the cause of our country and a new awareness of their role in enriching our life and heritage. When our women realise their rights and have children by choice and not by chance, by design and not by accident, then half of our battle has been won.

The objective of our population policy must be to build a better, healthier and richer India, an India that will give to its citizens first of all a higher standard of living so that in the midst of possible sufficiency, no child will cry for food and go without it: an India where the inventions of modern science and the conveniences of modern civilization will be at the disposal of every family, not merely for the few that can afford them today; an India where people will have no sense of frustrating insecurity and which will make it possible for all groups, regardless of caste, creed, or languages to live in friendship and prosperity; an India that will carry forward her mission of peace to other countries of Asia and the West without the least thought of exploita-

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Scientific Literature from the GDR

The Chamber of the Foreign Trade of the German Democratic Republic has issued this informative note by Ludolf Koven, in its *Special Far East Edition, German Export*:

The work of publishing houses in the GDR is simplified by a system of specialised branch publication.

The Verlag Technik in Berlin for instance are specialist publishers of literature for engineers; the publishing house Fachbuchverlag in Leipzig brings out text-books for skilled workers in industry, and the Berlin publishers Die Wirtschaft concentrate on the issue of books for economic experts.

Many of these books find their way to the Far East, where they can be found at scientific institutes, in factories and public libraries. Many a German engineer sent out by his employers, let us say to India, to build up an industrial plant exported to that country will take along all the technical literature he needs and pass them on to his foreign colleagues. The export of scientific studies, handbooks and special publications for research institutes, universities and their libraries abroad, brought out by the Berlin publishers Akademie Verlag, takes an important place.

Being aware that only a persistent study of scientific publications in all parts of the world can guarantee a maximum of success to any research work, and not wishing to start on work already completed elsewhere, men of learning all over the world assign great importance to means of quick information.

Extensive and authoritative reference publications such as the "Chemisches Zentralblatt" contain information about the latest scientific literature including treatises, periodicals and books. They all have an appendix giving a list of titles for quick information. Some of them contain resumes of publications in several languages, as for instance

the "Zeitschrift fuer angewandte Mathematik und Mechanik" (journal of applied mathematics and mechanics).

The publishers Maruzen Company Ltd., 6 Tori-Nichome Hihonbashi, Tokyo, hold a large annual exhibition of scientific periodicals, in which publishers of the German Democratic Republic take part.

The principal book-importing firms in India are: The Peoples Book Depot S. G. Bhatkal of Bombay; Oxford Book and Stationery Co. of Calcutta; Atma Ram and Sons of Delhi; Peoples Publishing House, New Delhi, and Higginbothams Ltd., Madras.

The centre for book exports from the German Democratic Republic, "Deutscher Buch-Export und—Import GmbH., Leipzig C 1, Leninstrabe 16", also issues catalogues of publications on certain subjects and export catalogues, such as one entitled "Wissen und Koennen", "Das Fachbuch aus der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik", "Deutscher Buchkurier", and a collection of brief literature commentaries entitled "Der Kundendienst".

Publishers of scientific literature regard both their work of publication and their sales and advertising as a service to the spreading of scientific knowledge. Their efforts are crowned by the steadily growing export of German scientific literature to all countries of the Near, Middle and Far East.

Woman-Power Revolution

The office of the Commissioner of Labour, Government of Bombay, has included in the Foreign Section of its Gazette Vol. XXXVIII, No. 3, the following extract from the *Labour Gazette*, Canada, March, 1958:

"Employer inertia and old prejudices are still limiting job opportunities for women," it was asserted at a recent con-

ference at Harriman, New York, called by the National Manpower Council.

These arbitrary limitations as well as women's duties to family and home, the Council was advised, prevent women from playing their most effective role as workers.

The Council noted that it is concerned and concentrating on the status of women whose working careers were interrupted by marriage and raising families. They are in their 30's, 40's, and 50's, and so strong is their rush back to work that the conference termed it a "woman-power revolution."

This group offers a larger potential addition to the United States force in the future than any other age group of men or women. The expected increase for men 35 and over in the labour force between 1955 and 1965 will be 2,892,000; for women of that age, 3,502,000.

Another salient fact emphasized was the increase in the medium age of women workers from 26 years in 1900 to nearly 40 in 1956. The average woman, one member of the group declared, has 44 years to live after her youngest child goes to school. "It's a terrible waste if these years are not used effectively," she asserted.

However, although women proved that they could do a man's job during the Second World War, they still are not given all the opportunities they seek when they reach the hiring gate, all labour union leader told the conference. Saleswomen, hotel workers, teachers and nurses have less difficulty in finding work than other women attempting to return to work. Some representatives of industry reported that women wanting to return to jobs do not realize that their skills have become obsolete.

Where the labour market is shrinking, several new flexible work schemes were reported to accommodate the woman worker who is needed at home. In a company short on clerical help the women were given their choice of a short work-day within the regular hours. Another firm divided one job between two part-time workers.

The Declining Value of Money

The present article published in the *I. L. Review* follows the evolution of the

upward trend in consumer prices up to November, 1958, for which data are available for each of a large number of countries :

The current wave of world inflation is now three years old. It is a mild inflation compared with those experienced in wartime, but it has reduced the purchasing power of wages, social security benefits and other income used to procure the necessities of life by 10 to 20 per cent. or more in most of the countries of the world.

It is possible to discern cyclical price movements which, while obscured in some countries by purely national or regional developments, are of very general significance. Available statistics amply demonstrate the widespread rise in consumer prices during and following the First World War.

After the outbreak of the Second World War prices soared and in many countries substantial increases continued throughout the post-war period.

Following a spurt in many countries at the time of the Korean War, prices attained remarkable stability in much of the world by 1952, and this stability continued in many countries until 1955 or 1956.

It is impossible to ascribe the price increase to any single cause or development. In the *World Economic Survey, 1957*, economists of the United Nations have indentified a number of contributing factors and have noted that the causes differ in different groups of countries.

With regard to the industrial countries, the same survey notes that "the recent inflation developed in association with a boom which began in demand for consumer durables and housing and spread to private investment in plant and equipment".

Increasing costs, including wage costs and rising import prices, also contributed to inflation in the less developed countries, according to the *World Economic Survey*.

In recent years, the survey concludes the predominant factor influencing prices (other than in China) has been the increasing share of the national product allocated to consumption.

The upturn in consumer prices became generally apparent in 1955. Prices were edging up earlier in some regions, and in-

dividual countries exhibited marked variations from the general trend.

Recent price rises have been moderate in most countries of Western Europe. From 1953 to mid-1958 increases as high as 25 per cent. were reported only by Finland, Greece, Iceland, the Saar, Spain and Yugoslavia. Increases of less than 10 per cent. during this period were experienced in Belgium, Luxembourg, Portugal and Switzerland.

Price statistics for the U.S.S.R. and for one or more other Eastern European countries are based largely on the operations of state and co-operative stores. The data available to the end of 1956 are summarised in *World Economic Survey*, 1957. In all these countries official price indices disclose declining prices from 1953 to 1956, ranging from about 5 per cent. in the U.S.S.R. to 23 per cent. in Bulgaria (both decreases representing state and co-operative trade, retail prices). Increases in productivity presumably played a significant part in these declines, for it is customary in these countries to distribute a good portion of the benefit from increased productivity in the form of lower prices, rather than through higher wages, the predominant formula under free enterprise.

The United States and Canada shared in the world inflationary movement, although the price increases experienced in these countries were not very great and seemed disturbing largely because they were seen against a background of unusual stability. From 1956 to 1957 consumer prices in both countries rose slightly more than 3 per cent., and in the 12 months ending August 1958 the increase was slightly above 2 per cent.

Mexico, which has been enjoying a vigorous economic boom, witnessed an increase in prices amounting to nearly 50 per cent. between 1953 and early 1958.

South America has been the stronghold of inflation since the end of the war. From 1953 until early 1958 prices doubled or more in five of the 11 reporting countries and showed large increases in three others.

The countries of the Far East have provided numerous examples of galloping inflation since the outbreak of the Second World War, and even since 1953 consumer prices in South Korea have more than tripled

and those in Indonesia (measured in terms of foods alone) more than double. Other major increases in the 1953-58 period were in Laos (up 81 per cent.), Cambodia (37 per cent.), Thailand (34 per cent.), Taiwan (32 per cent.) and Viet-Nam (28 per cent.). In most of these countries, however, the price rise has flattened perceptibly in recent years.

Economic development programmes have tended to exert powerful upward pressure on consumer prices in the Far East, particularly in view of the difficulty of increasing food supplies. In Burma, India and Pakistan price decreases around 1954 and 1955 were offset by rapidly rising prices about 1956-57. During the most recent 12 months, however, prices in Burma have again declined.

Price movements in the Middle East have been somewhat erratic, with occasional declines intermingled with the increases. Price increases in Turkey have exceeded 10 per cent. annually for two years. Iran, Israel and Cyprus have all experienced appreciable price increases since 1953 although none of these has suffered from serious inflation during the 12 months covered by the most recent statistics.

Consumer prices in Africa have risen steadily since 1953, but marked inflation has not appeared. The largest increase during the period of approximately five years was reported in French West Africa (30 per cent.) Besides, the Cameroons, Nigeria, Uganda, French Equatorial Africa, Algeria, and Northern Rhodesia reported increases near 20 per cent. In Algeria and in several of the French territories substantial increases took place from 1957 to 1958, reflecting devaluation of the French franc and of other currencies related to the franc, as well as the unsettled conditions in some of these areas.

Price increases in Australia, Hawaii and New Zealand have been moderate and quantitatively in line with the European pattern. Both Australia and New Zealand, however, have experienced a levelling-off of consumer prices since 1956.

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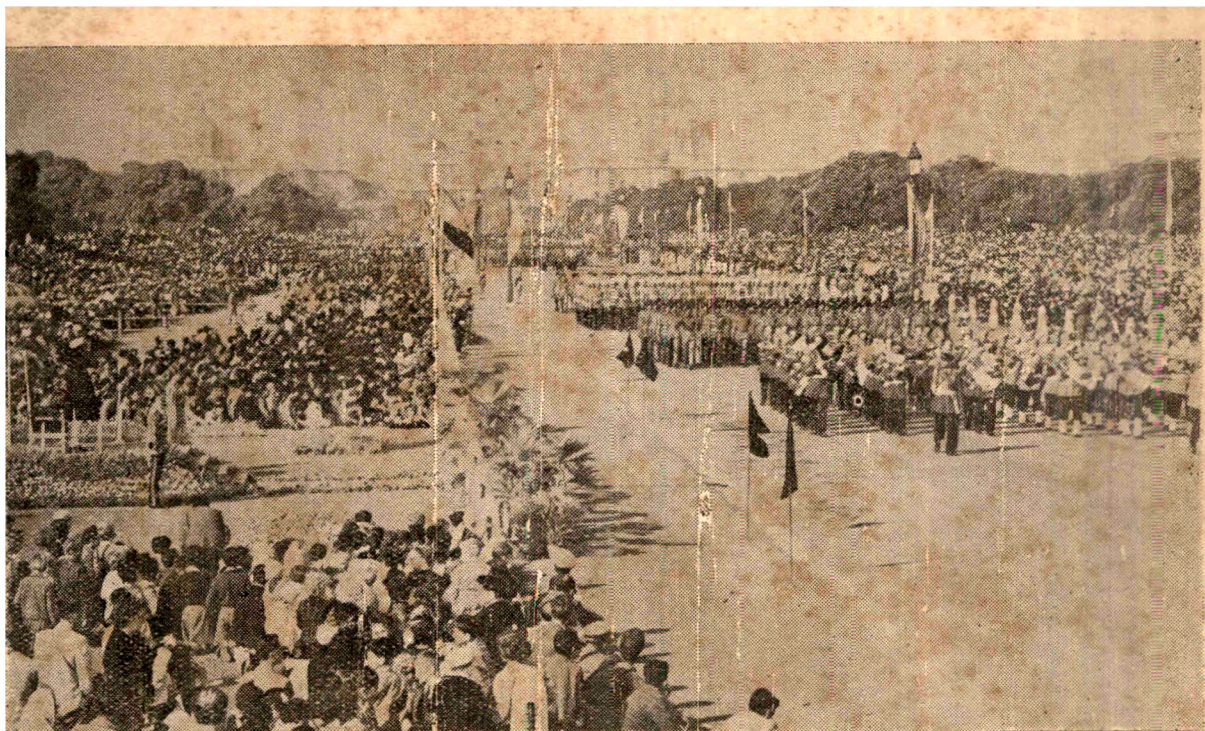
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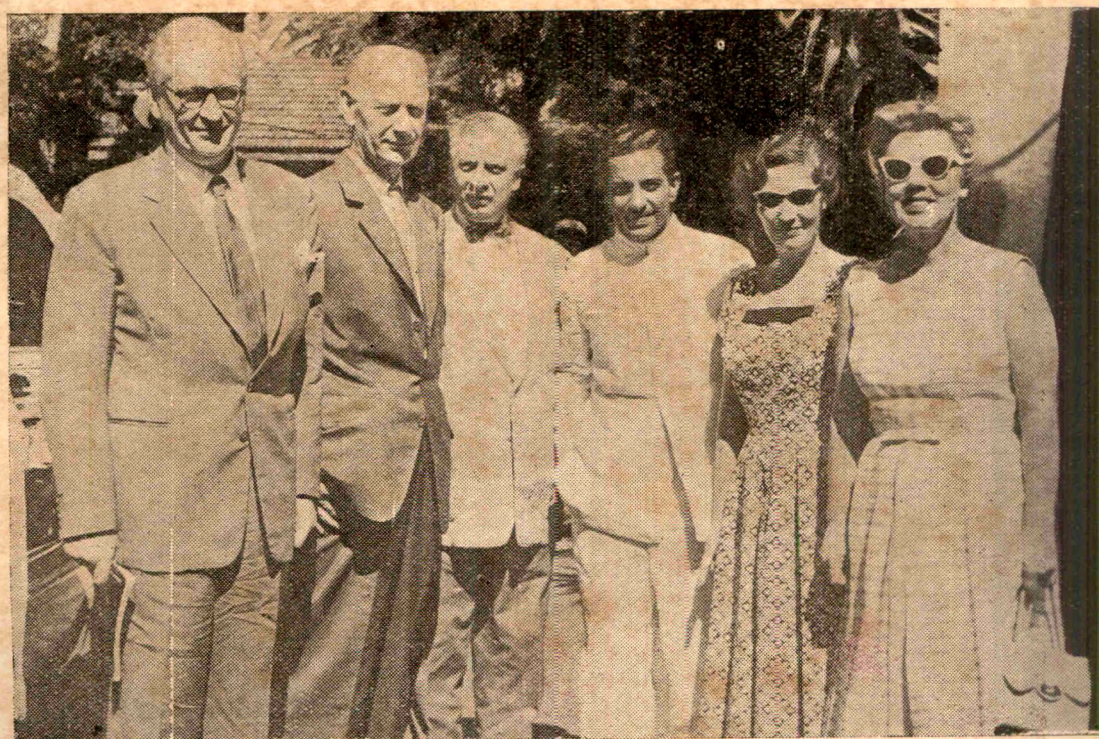
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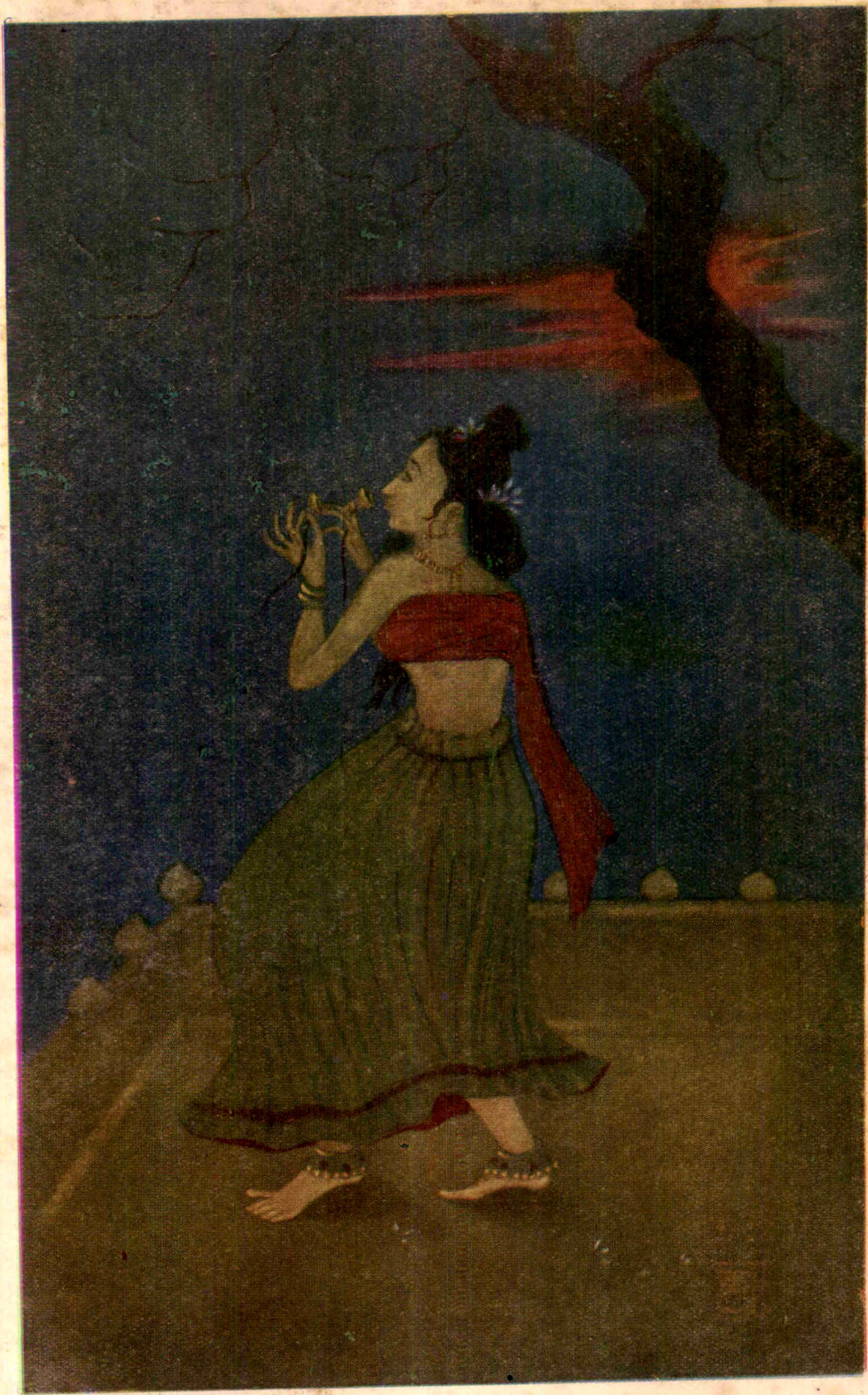
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M.C.S America; formerly Professor
of Chemistry, Bhagalpur College.



The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad took the salute at the Grand Armed Forces march past and the cultural pegeant at Rajpath in the capital on the Republic Day



Mr. Einar Gerhardson, Prime Minister of Norway (2nd from left), Mr. Halvard Lange, Foreign Minister of Norway (extreme left), Mrs. Gerhardson (2nd from right) and Mrs. Lange (extreme right) visited the headquarters of the Government of India's Films Division in Bombay



Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

EVENING SONG
By Panchanan Roy

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The New Congress President

We extend our most cordial felicitations to Shrimati Indira Gandhi on her being elected President of the Indian National Congress. And together with our greetings we send our heartfelt sympathies for this arduous and onerous task being imposed on her. For, under the present conditions the task of regenerating the moribund Congress is truly superhuman. Indeed, it might well be compared to one of the Labours of Hercules, namely, the cleaning of the Augean Stables. Still, given the clear understanding of the problems that beset the Congress these days and the will and determination to carry on with the work, left unfinished by Gandhiji, much more might be achieved by her than by any of the Presidents that have occupied the once hallowed seat, in the Post-Independence Era.

In the past the Congress President was the torch-bearer of the children of the motherland, the leader of the people in all their hopes and aspirations. More and over the President was the last Tribunal of Appeal in all cases of injustice and suffering of the peoples of the nation, when all other channels of redress against evil or wrongdoing had failed. The oppressed and the helpless, when they were unable to obtain justice or succour from those who were appointed to administer the same, could readily approach the Congress to espouse their cause, without any reference to the attitude of the majority regarding the question.

Above all the Congress had only Truth as its supreme consideration, and not any party tenets or governmental dictum.

The Congress today has become an

ancillary body-politik to the Congress Government. It has no separate existence, body or soul, beyond what is provided and regulated by the tinsel Caesars of New Delhi. And herein lie the seeds of the degeneration that has set in that once beloved and respected organisation.

Shibboleths and slogans are the order of the day, with grievous results where moral values and considerations are concerned. If you want help, redress or sustenance, you get a homily instead, with a veiled threat of worse to come, or else a rebuke for being selfish while the mighty are engrossed with the task of "Nation-building." And ninety-nine times out of a hundred the homily comes from a self-seeking and corrupt politician who is not only lining his own pockets but is also providing a fat living for his unworthy relations and satellites.

The Congress in order to justify its existence now must purge itself of all these evils that have accrued to it through its connections with the Administration and the party-conscious politicians that infest the legislatures.

The Government of today in this country is certainly of the People. But it is by the Party and, largely, for the Party. Therefore there is great need for a completely detached and unbiassed Congress to hear from the People and render unto them what Truth and Justice dictate.

Indira Gandhi, with her pure and serene upbringing in life and with her natural charm and freshness of outlook may achieve a lot. For the rest there is the Grace of the Supreme Arbiter. *Yatne krite yadi na siddhate ko atra dosha?*

Public Administration in India ✓

The importance of a human approach to all problems on the part of administration was stressed by the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in his inaugural address before the Indian School for Public Administration in New Delhi. Stressing the importance of public administration in India he dwelt on the theme that administration was not an end in itself, but essentially a means to an end, which was the promotion of the welfare of the Community through orderly management of day-to-day affairs and smooth disposal of work. It was therefore of the highest importance that a human approach was maintained in tackling problems and implementing programmes. It was also necessary for administration to be responsive to public opinion and administrators had to conduct themselves in a manner which inspired the people's confidence and co-operation. "Without a human approach and a spirit of service", Dr. Prasad said, "even the best trained administrator will fail to have the right attitude to the problems he is called upon to **tackle.**"

It is to be fervently hoped that the President's words would have some salutary effect upon the tone of public administration in India which has evoked criticism from unexceptionable people at home and abroad. A good many of those occupying the higher rungs of the administrative ladder have no ostensive liking, or the necessary training and background, to assist the implementation of democratic measures. Let us hope that the words of the President would not have fallen on deaf ears.

While much of the complaint against the rigidity and imaginative character of public administration in India is undoubtedly true, it is equally undeniable that a substantial part of the weakness arises out of the character of the laws and policies adopted by the Government. The late President of the USA, Mr. Woodrow Wilson, defined public administration as the "detailed and systematic execution of public law". That is, the character of administration is intimately influenced by the nature of the laws and policies of the Government. Unfortunately for our country, the Government, even after independence, has not yet seen it fit to

rescind many of the repugnant policies of the former British Government nor has it adopted a general policy of associating responsible public opinion with administration at every level. As matters stand, it is only at the Central and Provincial Legislatures, that there is some semblance of democracy in that the people have some opportunity to express themselves on certain issues through their elected representatives. The *panchayats* certainly make some definite attempt to extend democratic administration to lower levels but the Acts, as framed now, leave little or no scope for popular initiative. The net result is that the common man is as much open to oppression or harassment as before and is therefore scared of the District or Sub-divisional executives as he was in the British days.

Without a concerted effort to remove the barriers of superiority and suspicion between the administrators and the people, and the opportunities for irresponsible harassment, it is futile to speak of a human approach. The President had on an earlier occasion asked that there should be no relation between monetary income and status. It sounds nice, no doubt, but in the existing circumstances to say so would be tantamount to mockery. The situation brought home by the Government's own treatment to people of poorer means in official functions and ceremonies, the pomp and grandeur in which the Ministers and Governors and even the President himself surround themselves during their public appearances, cannot certainly be regarded as conducive to the growth of a spirit of service and humility in administrators. The upshot is that even after a decade of independence, the Government office remains, as ever, inscrutable and dreadful to the vast majority of the people of India.

We are forced therefore to label such utterances as puerile, unless we see the implementation of these pious wishes by effective measures of punishment against recalcitrant administrators. To-day, with the bringing in of a most incomplete and defective constitution, without any safeguards against the deliberate evil-doer, the irresponsible and inefficient administrator, be he a common assistant in a department or the gilded head of a public service department, has manifold opportunities for oppression, harassment and extortion. We can

speak on personal experience that it is very seldom, indeed, that such opportunities are not exercised, the sufferer being left with the option of bearing all the evil without protest or facing a long and extremely expensive legal remedy. The evil-doer goes scot free!

Socialism and Economic Planning

Socialism has been accepted as the goal of Indian economy. The Indian Parliament by its resolution of December 1954 accepted a socialistic pattern of society as the ideal for the planned economy in India. The Abadi Congress also adopted this idea and the Industrial Policy Resolution of the Government of India, of April 1956, also reiterated this basic principle of the Indian economy. The Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress has gone a forward step in modifying the socialistic outlook. The words "socialistic pattern of society" were somewhat ambiguous in their implications. These have now been substituted with the words, "socialist society." The Nagpur resolution of the Congress states that the creation of a democratic and socialist society should be clearly and unambiguously placed before the nation as the objective of planning, and all the implications of socialism, in terms of individual and co-operative effort it requires, should be clearly explained to the people. The stress should be not only on individual and social demands and needs, but equally on duties and obligations and the work that is necessary for meeting these needs.

But there is a great difference between the ideal and its execution. The Congress organisation is itself full of Trojan horses who are deliberately bent upon betraying the cause of the nation. Socialism has been identified, under one definition, with Government ownership and operation of economic enterprise. In this respect, India is not much socialized. Many a Congress leader pledges his allegiance to socialism with tongue in cheek, only because it is inexpedient to do otherwise. The idea of the socialist pattern of society has hitherto meant different things to different people.

The Congress party is still mostly a coalition of groups with divergent interests and outlook. Except as a general feeling that the Government should take the lead, one way or other, the idea of socialism has been interpreted in contradictory terms.

Even the main architect of this concept of socialism perhaps does not know fully the implications of what he says. Sometimes he castigates the private sector, sometimes he asserts that the private sector is part and parcel of the Indian economic structure. In the opinion of Pandit Nehru, casteism is the main impediment to the achievement of socialism in this country and the abolition or liquidation of the caste system will bring about a complete socialistic pattern of society. But this is just an evasion of the issue, the real enunciation and implementation of which will burst the Congress party asunder. Naturally the issue therefore has to be confused and the castigation of casteism is an example of that, leaving the problem of ownership of economic enterprises to work its own way to solution by chance measures of legislation and circumstantial forces. The adoption of the "middle path," the way of the mixed economy, involves a compromise for reasons of expediency.

Most of the Congress party members either do not know the true implications of socialism or simply pay lip service to the cause of socialism. At the Nagpur session, while the resolution on socialism was being discussed, Pandit Nehru retorted: "I wonder whether these people who took the trouble to come here to speak had read the resolution." For Pandit Nehru and perhaps for the general masses, the ideals of socialism are the ultimate goal, which means increasing output and expanding employment for social gain, not private profit; it emphasizes the responsibility of the State to achieve greater equality of income and wealth. It sees the means to these ends in some blend of social ownership of the principal means of production with social control of those which remain under private ownership.

A stumbling block towards the achievement of socialistic society lies in the pro-

posed land reform. During all these twelve years of independence, India could not solve her agrarian problem on the solution of which depends the future shape of her economic policy. The zamindari abolition has no doubt liquidated the intermediaries. But today there has cropped up another problem of great significance and that is the problem of big peasantry, which is certainly the outcome of the legislative measures undertaken in various States of India following the abolition of the zamindari system. The big peasants have substituted the old zamindars and the social ownership of lands still remains in the offing.

✓ The Nagpur Congress resolution states that the future agrarian pattern should be that of co-operative farming in which the land will be pooled for joint cultivation, the farmers continuing to retain their property rights, and getting a share from the net produce in proportion to their land. Further, those who actually work on the land, whether they own the land or not, will get a share in the proportion to the work put in by them on the joint farm. As a first step, prior to the institution of joint farming, service co-operatives are to be organised throughout the country. These stages should be completed within a course of three years. In order to remove uncertainty regarding land reforms and give stability to the farmer, ceilings should be fixed on existing and future holdings and legislation to this effect, as well as for the abolition of intermediaries, should be completed by the end of 1959.

The ceiling on land holdings will not, however, mean any ceiling on income, as it is expected that by intensive cultivation as well as by additional occupations, rural income will rise. Such surplus land should vest in the panchayats and should be managed through co-operatives consisting of landless labourers. The vested interests entrenched on the land sector stand in opposition to the idea of ceiling and the proposal for joint co-operative farming.) Shri K. M. Munshi, a former Governor of the U.P., has made a scathing criticism of the idea of co-operative farming. Speaking on "Despotism—old and New," at a

meeting organised by the Delhi Historical Society recently, Shri Munshi said that the policy of co-operative farming adopted at Nagpur would create conditions favourable for a despotism entering our life on padded feet. He cites the examples of Yugoslavia where co-operative farming introduced by coercion has collapsed, and of Russia and China where collectivism has been introduced at an enormous cost of human life and complete destruction of human values.

There are at present nearly 2 crores of landless peasants working as labourers and the ceiling on land holdings will release surplus lands which may be directed towards distribution to the landless peasants. China today is attempting to solve her land problem as well as food problem by a single stroke of agrarian reform on the basis of compulsory co-operatives. Justice is a relative term and the teeming number of the landless peasants may well complain today that they are subject to a perpetual injustice in that while they are reduced to a position of destitution, a section of big landholders enjoy the benefit of large holdings and exploit the labours of others in the name and protection of social liberty, which is in reality anything but liberty. The land policy should be such as will gradually reduce disparities in wealth and income, eliminate exploitation, provide security for tenants and workers and finally promise equality of status and opportunity to different sections of population, on the basis of work and responsibility.

But the wisdom of vesting the management of the farming co-operatives in the village panchayats will be doubted. The panchayats are the other name for financial mismanagement or insolvency. The payment of compensation to the former landholders will also form another formidable difficulty in the way of taking away surplus lands from the big owners. The compensation money in the ultimate analysis will have to come from the co-operatives themselves by way of fair rents to the panchayats. The mere redistribution of surplus lands to the landless peasants will not increase the output, unless

adequate financial provisions are also made available through agricultural banks or co-operative societies.

External Assistance for India ✓

The post-war practice of rendering economic assistance to a country is a great innovation in international diplomacy. It has covered a variety of purposes, patterns and agencies. The Marshall Plan which enabled economic restoration of the post-war Western Europe may be regarded as the pioneer in the field of international economic diplomacy. The Bretton Woods twins have been established also on the basis of giving financial assistance to the countries which need it for their developmental purposes. The adoption of the Point Four programme by the USA has lent a great momentum to this practice of giving assistance to the needy countries. The latest arrival in the field of economic diplomacy is that of the USSR. The security and profit incentive offered in the old days of colonialism facilitated the free flight of risk capital. But since the end of the second world war, instability and insecurity loom large in the political horizon of the world and for that reason the free flow of finance-capital has been much halted. Further there has been a changed outlook in the pattern of private capital investment today. The movement of capital outside the country is more or less controlled in almost all the countries of the world and the State now insists on the ploughing back of productive capital to the home industries of a country.

The inflow of private development capital is now being substituted by economic assistance from foreign States and international institutions. India has received a large amount of foreign assistance from different countries of the world and also international institutions. Apart from financial assistance, India has also received technical assistance from many countries and international institutions. Financial assistance has come from the countries like the USA, the U.K., the USSR, West Germany, Canada, Australia, New

Zealand, Norway and Japan. International agencies like the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the FAO, the UNICEF, UNESCO, etc., have also rendered assistance to India. Private agencies, like, the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation, private U.S. and U.K. banks have also provided funds for the procurement of capital goods and technical experts.

The total foreign assistance so far received by India by way of loans and grants from the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan, comes to Rs. 1,027.43 crores. This includes the additional credit of \$100 million from the U.S. Development Loan Fund for which an agreement was made in December 1958. In addition to these loans and grants there has been an authorisation for a loan of Rs. 32.47 crores under P.L. 665 and Rs. 345.89 crores under P.L. 480 for purchase of U.S. surplus agricultural commodities. Taking these also into account the total amount of external assistance authorised thus aggregates to Rs. 1,373.32 crores. Of this total amount, the loans (other than the credits under P.L. 665 and P.L. 480) accounts for Rs. 845.85 crores and grants for Rs. 181.58 crores. The loans disbursed up to the end of March 1958 by the donor countries come to Rs. 265.89 crores and grants to Rs. 131.67 crores. The balance of authorised funds available to India amounts to Rs. 629.87 crores.

The highest amount of loans and grants has come from the USA, totalling about Rs. 682.46 crores. This amount is on the U.S. Government account. Besides, India has also received loans for Rs. 5.33 crores from the private U.S. banks and Rs. 71.43 crores from the U.S. Export-Import Bank. The total U.S. assistance thus amounts to Rs. 759.22 crores. In pursuance of the Point Four Programme, the Government of India and the U.S. Government entered into the Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation Agreement on 5th January 1952. The agreement provides for the execution of agreed projects in co-ordination with India's Five-Year Plan. The total amount received under the T.C.A. is Rs. 588.91 crores. This

agreement was extended in 1957 on a long-term basis. In 1955, a new feature was introduced in the T.C.A. and it was that the major part of the aid should be in the form of loan and that fifty per cent of the development assistance should be taken in the shape of U.S. surplus agricultural commodities. With effect from April 1958, a new concept of aid has been introduced in the T.C.A. A Development Loan Fund has been set up and the financial assistance is extended to the private sector also. The entire aid is to be in the form of loans carrying interest at the rate of 3 to 4 per cent and repayable in not more than forty years either in local currency or in dollars at the borrowers' option. The total amount of loan sanctioned in 1958-59 is \$175 million. Besides, an allocation of \$20 million has been made from the U.S. President's Asian Economic Development Fund for the Orissa Iron Ore project.

Apart from the Technical Co-operation Aid from the USA, there is also loan assistance from the Agricultural Commodities Agreement between these two countries. The agreement under Public Law, signed in August 1956, provides for the sale of surplus agricultural commodities to the value of \$302.90 million during the three years ending 30th June 1959. In 1958 several other Commodities Agreements were made between India and the USA. In 1958, \$238.8 million were allocated for India for the purchase of foodgrains. Out of the loan of \$234 million under the first agreement, a sum of \$55 million has been reserved for re-lending to industries in the private sector. The Refinance Corporation of India has been established for this purpose. India is also purchasing surplus agricultural commodities from the USA under P.L. 665 against payment in equivalent rupee amount. The rupee equivalent is deposited in the U.S. Government account in India. From this account a loan of Rs. 7 crores has been given for Rihand Valley Development.

• Russia comes next in order of the assistance rendered. The total amount of loan authorised up to the end of March 1958, stood at Rs. 123.33 crores. Of this

amount disbursements were made only for Rs. 15.98 crores. The balance amount is available for further disbursements. Under the 1954-55 agreement, Russia agreed to supply equipment and structural steel work worth Rs. 63.07 crores for the Bhilai steel plant. Russia has offered further credits to the extent of Rs. 60 crores to be utilised from 1959 onwards to finance: (1) heavy machine building works, (2) mining machinery plant, (3) power station at Neyveli, (4) optical glass factory, and (5) development of Korba coal fields. Russia has also given grants for Rs. 76 lakhs in the form of agricultural machinery for the establishment of a State mechanical farm at Suratgarh.

West Germany has given a loan for Rs. 75 crores to finance the Rourkela steel project. The British Government has agreed to give a loan for Rs. 20 crores (£15 million) to finance a part of the Durgapur steel plant. In addition, a consortium of British banks has agreed to give a loan of £11.5 million for the same project. Between 1951 to 1958 India has received financial assistance from Canada for about Rs. 66.68 crores. This includes a grant of \$30 million and the remaining amount is in the form of loans. In addition to this amount, Canada has allocated a sum of \$17 million as aid during the year 1958-59. The Canadian assistance has been for varied purposes ranging from the Trombay Reactor to locust control and Mayurakshi project and many others.

Excluding foreign Governments, the largest amount of external assistance has come from the IBRD. India has received from the World Bank loans for an aggregate amount of \$507.09 million (or Rs. 241.27 crores). Of this amount, \$315.82 million (Rs. 150.39 crores) were for the public sector and \$191.27 million (or Rs. 91.08 crores) were for the private sector.

The President's Address

Referring to the practice of the presentation of the President's Address at the opening of the Budget Session of Parliament, the *Delhi Hindusthan Standard* in a characteristically incisive editorial article

exposes some of the funnier sides of the matter.

The newspaper writes:

"Every time the budget session of Parliament opens, the question must occur to many minds why the first citizen of the State and holder of its highest office should be condemned to perform the periodical rite of reading a paper which would be among the dullest of compositions likely to be heard in the two Houses during the whole year. There could be no greater contrast than between the brilliance of the ceremonial glitter that marks the occasion of the opening of Parliament and the drabness of the speech with its numbered paragraphs—this session's had 54—that is put in the mouth of the central figure—the President. It is not of course the fault of the President: it is rather a built-in misfortune of the office. Built-in, because it need not necessarily have been there. The mechanism of the King's (or the Queen's) speech in Britain has a history of development which began when the monarch reigned as well as had shares in the other two functions—ruling and governing—of sovereignty. In the course of that development it has gathered about it, in the characteristic British fashion, a few legal fictions. But 'our' President is without any history of this kind. In Britain, history imparts some sense to the legal fiction but here, in its copy-book version, it accentuates a feeling of unreality, of a passing show. We are bound by no history like that of the British and it was not necessary in our Constitution—that is, if we did not rely so heavily on copying—to impose on the head of the State this kind of function of a mouthpiece. It should have been possible to think out some other device that could serve the purpose of this particular constitutional mechanism and yet save the President from the necessity of reciting to an audience in the grandest setting a paper which nobody could make sound inspiring or exciting or even interestingly readable.

"That again is no fault of those who compose it. It is in the thing's nature to be like that. When we look at this Address

we have the vision of an endless series of papers and files—one behind or below another—that have yielded this extract. We can see with the mind's eye the flow of files rise higher and higher as the distance grows between the ground level of fact and the top reaches of authority. Regarding some of the matters in the Address, it may be like viewing a star at a distance of thousands or millions of light-years: that is, we may be seeing what, for ought we know, may no more be in existence, having passed away or been changed in form. Take, for instance, para. 32 of the President's Address which refers to progress made in the rehabilitation of refugees. After stating—about the displaced persons from West Pakistan—the hope 'that the last stage of rehabilitation, that is, payment of compensation, will be completed during this year,' the Address says:

"In regard to displaced persons from East Pakistan, about sixty thousand have moved from camps to rehabilitation sites during the past year. It has been decided to close the camps in West Bengal before the end of July this year. It is expected that the remaining thirty-five thousand displaced families will have moved by that time from the camps either for work and rehabilitation in Dandakaranya, or to rehabilitation sites in other States.'

"But is it not that the official plan which aimed at closing down all camps in West Bengal by July of this year also envisaged the transfer of a sizable first batch of refugees to Dandakaranya in last November? It seems the writer of the Address either did not notice or preferred to ignore that transfer operations are already about three months behind schedule. In the above passage the use of two kinds of units (sixty thousand 'persons' and thirty-five thousand 'families') in two consecutive sentences looks like a showman's trick that could be amusing if it did not occur in an Address to be delivered by the President."

The Congress President

Referring to the election of Mrs. Indira Gandhi as the President of the Indian National Congress, the *Hitavada* writes:

"The election of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, as the Congress President, was a foregone conclusion since the top leaders of the Congress who had assembled in Nagpur during the Congress session had informally agreed that her candidature should be heavily supported. Unfortunately, Congress leadership at the second division level is so weak that no person could be considered as completely suitable for the job. It was expected at one time that the Congress Presidentship would be handed over to a leader from the South but such leaders as were available for the candidature were not free from controversy. Mrs. Indira Gandhi has been a devoted social worker and has been an immense and priceless asset to her distinguished father in the discharge of his many duties. She is in her forties and therefore has the requisite energy for applying her mind to the work of the Congress organisation. The fact that she is the President will ensure that there will be no serious differences of opinion between the Prime Minister and the Congress organisation which is absolutely essential for the efficient functioning of the organisation at a time when its supremacy in the country has been seriously challenged in many States."

The special correspondent of the *Vijit* at Madras however writes that the reluctance of Shri Kamaraja to spare Shri Sub-amaniam was dictated more by the loss in recent years, of real power and prestige on the part of Congress President as was evidenced in the scant respect shown to Shri Dhebar during the Nagpur Congress, than for any other reason.

Congress Dissensions

The *Bombay Chronicle* writes editorially:

'While squabbles in the Uttar Pradesh Congress have gained prominence of late, news comes that in another 'problem State' things are no better. If five of Rajasthan's top Congress leaders have been censured by the party's Disciplinary Action Committee for infringing the procedure laid down for redressing grievances against

Congress Governments in the States, the action amply indicates the acute form of factional rivalries and group quarrels in the State, a situation aggravated by the implication of three former Chief Ministers of the State in the 'bad example' set in this matter. The offence of the five Congress leaders was to issue in September last a joint statement to the A-I.C.C. in which 'serious allegations' were made against the Sukhadia Ministry. The matter, it is pointed out, could have been first addressed to the Rajasthan P.C.C. or the Chief Minister and should not have been referred in the first instance over their heads to the A-I.C.C. Apart from the wrong procedure adopted, the Congress leaders seem to have erred grievously in the charges against the Ministry; for the A-I.C.C. found them baseless while inquiring into specific instances of nepotism and corruption alleged. This clean bill, more than a technical breach of procedure, lends gravity to the conduct of the 'rebels.' Yet all the punishment meted out to them has been censure after 'disapproval' of their behaviour. This is, indeed, a radical departure from the policy of 'wholesome purges' for party indiscipline initiated some months ago and the 'stringent measures' decided on to rid the organisation of various evils.

"Perhaps, knowing the background of Congress affairs in Rajasthan, the A-I.C.C. did not want to castigate the party's dissidents in stronger terms than it did. Last year, when the Rajasthan P.C.C. launched 'a purification campaign' to rid itself of 'undesirable elements' in its midst, the move was considered a salutary one in toning up the organisation. That rankling evils existed in the entire administration was a fact which was above dispute. Mr. K. M. Subramanian, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the State Government, gave up his charge after being a year or so in office as a disappointed and frustrated man. He was always at loggerheads with the Ministers and officials and had to leave his post ultimately. Thus, what is facetiously assumed as a matter for Congress Party belongs in real fact to the whole administrative and

political set-up in the State. The administration, especially, is a jungle growth, and expenditure on it has reached unbelievable heights—50 per cent of the total revenue, as compared with one-fifth of the revenue in Madras and one-fourth in Andhra. Naturally complaints of abuses have been mounting. As an instance, expenditure on Government vehicles increased from nearly Rs. 10 lakhs in 1953 to nearly Rs. 23 lakhs in 1957. Judging from the trend, it should be more now. An Economy Committee, appointed in October 1957, has yet to give its findings. Evidently, many of the ills attributed to Congress are endemic in the whole State, and unless these are remedied, the party cannot hope to set its house in order."

Progress in Steel Industry ✓

The commencement of production of iron and steel in the two newly-established steel plants in the public sector in India marks a definite stage in India's industrial development. The second Plan target for steel production envisages a rise from 1.2 million tons in 1956 to 6 million tons in 1961. This target will be achieved through expansion and modernisation of the existing three steel plants and new production in the three State-owned steel plants in the public sector. The total cost of the three State-owned steel plants will be Rs. 439 crores and the steel plants represent the largest enterprises of their kind so far undertaken by the State. The cost of Rourkela has been estimated at Rs. 170 crores, that of Bhilai at Rs. 131 crores and of Durgapur at Rs. 138 crores. In addition, another Rs. 120 crores will have to be spent for townships, ore mines and quarries, power supply facilities, etc. The total cost of these three steel plants will thus come to Rs. 559 crores.

The Bhilai plant is being established with the technical and financial assistance of Russia. The main plant and equipment worth about Rs. 63 crores has been supplied by the USSR on credit repayable in twelve annual instalments and the interest charge will be Rs. 2½ per cent per annum. The production capacity of the plant is one million tons of crude steel to be rolled into

770,000 tons of billets, rails and structurals. There will be 200,000 tons of rail and sleeper bars, 160,000 tons of heavy structurals, 260,000 tons of medium structurals, 150,000 tons of billet for re-rolling and 300,000 tons of foundry iron. The by-product plant will make use of 130 tons of tar per day. The by-products will include benzol, creosote, naphthalene and other products. A fertiliser plant will also be set up here and it will produce 580,000 tons of nitro-limestone a year.

The Rourkela steel plant is being set up in co-operation with a German combine, Krupp and Demag, and has a capacity of one million tons of crude steel to be rolled into 720,000 tons of plates, sheets and strips. With a few additions the capacity of the plant can be raised to 1.3 million tons of finished steel and the ultimate target for this plant is two million tons a year. This plant will produce 200,000 tons of plate, 470,000 tons of hot and cold rolled sheets of various gauges, 50,000 tons of foundry iron. The by-products plant will utilise 130 tons of tar per day and produce creosote, naphthalene and other products. A fertiliser plant is also being set up here to make use of the surplus nitrogen produced in the oxygen plant. It will produce 580,000 tons of nitro-limestone a year. For each of these plants 670 engineers and 6,300 skilled workers will be necessary. The West German Government has given a loan of Rs. 75 crores for the Rourkela plant for three years.

For the Durgapur steel plant the British Government has given a loan of £15 million (about Rs. 20 crores) and a syndicate of British banks has given a loan of £1.5 million. Each of these three plants will require about a million and a half tons of iron ore, a similar quantity of coal, half a million tons of limestone and half a million tons of other raw materials. Nearness of iron and coal is essential for a steel plant. For Rourkela an iron ore mine is being developed about 50 miles away. Similarly, a mine is also being developed for Bhilai. For Durgapur, iron ore will come from the existing market sources. Coal for the

three plants will come from the existing collieries in Bokaro, Jharia and Raniganj fields. Necessary coal washeries are being set up.

The existing steel plants are also being expanded. The expansion scheme of the Tata steel plant is being designed to raise its production of finished steel from 750,000 tons to 1.5 million tons. The Government of India has given a special advance of Rs. 10 crores towards the modernisation and expansion programmes and they have also guaranteed two World Bank loans for \$75 million and \$32.5 million respectively. These loans are expected to cover a major portion of their foreign exchange requirements for the completion of two million tons programme. The Tata Iron and Steel Company has engaged an American firm of consulting engineers—Kaisers—to assist them in the expansion schemes.

The expansion of the Indian Iron and Steel Company is designed to increase their capacity from 300,000 to 800,000 tons of steel per annum and 400,000 tons of pig iron for sale. The expansion is expected to be completed by December 1959. The Government of India has given to the Company for their expansion programmes an interest-bearing loan of Rs. 7.9 crores and a special repayable advance of Rs. 10 crores. To meet the foreign exchange cost, the World Bank has advanced two loans of \$20 million and \$20 million respectively. These have been guaranteed by the Government of India. The International Construction Company, a British firm, has been appointed to assist the Indian Iron in their expansion schemes.

The Mysore Iron and Steel Works is also being expanded to produce steel from 0.03 million tons at present to 0.10 million tons a year. India today lags far behind in steel production to other countries. The U.S.A. produces about 120 million tons of steel a year, Soviet Russia produces 50 million tons, West Germany 25 million tons, Britain 22 million tons and India at present only 2 million tons. In India the per capita consumption of steel is also very low. The per capita annual consumption

of steel in the USA is 625 kilogram, in West Germany it is 435 kg., in U.K. 368 kg., in France 233 kg., and 215 kg. in the USSR. It is only 9kg. in India today. By 1975 India is expected to produce 35 million tons of steel per year. But China is making rapid strides in steel production and it is apprehended that China will before long surpass India in steel production.

The basic raw materials for steel industry are iron ores, coking coal, limestone, manganese and refractory materials. India is estimated to have the largest reserves of high-grade iron ores in the world, her reserves being one and a half times that of USA and USSR put together. By 1970, the USA will have to import about 40 per cent of her annual iron ore requirements. The USA has very little reserves of manganese. The USSR has the largest reserves of manganese in the world, but her reserves of high-grade iron ores are not very large. Between the USA, USSR and India, India is better placed in respect of the necessary raw materials for steel industry. India has large reserves of iron and manganese. Her reserves of coking coal are limited, but with the help of modern technological progress in the use of semi-coking and non-coking coals, there will be no shortage of coking coal for India for some decades to come.

Kenya in Trouble Again

The British policies in Kenya were meeting with increasing hostilities on the part of Asians and Africans. All the Indian and African elected members of the Kenya Legislative Council recently withdrew from participation in the work of the Council as a protest against the British Government's refusal to take timely steps to hold a round table conference where constitutional reforms could be discussed.

Referring to the British Government's policies in Kenya the *Hindu* in an editorial article writes :

"That conditions in Kenya are tense has been noted by observers. Land reform has been undertaken in the form of consolidation of holdings but the Africans resent

the fact that the best lands have been reserved for the Europeans. Industrialisation is going on, resulting in Africans crowding cities. African purchasing power has increased considerably and the tribal economy and social set-up are fast breaking up. African politicians, with new ideas and ideals, have replaced tribal chieftains. Elected Africans have refused to accept office under the Lyttelton 'reforms' and Mr. Lennox-Boyd's later tinkering with the political set-up has not pleased Africans and Asians. The African leaders asked for fifteen more seats in the Legislature but Mr. Lennox-Boyd was willing to give only six more. The whole trouble is that the Government, run by the Europeans in effect, does not wish to introduce genuine democracy into Kenya. A special correspondent points out in the *New Statesman* how the Lennox-Boyd concessions 'preserved European control of the Executive Council, counterbalanced direct African representation by instituting cross-bench seats to be elected by the whole Legislative Council and created a Council of State to prevent discriminatory legislation.' The Africans demand their due and would prefer direct negotiations with the British Government rather than with the one in Kenya which is run by the European settlers and which refuses to consider any further change at present.

The boycott of the Legislature now announced brings matters to a head. The multi-racial system of government is, no doubt, a good ideal: but, considering the fact that Africans form the overwhelming majority of the people of Kenya, it is but proper that their opinions should prevail in the matter of constitutional reform. The Europeans and Asians must accept this fact: and the Asians have now done so. The European bloc in the Kenya legislature holds up all progress."

Reforms in Belgian Congo ✓

Africa is moving towards independence in all its sectors. The following news from Belgium is appended for record:

Brussels, January 13.—The Belgian

Government today announced plans to make the Belgian Congo "a democracy capable of deciding its independence," by instituting elections and a "skeleton" Parliament.

Local elections will be held for African Councillors in towns and most rural areas by the end of 1959 and they will elect in 1960 a Provincial Council to form the "skeleton" of a Chamber of Representatives.

This was announced here today by M. Gaston Eyskens, the Prime Minister, during a Government declaration of policy to Parliament on the Congo's political future.

"Belgium intends to organize in the Congo a democracy capable of exercising the prerogative of sovereignty and of deciding its independence," M. Eyskens said. The power of decision would progressively be left to the inhabitants of the Congo in ever wider fields.

The new communal and rural Councillors would be elected by universal suffrage, and the inhabitants of the Congo would become politically incorporated in the Congolese community with equality of rights and duties.

These Councillors, together with the existing city Councillors, will elect the majority of the provincial Councillors, and later, General Councillors.

A General Council of the Congo and a "skeleton" Chamber of Representatives, would take the place of the present Government Council. A Legislative Council, or "skeleton" Senate, would also be created.

King Baudouin announced in a broadcast speech today that Belgium intended to lead the people of the Congo to "independence in prosperity and peace."

King Baudouin, who said he was speaking to the peoples of both Belgium and the Congo, declared: "Far from imposing all-European solutions on the Congo people, we intend to favour original adaptations."

A large degree of decentralization, together with a rapid extension of the electoral system, and the abandonment of all discrimination between whites and blacks would enable the development of

the Belgian Congo to go ahead.

The King's speech analysed projected reforms following the riots in Leopoldville early this month when 42 Africans were killed and over 250 people injured.

A unit of 240 Belgian paratroops has been sent to Leopoldville, the Defence Ministry announced here yesterday.

The Central African correspondent of the Johannesburg evening newspaper *The Star* said in a despatch from Leopoldville that, according to reliable sources, the number of Africans killed in the three days of rioting from January 4, was about 500.

Inco-U.S. Relations

The following extract is appended for record. It is from a staff report to the *Statesman* of January 14:

Mr. Ellsworth Bunker, the U.S. Ambassador to India, said, at a Press conference in Calcutta on Tuesday, that every country having any collective agreement with America must undertake, as Pakistan did, not to use arms for aggressive purposes.

He added that the U.S.A. was not becoming more closely associated with the Baghdad Pact. No new U.S. military commitments were envisaged. The association with the Pact was only reaffirmation of America's intention to resist aggression.

The U.S. Ambassador said that India and America were the two largest democracies in the world. They had differences but many more similarities than differences. Both were trying to make progress through democratic process under democratic institutions. The future of democracy in the world depended to a great degree on the working together of the two Governments and the two peoples.

One of the problems America faced in newly independent countries in South-East Asia was that because of the previous colonial status or because of traditions, roots of democracy did not go very deep. With the first adverse wind, they withered. He believed all those countries, including Pakistan, which had given up democracy would return to constitutional government and strengthen democratic institutions.

The American Government was devoted to peace. It had no aggressive intention against anyone. To achieve peace was a slow and long process. No matter how long it took America would explore every avenue and opportunity to relax tension in the world. It was always ready to talk with anyone interested in bringing about peaceful conditions. It wanted to see that world peace was safeguarded.

America, Mr. Bunker said, would like to settle all its problems with Communist China through peaceful negotiations. A series of talks between the two countries' representatives had been held in Geneva and Warsaw. These would be resumed.

The U.S. Ambassador endorsed the view expressed by Mr. Chagla in a speech in New York a few days ago that relations between the United States and India had never been more cordial. This feeling of friendship, said Mr. Bunker, should be not only maintained but strengthened. "We have our differences, of course. What friends do not have their differences?", he asked.

The New Congress President

The following is the news-report about the election:

New Delhi, February 2.—Mrs. Indira Gandhi was today declared elected Congress President in succession to Mr. U. N. Dhebar. She will assume office on February 8 at a special ceremony to be held at the A.I.C.C. headquarters here.

According to an official statement issued by the Returning Officer, Mr. Sadiq Ali, the names of Mr. S. Nijalingappa of Mysore and Mr. Kumbha Ram Arya of Rajasthan were also proposed. But both of them had withdrawn their candidature.

Apart from Mr. Arya's desire to withdraw his name, the statement said, his nomination papers were found out of order on scrutiny. Thus Mrs. Gandhi was left as the only candidate in the field.

Mrs. Gandhi, who is 42, will be the fourth woman President of the Congress. The other three were Mrs. Annie Besant (Calcutta, 1917). Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (Kan-

pur, 1925) and Mrs. Nellie Sengupta (Calcutta 1933).

As Mr. Dhebar is retiring in the middle of a term of two years, Mrs. Gandhi will be President for only about nine months. According to Mr. Sadiq Ali, this will not debar her constitutionally from seeking re-election at the time of the next Congress session.

Except for Orissa, West Bengal and Assam all other Pradesh Congress Committees had proposed Mrs. Gandhi's name. While Orissa and Assam abstained from proposing any candidate, some delegates from West Bengal nominated Mr. Nijalینگappa at the Nagpur session.

The President's Exhortation

The press report of the President's speech at the opening of the Indian School of Public Administration is as follows:

January, 31.—The new three-storey building of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, on a six-acre plot in Indraprastha Estate, Ring Road, was opened by Dr. Prasad today.

The President, who also inaugurated the Indian School of Public Administration, said: "Without a human approach and a spirit of service, even the best trained administrator will fail to have the right attitude to the problems he is called upon to tackle."

Apart from efficiency, he added, a human approach to all problems and programmes that the administrator had to solve and implement was necessary.

"Administration, let it not be forgotten, is not an end in itself. It is essentially a means to an end, which is promoting the welfare of the community through orderly management of day-to-day affairs and smooth disposal of work, whether in office or in the field," Dr. Prasad said.

He felt that administrators must conduct themselves in a manner which inspired the people's confidence and co-operation as public administration in a vast country like India had a deep bearing on the happiness and welfare of the people. The study of public administration would

be widely welcomed and he was happy that the Union Government should have taken the initiative in setting up the Institute, with which the State Governments, academic bodies and business associations were closely associated.

Public administration, the President pointed out, was a "pragmatic science" and its principles reflected the spirit of the age and the condition of society. "Today we have reached a stage when the smooth or defective working of administration, whether at the Governmental or business level, is bound to be reflected in the affairs of the people. Public opinion is thus the material on which to build, to correct and to reshape administration."

Dr. Prasad expressed the hope that care would be taken to ensure that there was no duplication and overlapping in the work of the Institute and the Administrative Staff College in Hyderabad, set up through non-Governmental effort.

Pandit Nehru's Socialism

We append below a report of Pandit Nehru's speech on January 30, at Delhi:

Jan. 30.—Mr. Nehru on Friday warned the people against a "mounting idiocy" similar to that which caused the assassination of Gandhiji 11 years ago. "It may not be to kill, but it is vitiating the atmosphere of the country," he added.

Addressing a public meeting at Ramlila Grounds in Delhi, convened by the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee to observe the 11th death anniversary of Gandhiji, Mr. Nehru said it was ironical that the week's Republic Day festivities should be followed by January 30—a date which "to us" was a grim reminder of the danger of raising slogans that were now out-of-date and belonged to a remote past.

The Premier Minister devoted his 70-minute speech to a "straight talk" to the people who, he thought were vitiating the atmosphere by running down the public sector, misrepresenting facts, and telling the people that the latest land reforms proposed by the Government were leading the country towards "despotism."

"This is no time for beating about the bush," he said and added: "We have made it clear time and again that we have to establish Socialism and democracy in this country. The decisions we took at Nagpur mark an important, though natural, stage in our march towards this goal. Not to take these steps would amount to a betrayal of the people by the Congress."

Of the 42 Congress sessions he had attended in his life—"and this shows I am growing old now"—the Nagpur session was one of the most momentous. It had decided two things. First, that the size of the Third Plan must be large and, secondly, that land should be cultivated on a co-operative basis.

Defending the first step, he said a big country could not make headway with a small Plan. "We have to catch up not only with the progress that has already been made by other countries but also to keep abreast of the leaps of progress they are making every day." Critics of the Plan were unconscious of this fast-changing world and were raising "old-fashioned slogans." Not to catch up with the world meant accepting defeat. The Plan, he said, had at the same time to keep pace with "our increasing population, about which we must do something." It had also to open more employment opportunities.

Defending the second step, he said that "we cannot go on depending on others for our food needs. We have to be self-sufficient not only for our present needs but also for our future needs, when our population will be larger. The steps we have taken should help us to achieve self-sufficiency in food during the next two or three years." Scientific methods of increasing food production were beyond the means of the individual farmer and could be applied only on a collective basis.

Mr. Nehru's speech was punctuated by numerous sarcastic references to newspapers and newspapermen. For about a year now, he said, it had become the fashion with them to criticize everything that the Government did.

Turning to the international scene,

Mr. Nehru said that violence in inter-State relations had reached such an extreme that it had now become futile to use it. Thus, indirectly, Gandhiji's theory on the futility of using violence to settle disputes had been upheld. "A big country which goes to war can destroy the world. It cannot win the war."

Mr. Nehru added that even "small wars" should be ruled out, since a "small war" could touch off a big war. He also did not like the idea of nuclear tests. Anything could lead to a war.

India, he added, was determined to follow a policy of peace. The country's stand on Goa was an illustration of this determination. Goa belonged to India and sooner or later would come to it. "We will not allow even an inch of our soil to be in foreign possession, but we don't want to take it back by force."

The only country in the world with which India's relations were not as happy as they ought to be was Pakistan. But, he added, eventually the two countries would have to resolve their differences and live together.

He did not wish to comment upon the recent changes in Pakistan but, on principle, he was opposed to military rule anywhere in the world. He, however, welcomed the recent land reforms in that country, which previous Governments had failed to introduce and which had been introduced in India years ago.

Mathai's Letter ✓

We append below for record the texts of these highly controversial letters to Pandit Nehru.

The following is Mr. Mathai's letter to Mr. Nehru (according to P.T.I.):

"I have already placed before you clippings from certain Communist newspapers and from two other journals which normally specialize in sensationalism. In these Press write-ups, which are couched in not very elegant language there are references which are not very flattering to me.

"You do not personally need explana-

tions in regard to the allegations because you have been aware of the facts. Nevertheless, I consider it appropriate to state them in this letter.

"In so far as the trust is concerned, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur has written to you. The trust is named after my mother who died a few years ago. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur as well as my other personal friends had heard of my mother from me and when Rajkumari suggested that the trust might be named after my mother, I did not object. I shall confine myself to other specific personal attacks on me. I shall ignore flippant, silly and childish remarks as well as unworthy insinuations with the contempt they deserve.

"When I joined you in Allahabad in January, 1946, at a time when it was not monetarily profitable to do so, you were aware of my background. You were also generally aware of such personal assets as I possessed then—which enabled me to work in an honorary capacity indefinitely. You will also remember that I refused to work in the Government when you joined the interim Government on September 2, 1946. When Independence came on August 15, 1947, you asked me to work with you in the Government also. I was not at all enthusiastic about it, because I felt that temperamentally I was not suited for governmental work. Also, being a bachelor, I had enough to live on and I was not in need of paid employment. Since you thought that my joining the Government would facilitate your work, I agreed to do so without payment. But you did not, as a matter of principle, approve of my not taking a salary.

"So, ever since then I have been a sort of ad hoc temporary Government employee much to my distaste. You will also remember that during these past several years I have requested you at least a dozen times to release me from governmental work. I have all along been staying in your house and my personal expenses have been extremely limited as I do not have to maintain a household establishment.

"I have always held the view and continue to hold the view that what I do

with my money is my own business so long as I pay the taxes imposed by Parliament. I am not answerable to any one for it.

"Yes, of course, I bought an orchard with a fully furnished house in the Kulu valley early in 1952 from two Scottish sisters at a price of Rs. 1,20,000. Registration and other incidental expenses amounted to a little over Rs. 5,000. All this money came from personal assets I possessed before I joined you.

"Before I purchased the property in Kulu I informed you of my intention to do so both orally and in writing. I still have in my possession the detailed note I submitted to you then. After some time I found that it was difficult to manage the property efficiently unless I myself stayed on the spot—which was not possible. So I sold the property. It was bought by Morton and Company of Calcutta, a firm engaged in the manufacture of fruit preservatives and the like. The price I received was Rs. 1,25,000. All that has accrued to me in this transaction was a loss of a few hundred rupees, I should like to publicly declare that when I am a free man it is still my intention to acquire a suitable place in the Himalayan region which has irresistible attraction for me.

"The last allegation is that I have an insurance annuity policy. If the Communist friends had taken the trouble of asking me I would have gladly told them that I have more than one—I have two, in fact. The annual premia on these two policies amount to Rs. 18,290 and 62 nP. I had informed you some time ago in writing about these insurance policies. For the benefit of our Communist friend I might state that my personal nett income from my salary and investments, after payment of income-tax, etc., is approximately Rs. 27,500 per year. These figures will speak for themselves. In fact, I happen to have some small surplus savings every year. All these savings are invariably invested in the Government in some form or other.

"It is stated that my friendship with American circles is sometimes becoming far too conspicuous. This has amused me greatly. You are aware that I am not a social bird and I keep to my work. Americans, Russians and all others are my

friends and none my enemy. I have no capacity to compete with Communist friends in extra-territorial loyalties. Mine are rooted deeply to the Indian soil.

"I am inclined to believe that the scurrilous attack on me by Communist friends has a definite political motive. It seems to be clear that it is an indirect attack on you and the Government. I fear it is the beginning of an infantile political shift which so frequently takes place in the Communist Party. I am afraid some of our Congressmen fall victims to this nefarious game.

"You have more than one person to defend periodically and sometimes perpetually. I have no claim or right to join that distinguished company. I wish to be free to defend myself. In my present position it is not possible for me to do so. Therefore I beg you to allow me to terminate my association with the Government. After all I joined you long before you had anything to do with the Government, and perhaps I can still be of some little use to you outside the Government. In doing so I lose nothing but my chains—and this is a phrase the Communist friends will readily understand.

"I seek permission to release this letter of mine to the Press together with Rajkumari Amrit Kaur's letter to you. More than direct personal attacks it is the ugly rumours that I am concerned about. Let all our people know about it even though it is somewhat embarrassing to me to make public intimate personal details. A person like me who has had the great honour and privilege of working closely with you during the most momentous period in the history of our nation, should be prepared to stand in the sun for public gaze and I gladly and willingly submit myself to it. Thereafter I shall consider the question of taking such steps as are open to me against the newspapers which have published defamatory statements about me.

"I very much wanted to deal with this matter earlier, but I considered it proper to await your return to Delhi from Nagpur before taking any step.

"Fortunately, I still possess some

strength to withstand attacks, but the ever-mounting tendency in our Parliament and our Press to attack public servants without caring to verify facts is having a devastatingly demoralizing effect. Under such deplorable conditions very few self-respecting persons will care to enter the Government service or public life.

"I do hope you will comply with my request. I am deeply grateful to you for all the indulgence you have shown me for 13 years. My love to you as always wherever I happen to be."

Letter from Rajkumari Amrit Kaur to the Prime Minister :

"I have seen, with a measure of surprise, some newspaper items about the Chechamma Memorial Trust of which I am the chairman. I should like to give you some background information about this trust, which is a public charitable trust registered under the Societies Registration Act.

"A few years ago some personal friends, whom I have known for a large number of years placed at my disposal certain sums of money (a little over Rs. 6 lakhs) to be spent at my discretion for specific humanitarian objects. I put these funds in a separate bank account to begin with. Later I decided to create a trust as I did not wish to continue holding the money. I, therefore, invited Mr. M. O. Mathai and Miss Padmaja Naidu to join as trustees. This was before Miss Padmaja Naidu became the Governor of West Bengal.

"Before Mr. Mathai consented to be a trustee, I know he consulted the Comptroller and Auditor-General about the propriety of his being a trustee. He was assured that there was no impropriety in any Government functionary being a trustee of a public charitable trust and that no Government permission was necessary for this. Nevertheless, he took the additional precaution of obtaining written formal permission from the Ministry of Home Affairs to become a trustee.

"I myself have for some time been a trustee of the Guru Nanak Engineering College and of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi

from its inception. Group Captain Leonard Cheshire has a trust in India for his 'homes' and I am a trustee of that also.

"I take full responsibility for naming the trust. Chechamma stood in her life for what countless Indian women have stood for throughout the ages—devoted mothers of the race. I felt it would be a good thing to have an unknown name as a symbol of womanhood of which I, as an Indian woman, am proud. Furthermore, it is the objects of the trust that account and the money from the trust have to be spent for such objects as are declared as chairtable.

"I give below the objects of the trust:

(1) Grant of scholarships to students who, in the opinion of the trustees, deserve such scholarships for general and specialized education, research and educational travels.

(2) Grant of financial assistance to hospitals and other public institutions devoted to medical relief.

(3) Grant of financial assistance to persons wholly devoted to voluntary social service.

(4) Grant of financial assistance to institutions established for the purpose of advancing the welfare of women and children.

(5) Grant of financial assistance for writing and publishing books of historical and educational value.

"The Press write-ups give widely exaggerated accounts of the corpus of the trust. The total amount in the trust, including the money spent on acquiring the house property, is only Rs. 10,73,68,331. Again it is stated that 'Shri Shanti Prasad Jain and several Bombay businessmen' are among the donors. This is totally incorrect. I strongly repudiate the insinuation that Haridas Mundhra may have contributed to the trust. I should like to make it perfectly clear that I have accepted no contribution for trust from any person whom I have not known personally for the last 25 years.

"We have, so far, spent Rs. 25,000. This was given to an educational institution in Northern India devoted to the training of village women for constructive

work. This was done on my initiative.

"The donation of the house property to the trust was made through me by a friend who has been known to me for a large number of years. My agreement with the donor was that the trust would reimburse the donor of the expenditure in connection with the transfer of the house property. This expenditure has amounted to approximately Rs. 75,000.

"It has, however, been pointed out to me that since the rent of the rather dilapidated house property is only Rs. 189-06 per month the acquisition of the house property has not been a sound proposition from the investment point of view because the bank interest on Rs. 75,000 would be much more than the rent. I also found it difficult to get the present tenant, who is a hair-dresser, to vacate the house in the normal way. For these reasons, the trust will be obliged to sell the house property at the best possible terms. It is, therefore, my intention to dispose of it.

"The responsibility for executing the gift deed was entirely the donor's. The trust is in no way responsible for it. However, I should like to point out that, according to the Wealth Tax Act, a house property is to be valued at twenty times its annual rental. On this basis the value of the house property donated to the trust comes to only Rs. 45,374-40. Presumably, the donor fixed the value of the property in the gift deed at Rs. 50,000 on the basis mentioned above. Anyhow, the trust cannot be held in any way responsible for it.

"As chairman of the trust I take the fullest responsibility for the administration of its funds. No money of the Trust can be spent without my personal approval. Mr. M. O. Mathai is not the managing trustee as has been stated in the Press write-ups.

"The accounts of the trust are audited by a firm of chartered accountants on the approved list of the Government.

"I have been noticing, with sorrow, a gradual deterioration in our public life. People are attacked, charges are levelled and insinuations made without making the least effort to verify the facts.

"In so far as certain personal attacks on Mr. M. O. Mathai are concerned he will no doubt deal with them.

"You are free to make such use of this letter as you deem proper."

The Cyprus Question

The following news item shows that at long last there seems to be a ray of hope regarding the solution of the Cyprus impasse:

Zurich, Feb. 11.—Greece and Turkey today ended their bitter feud over the future of Cyprus with an agreement which they will now ask Britain to back.

Their two Foreign Ministers were flying to London today to put before Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, the British Foreign Secretary, details of their plan which envisages the turbulent British Mediterranean colony as an independent republic.

Britain will maintain her land, sea and air bases there, but the island will never become either a part of Greece or Turkey.

A communique issued today after conclusion of the talks between the Greek and Turkish Premiers said the agreement was "sufficient to open the way for a solution of the Cyprus problem."

In Nicosia, Greek Cypriots said the "last word" must rest with the Archbishop. The island's 93,000 Turks were also reserving judgment until final details were known.

The following is an unofficial translation of the communique, which was published in French:

"The Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey Mr. Karamanlis and Mr. Menderes, assisted by their Foreign Ministers, Mr. Zorlu and Mr. Averoff, met in Zurich from February 5 to 11.

"During their talks, which were held in an atmosphere of sincere cordiality, they examined Greco-Turkish relations, whose evolution in the course of recent years has been the cause of common anxiety.

"A compromise agreement was finally reached in spite of considerable difficulties which this problem presents.

"The cause of the unity and welfare of Cyprus emerges victorious.

"The moment has come to inform the British Government of the results of the Greco-Turkish talks, which constitute the continuation of tripartite contacts inaugurated during the meetings of the three Foreign Ministers in Paris in December.

"Greece and Turkey, friends and allies of the U.K., do not hesitate to believe that an agreement between the three interested countries will lead to a final solution of the Cyprus question."

West Bengal Business Convention

We welcome the convention of West Bengal Businessmen as an indication of a new outlook. The convention was presided over by Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy. We have no remarks to make at this stage.

The Chief Minister seemed to have disliked the flight of capital outside the State and in this context he made a particular reference to the establishment of a cement factory at Satna (MP), chemical factory near Banaras and a tyre manufacturing plant at Madras by capitalists from this State.

Dr. Roy, in his speech, said that though the problem of unemployment was more or less universal in West Bengal it had assumed an overwhelming proportion and had some peculiar characteristics. Here the problem not only affected the general masses but also the educated people. The increase in the percentage of education was not commensurate with the employment opportunities created. As a result, large number of people remained idle. But the problem was to be solved. They could not sit idle and allow the youths of Bengal to remain inactive.

In trying to solve the problem they should remember certain facts. Organised industry in West Bengal like jute, cotton textiles, tea etc. had, at present, in their employment roll larger percentage of people who did not belong to this State. At least 60 per cent of persons in such industries had come from outside. Then the private sector in this State seemed to be obsessed with big industries that were in existence here and are reluctant to make any fresh efforts to expand or to establish new industries. Rather, some of them were trying to establish new enterprises elsewhere.

But, Dr. Roy added, there was one point. There was a complaint about the labour trouble in West Bengal. He, however, did not believe in the contention that labour was more troublesome here than at any other place. It might be that here they were a bit vocal, but definitely not worse than any other State.

Dr. Roy also held the people of this State responsible for the situation. Capital, in this State was very shy from the very beginning. The people from other States had left their homes to develop Bengal. The local rich people, it appeared to him, were a bit complacent and remained content with a certain percentage of interest they would get from their money invested in cash certificates or debenture loans.

Inaugurating the two-day session of the West Bengal Business Convention on Saturday in Calcutta, Sir Biren Mookerjee said that expansion of industrial activities was the most effective method for the creation of more employment.

In the coming months, said Sir Biren, opportunities for expansion would be immense in view of the increased supply of pig iron, steel, coal, electricity and other raw materials. All these should facilitate the expansion of existing industries and also the establishment of a number of new industries either as independent units or as ancillaries to the bigger industries.

Sir Biren said that in every democratic country business organisations played an important part. In India, with a vast population and a constitution based on adult suffrage, such organisations served a very useful purpose.

India, moreover, was on the threshold of an industrial revolution. In the last few years vast changes had taken place in the country's economy. Industrial production had shown an impressive increase.

The implementation of the Plans had greatly enlarged the scope for business activity, but at the same time, they had created fresh problems for them. The business men should, therefore, be organised effectively.

Continuing Sir Biren said that it was a matter of regret that although their economy had made considerable progress since the achievement of independence, the actual results

in the shape of better living standards for the masses had not been up to expectations.

Consequently, there was a certain amount of frustration and discontent in the country. This was unfortunate, particularly for a State like West Bengal where there was a large percentage of literacy and a highly educated middle class. They were, therefore, to see to it that the sense of bitterness arising from widespread unemployment, particularly in the middle classes, was removed and that the difficult problems which confronted the State were solved as effectively as possible.

The provision of gainful employment to the people was one of the most urgent problems confronting the State, he said and he felt that business men should do their best to help solve this question.

Expansion of industrial activity was the most effective way of providing jobs to the unemployed for, when industry prospered, it would be followed by the enlargement of activities in the sphere of trade and commerce as well as transport and finance.

West Bengal, he said, had the vast scope of such expansion. "I believe, that if this process can be accelerated, it will greatly contribute to the solution of many difficulties confronting the State at present. But an expansion of industry naturally require that there shall be available men suited and willing to enter the industrial and commercial sphere.

"I would, therefore, appeal to the young men of the State to take the fullest advantage of these facilities and to come forward in increasing numbers to take to the business line so that, apart from solving the problem of unemployment, it will be possible for them to contribute effectively to the economic prosperity of the State.

"In this connection, I would like to stress the need for a new outlook and approach on the part of our young men in regard to selection of their careers. So far, our middle class educated boys have been concentrating on desk jobs and with that end in view, they have been flocking to the colleges and universities to secure their degrees, only to be disillusioned and embittered when they find that there are not enough of these jobs offering.

"With growing industrialisation of the country there will be increasing demand

for technicians and operatives. More and more students should, therefore, go in for technical courses and not feel shy of operating machines and working with their hands. The people of Bengal have a natural aptitude for skilled work and I have no doubt in my mind that if they are once persuaded to take to these new vocations, they will prove themselves second to none in their art and skill."

Sir Bejoy said that a number of industrialists were eager to help the young men of West Bengal to start new enterprises both in the sphere of trade and industry. But for this purpose it was necessary to create a favourable atmosphere. Ancillary industries and trades could flourish only when the bigger industries prospered. But the heavy burden of taxation had a dampening effect in industrial circles. Neither at the individual nor at the corporate level were there enough savings left for investment purposes.

Continuing he said that the reduction of taxation to reasonable levels was only one aspect to the problem of finance for industrial expansion.

It was equally necessary that facilities should be provided to enable industries to obtain their requirements of finance through loans and advances on convenient terms.

The special financial institutions, such as the Industrial Finance Corporation of India, the State Finance Corporation and the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India should so adjust their policy that a larger number of industries was able to take advantage of their services.

Sir Bejoy suggested that where a business man was able to find 25 per cent of the capital it should be possible for these special institutions to provide the balance of 75 per cent. If this arrangement was brought into operation, it would greatly help the expansion of business activity.

•Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, who ad-

ressed the West Bengal Business Convention in Calcutta, referred to the question posed by Dr. Roy at the convention on Saturday why the private sector was starting new industries in other States. He said that the main cause of migration of industries from the State was the activities of trade union leaders who "overtreated trade unionism" for purely political reasons. He wished that the Chief Minister had told them about these labour leaders who took no part in the "labourious, serious and sometimes daring tasks the workers did." The activities of these leaders were responsible for pulling down the factories that the workers had built.

Sir Ramaswami said that industrialists had fallen on evil days and referred to criticisms of industrialists and businessmen. Such criticisms, he said, came from people who were ignorant of the texture of the country's economic life. Businesses should not tolerate unfair and irresponsible criticisms levelled against them. They must represent their problems before the Government, members of Legislatures and the public.

About shortages, Sir Ramaswami said that they occurred when supplies shrank. Malpractices in some business quarters had to be checked so that the whole community did not earn a bad name. It was their duty to expose such malpractices. He suggested publication of ex-factory prices of articles and the distributors' margin on them for the consumers' benefit.

Sir Ramaswami drew a sad picture of middle-class families and said that they were the hardest hit and were almost being wiped out. Educated but helpless middle class people were a pathetic sight in India. Giving an example of their plight, he said that one good *sari* in a middle class family served four to six women for outdoor wear. He also referred to the reluctance on the part of some refugees to leave West Bengal and said that the spirit of adventure for which Bengal had been well known was lacking in the truncated State.

POPULATION GROWTH AND FOOD SUPPLY IN INDIA

By DR. S. CHANDRASEKHAR,

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THE basic economic problem in India is one of finding a balance between the total available resources and the irreducible minimum needs of the population. There are several aspects to this population-resources question, but only the most important aspect, that of population growth and food supply, will be examined here. These are really two separate, although closely related, problems.

Let us look at the population problem. To begin with, what exactly do we mean by the population problem? Fortunately, we do not discuss any more, as we used to about twenty-five years ago, whether we have a population problem or not, and whether our country is over-populated or not. These are no longer academic questions. All thoughtful people now concede that we have population problem in the sense that there is an adverse ratio between our numbers and their basic needs on the one hand and the available and exploitable resources on the other.

THE STANDARD OF LIVING

That our present standard of living in terms of *per capita* consumption of goods and services is low needs no elaborate statistical demonstration because we can see the abject poverty all around us. The concept of a level or a standard of living has many and sometimes conflicting definitions. The lack of precision has been brought out in the definition, "A standard of living is a level of comfort which someone likes to have or hopes to have or thinks he ought to have." Fortunately, we need not be so vague as this, for we know today what the basic requirements in terms of food, clothing, housing, educational and medical facilities are for doing a day's productive work and leading happy and satisfied lives.

There are here two schools of thoughts. One believes in what may be called the ideology of poverty or euphemistically "simple living and high thinking." It is the people of this school who are always talking of going back to the village or something or other, or tightening one's belt or missing a meal, etc. Frankly am not in sympathy with this school for it is ridiculous to have poverty as a national ideal and secondly the average man cannot tighten his belt any further for there are no more holes left on the belt. The second school of thought believes in what I may call the ideology of abundance. Abundant living does not mean waste, gluttony or vulgarity but a nation dedicated to the ideal of an ever-increasing higher standard of living so that everyone of us may enjoy a better share of the increasing goods and services. And fortunately all groups in our political life are dedicated to this task of raising our present low standard of living.

A few facts will suffice to illustrate our present level of living. While we have to go a long way before our national statistics on different questions can become unimpeachable, we have to be satisfied with such figures as we have without any elaborate refinement. Our *per capita* calorie intake is a meagre 1590 and at least two-thirds of our 390 million people are under-nourished. We can see our position in the world when we realise that 22 per cent of world enjoys an intake of over 2700 calories *per capita*, 12 per cent of the world enjoys an intake between 2200-2700 calories, and the remaining 66 per cent of the world population gets on under 2300 calories. And we in India get even less than 1600 and our nutrition is among the poorest in the world, quantitatively and qualitatively. Our *per capita* consumption of textiles is about 16.6 yards and for certain countries such as the United States, it is beyond 40. Even after making allowance for climatic differences, we are a semi-clothed nation. Our housing is no better. Even if we ignore housing for the rural population—nearly eighty per cent—which is beyond attack in the near future, a third of urban housing must be condemned as unfit for human habitation on the basis of any acceptable definition of optimum housing. As for educational facilities, we know that our high schools and colleges of all kinds are not enough to cope with the demand from students qualified to seek entrance into

these institutions. Our low rate of literacy of about 15 per cent is utterly incompatible with our aspirations to run a successful democracy. And our 38 universities are not really adequate for the higher educational needs of our 390 millions but there is also no point in multiplying universities without any adequate standards. There is no need to multiply such basic figures as these, to show how low our present standard of living is.

Fortunately all our leaders and all political parties and groups are agreed on the need to raise the present living standards. Raising the standard of living in an under-developed country means in the simplest language that we should produce more goods and services so that the *per capita* consumption of these is perceptibly raised.

THE DEATH RATE

The second factor is our death rate. Our death rate (in relation to our economic development) is among the highest in the world. The average adjusted death rate during the decade 1941-50 was 27 per 1000 per annum. But taking regional variations and year to year fluctuations into consideration, the death rate today is somewhere between 26 and 30.

The crude overall death rate is not an adequate index of our population trends. Their components such as infant mortality rate (and its sub-groupings as perinatal, neonatal and post-neonatal mortality), childhood mortality and maternal mortality give a better indication of the way our population will grow (or decline) in the next twenty or thirty years.

Our infant mortality rate today is around 115 per 1000 live births. This is of course a high and uncivilized figure compared to countries like Sweden, Norway, Australia, New Zealand, United Kingdom, and the United States of America where recent figures range between 16 and 30 per 1000 live births. Though our rate is high, it is declining. The rate has been exactly halved from 232 for British India in 1901 to 116 to the Union Registration area in 1951. And the present serious efforts of the Ministry of Health in this direction should mean a further significant decline in our infant mortality rate in the next ten or 15 years.

Our maternal mortality figures have never been very satisfactory. It is generally taken that out of every 1000 expectant mothers, about 25 die in child-birth. We have some evidence of a sampling nature based on certain hospital series that this figure is fortunately coming down.

When all the schemes of the Ministry of Health envisaged in the Second Five-Year Plan are implemented, I have no doubt that our overall death rate will register a welcome and perceptible fall. Cultures and people all over the world—and we are no exception—are dedicated to the ideal of alleviating human sufferings, prolonging life and postponing death as far as possible. What with modern wonder drugs, more and better preventive, diagnostic and curative services, and better sanitation and environmental hygiene, we can bring down our death rate among all groups of our population. This is a noble task and our Government from Mr. Karmarkar down to the rural vaccinator, are doing their best despite numerous difficulties.

I need hardly point out the other side of this welcome phenomenon of the declining death rate. More old people will be kept alive who do not of course add to the population. But when a young woman of 20 is saved from a premature death (and she should be saved no matter what the cost or the consequences), we have not saved one life but a potential six or seven lives for she will get married and have a family of about six children. The consequences of our lowered mortality rate on the future growth of our population are obvious.

THE BIRTH RATE

What about our birth rate? Our birth rate again is among the highest in the world. It is around 40 per thousand a year. The regional variations in the birth rate within India range between 36 and 44. Our birth rate is more or less constant, if we ignore the minor fluctuations. We have reliable evidence that our birth rate is definitely declining. The birth and death rates yield as a net annual addition of a little over 5 million. That is, it is probable that our population may increase by 1.5 to 2 per cent per annum or at the minimum by 50

to 60 million in 1961. The following table summarises the growth of India's population during the last half a century, 1901-1951:

TABLE 1.

*Growth of India's Population—1901-51**

Census year	Population in million	Increase or decrease over the previous decade	Percentage increase or decrease
1901	235.50	.....	—0.2
1911	249.05	13.55	5.8
1921	248.18	—0.87	—0.4
1931	275.52	27.34	11.0
1941	314.88	39.36	14.0
1951	356.83	41.95	13.5

The reason for the growth of our population is simple. Generally all of us sooner or later get married and have babies. Not even ten per cent of the total married couples plan or limit their families. Now, the population problem is this: How can we raise our standard of living and cut down our death rate, when we are unable to support the existing population at a miserable level of living, if at the same time our population continues to increase by five or six millions every year?

THE FOOD PROBLEM

The food problem is how to increase the supply of food to the increasing population and at the same time increase the nutritional level of our population. In 1947, the Government of India estimated the food deficit for the whole country in the neighbourhood of four million tons of grains "on the basis of one ounce for producers and three-quarters of an ounce for the rest of the population."

Report of the Food Grains Enquiry Committee estimated that the deficit in food grains which may have to be imported in 1958 to be nearly 3 million tons. The Committee has also calculated that the demand for food grains would rise by some 15 per cent in view of the increase in the population and also the likely demand for better food grains like rice

and wheat (in the place of coarser food grains) by working class groups which have moved into higher wage earning section of the population. Thus the long range food problem over the past eleven years has really been one of overall deficit but the administration had looked at this problem on an annual, in fact, seasonal basis. And, therefore, they have been lulled into satisfaction and complacency during a good monsoon year and thrown into sorrowful confusion during bad years. Had they looked at the food problem over a long range point of view, they would have realised that it is never safe to be confident about the future, especially as our food production is still a gamble in the rains. We have been swinging from deficit to self-sufficiency or surplus and from surplus to deficit again. The way out is to presume that we shall have a deficit and build up, no matter what the difficulty, and however slowly, sufficient buffer stock of some 4 to 5 million tons against one or more lean years, the incidence of which of course is unpredictable. (But buffer stocks mean surplus over current consumption. The question is how is the country to do this, especially when we start the year with a deficit and we are unable to feed the existing population at low levels of consumption.)

There are only two ways out. And both ways have been talked about *ad nauseam* and there is nothing new to be said beyond changing the emphasis and pleading for an integrated outlook. They are:

- (1) Bringing new lands under cultivation;
- (2) Making the cultivated land yield more.

1. Can we bring new land under cultivation? Is there new cultivable land available for cultivation? The Government (that is, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Planning Commission, and the Reports of various Official Committees) have published periodically the changing pattern of land utilization in India.

Unfortunately, as with most aspects of our economy, we do not have reliable statistics about the pattern of land utilization in the country as a whole. If our vital statistics are

* Excluding Jammu and Kashmir, the population of which was estimated in 1951 at 4.41 million.

bal, our agricultural statistics are worse. Nearly a third of the country has not been properly cadastrally surveyed. There are land cultivated, land lying fallow, land under forest, and land not available for cultivation. And the last is the intriguing category "Land cultivable but uncultivated" on which much faith has been reposed as a source of additional food grains.

The following table gives the pattern of land utilization in India in 1950:

TABLE No. 2

Pattern of Land utilization in India, 1950

Category	Area in thousand acres	Percentage of classified area
Classified Area	614,610	
Unclassified Area	196,199	
Gross Area	810,372	
Net Area Sown	266,372	43.3
Current Fallows	18,171	3.0
Uncultivated Forests	93,143	15.2
Not available for cultivation	96,024	15.6
Other uncultivated land excluding current fallows	98,400	16.0

Out of this 98 million (98,400,000) acres of uncultivated land, the Ministry of Agriculture estimated that about 25 million acres are theoretically cultivable and can be technically brought under cultivation. (As for the remaining millions of acres, they are in the Rajputana and Thar deserts, in the Assamese and Oriyan river- and jungle eroded sand and slush).

Bringing 25 million acres under cultivation would involve a tremendous financial outlay. The land has to be reclaimed and colonised. This scheme may be worthwhile as a *long range investment* provided sufficient funds are available. The only advantage here is that we shall not be expending any foreign exchange unless we intend bringing this new land under mechanised farming. But there are two initial disadvantages. One is that all this land is marginal, and for several years to come, their yield will be uneconomic and it may be cheaper to import food than cultivate this land for current con-

sumption. And the second difficulty may be in the realm of public health and services for the new inhabitants and this also ultimately means more money.

Thus, while this avenue deserves serious and immediate consideration, it would be unwise to look for increased food production from this source for current deficits and those deficits in the immediate future.

2. Can we make the cultivated land yield more? All those who have studied this question concede that Indian yields per acre are relatively low but they are capable of higher yields. The measures necessary to attain this end are in every college text-book. We need better supply of water, larger use of manures and fertilisers, improved seeds, soil conservation, pest control, etc. The measures apply to the land and they have been adopted in different degrees in different areas but without much success and apparently nothing new can be added to the list from the point of view of agrarian techniques.

These measures apply, of course, to the soil and the crops. But what about the man behind the plough? Here is the weakest link in the chain and nothing very remarkable seems to have been done to raise the peasant from his traditional and miserable hole of despondency. What is most important is the need for a radical change in his outlook by which he looks upon agriculture as a pathetic losing way of life and not as a successful economic proposition.

The ryot's rehabilitation implies a basic margin of surplus after consumption and sale, the availability of credit, his health and well-being, a sense of ownership to the land and its yield without any predatory middlemen—in a word, the creation of a stake for the peasant in the land and its yield. In other words, this means a new and rare enthusiasm to do his best and contribute his utmost to his individual and family welfare and the country's prosperity. In a word, this implies a silent, social revolution in the countryside. This infectious and economic revolution is yet to come about. So long as there is no sense of direct participation in this great adventure of raising India's productivity and consequent prosperity on the part of every farmer and citizen, the directive emanating from a distant capital through soulless officialdom is simply so much dead matter.

"No plan can have any chance of success unless millions of small farmers (and there are about forty million farmers scattered over an area of one and a quarter million square miles) in the country accept its objectives, share in its making, regard it as their own, and are prepared to make the sacrifices necessary for implementing it."—*Report of the G.M.F. Enquiry Committee, 1952, pp. 49-50.*

OUR CATTLE POPULATION

One more point. And this is about an irrational aspect of our otherwise admirable way of life. I am referring to our cattle problem. Our economy is burdened with 204 millions of cattle, as though the burden of feeding and taking care of 390 million people is not enough. In almost all other countries, the cattle are an essential part of their total food resources and so the investment on the cattle by way of pasture land and fodder bears sufficient dividend by way of mutton, beef, pork, etc. But our case is unique, for these cattle have to be maintained somehow (the fact they exist miserably shows that some food is being consumed by them) at the expense of food required by man.

The total cattle population of the world has been recently estimated at about 855 millions of which India has about 25 per cent. The figures for certain other countries are as follows: USA 97, China 74, USSR 65, France 17, UK 11, and Japan 3. Thus India is supporting a disproportionate number of cattle and our bovine population pressure matches the human population pressure, against the limited agricultural resources. And the oddest part of it is that all the countries listed with the exception of China and Japan consume more milk and milk products per capita than India with her plethora of useless cattle.

✓ As more land is brought under commercial and food crops, less land is left for pasture. Secondly, with the ever-increasing buses and other motor transport, the bullock cart is gradually becoming and should become a thing of the past. Thirdly, with the installation of electric pump for irrigational purposes, the bullock power may soon become an unwanted commodity. Cattle are reared in all countries

for milk and meat and in our country for milk and muscle. We are getting relatively little milk and the muscle power is slowly going out of use. Therefore, in a double and even a treble sense, our large cattle population is a useless burden. Therefore, a drastic reduction in the number of our cattle should be one of the major objectives of our population policy.

The Hindu notion of the sanctity of animals is no doubt admirable in theory but appalling in practice. One look at the pathetic state of the cattle roaming our streets is enough to prove this. Also, contrary to popular notions, less than 15 per cent of our population are real vegetarians. The rest consume some kind of meat or other.

Therefore, there are only two ways out of the problem. We should either become meat-eaters or destroy the unwanted cattle! The latter solution may shock only the pharisees among us. They can save their sympathy for the useless cattle and divert it to the human destitutes—the hungry and destitute beggars! Political leaders and those who depend on votes for their position cannot speak the truth, whatever their inner convictions. And, therefore, someone must mention the unpleasant if only to start a discussion and ventilate unpopular views.

We need today, more than ever, a scientific and rational outlook in approaching our economic and social problems, in the place of traditional and sentimental views.

The ultimate solution of the overall problem of population and food in our country lies in—

- ✓(1) Bringing every cultivable piece of land that can be cultivated, under the plough, no matter what the initial investment costs;
- ✓(2) Making two or three ears of corn grow where one or none grew before and thus increase the yield per acre;
- ✓(3) Make our women bear two healthy children that will survive in the place of five or six famished ones; and, last
- ✓(4) Destroying or at any rate stopping the breeding of useless cattle.*

* Based on a lecture delivered under the auspices of the Forum of *Free Enterprise* in Bombay on Sept. 22, 1958.

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(XVII) Fundamental Rights: Right to Property (*Continued*)

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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V.

We shall now say a few words with regard to Articles 31A and 31B of our Constitution, which also provide for exceptions to our Fundamental Rights like Clauses (4), (5) and (6) of Article 31, although on a much larger scale. These two Articles were first inserted in the Constitution in 1951, with a retrospective effect, by the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951.³⁸ Since then Article 31A has been materially altered and the scope of the Ninth Schedule to the Constitution referred to in Article 31B, has been considerably widened, both again with a retrospective effect, by the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955³⁹ [taken along with the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act, 1956⁴⁰]. Articles 31A and 31B now lay down:

"31A. (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in Article 13, no law providing for—

- (a) the acquisition by the State of any estate or of any rights therein or the extinguishment or modification of any such rights, or
- (b) the taking over of the management of any property by the State for a limited period either in the public interest or in order to secure the proper management of the property, or
- (c) the amalgamation of two or more corporations either in the public interest or in order to secure the proper management of any of the corporation, or
- (d) the extinguishment or modification of any rights of managing agents, secretaries and treasurers, managing directors, directors or managers of corporations, or of any voting rights of shareholders thereof, or
- (e) the extinguishment or modification of any rights accruing by virtue of any

agreement, lease or license for the purpose of searching for, or winning, any mineral or mineral oil, or the premature termination or cancellation of any such agreement, lease or license, shall be deemed to be void on the ground that it is inconsistent with, or takes away or abridges any of the rights conferred by Article 14, Article 19 or Article 31:

"Provided that where such law is a law made by the Legislature of a State, the provisions of this Article shall not apply thereto unless such law, having been reserved for the consideration of the President, has received his assent.

"(2) In this Article,—

- (a) the expression 'estate' shall, in relation to any local area, have the same meaning as that expression or its local equivalent has in the existing law relating to land tenures in force in that area, and shall also include any *jagir*, *inam* or *muafi* or other similar grant and, in the States of Madras and Kerala, any *janmam* right; (and)
- (b) the expression 'rights', in relation to an estate, shall include any rights vesting in a proprietor, sub-proprietor, under-proprietor, tenure-holder, *raiyat*, *under-raiyat* or other intermediary and any rights or privileges in respect of land revenue."⁴¹

"31B. Without prejudice to the generality of the provisions contained in Article 31A, none of the Acts and Regulations specified in the Ninth Schedule⁴² nor any of the provisions

41. The case of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is somewhat different. See *The Constitution of India*, as modified up to the 1st November, 1956, Manager of Publications, Delhi, p. 20, foot-note 1.

42. *To the Constitution of India*. See Appendix.

38. Enacted on 18th June, 1951.

39. Enacted on 27th April, 1955.

40. Enacted on 19th October, 1956.

thereof shall be deemed to be void, or ever to have become void, on the ground that such Act, Regulation or provision is inconsistent with, or takes away or abridges any of the rights conferred by, any provisions of this Part,⁴³ and notwithstanding any judgment, decree or order of any court or tribunal to the contrary, each of the said Acts and Regulations shall, subject to the power of any competent Legislature to repeal or amend it, continue in force."

It may be noted here that Sub-clause (a) of Clause (1) of Article 31A as quoted above, practically corresponds to Clause (1) of Article 31A which had been first inserted in our Constitution, with a retrospective effect, by Section 4 of the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951, and which had run as follows:

"Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this Part,⁴⁴ no law providing for the acquisition by the State of any estate or of any rights therein or for the extinguishment or modification of any such rights shall be deemed to be void on the ground that it is inconsistent with, or takes away or abridges any of the rights conferred by, any provisions of this Part⁴⁵"

This rather drastic provision which, to quote the words of Pandit Kunzru⁴⁶ of Uttar Pradesh, amounted to "the virtual repeal of Article 31" (of the Constitution), had been inserted in the Constitution in 1951 with a view to, according to the official plea justifying the measure, effecting the abolition of what was known as the zamindari system in our country and other agrarian reforms. Thus we find Prime Minister Nehru observing on 16th May, 1951, in the course of his speech for referring the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill to a Select Committee of our then Parliament⁴⁷:

43. I.e., Part III of *The Constitution of India*.

44. I.e., Part III of *The Constitution of India*.

45. I.e., Part III of *The Constitution of India*.

46. See *Parliamentary Debates, Parliament of India, Official Report*, 17th May, 1951, Column 8902.

47. See *ibid.*, 16th May, 1951, Columns 8830-8833.

"When I think of this Article⁴⁸ the whole gamut of pictures comes up before my mind, because this Article deals with the abolition of the zamindari system, with land laws and agrarian reform. I am not a zamindar, nor am I a tenant. I am an outsider. But the whole length of my public life has been intimately connected, or was intimately connected, with agrarian agitation in my Province . . . If there is one thing to which we as a party have been committed in the past generation or so, it is the agrarian reform and the abolition of the zamindari system . . . with adequate and proper compensation, not too much. Now, apart from our commitment, a survey of the world today, a survey of Asia today will lead any intelligent person to see that the basic and the primary problem is the land problem today in Asia, as in India. And every day of delay adds to the difficulties and dangers, apart from being an injustice in itself. There are many ways of dealing with this problem . . . Now, I am not going into those questions, but it is patent that when you are out basically to produce a certain equality, when you are out to remedy inequalities, you do not remedy inequalities by producing further inequalities. We do not want anyone to suffer. But, inevitably, in big social changes some people have to suffer. We have to think in terms of large schemes of social engineering, not petty reforms but of big schemes like that. Now, if all our schemes like that are stopped—may be rightly stopped, may be due to a correct interpretation of the law and therein too the lawyers differ and even Judges have differed—again, I have no doubt that we have a generation to wait for things to stabilize . . . We cannot wait. That is the difficulty. Even in the last three years or so some very important measures passed by State Assemblies and the rest have been held up. No doubt, as I said, the interpretation of the courts must be accepted as right but you, I and the country has (*sic*) to wait with social and economic conditions—social and economic upheavals—and we are responsible for them. How

48. Obviously, reference here is to the proposed new Article 31A of the Constitution [Section 4 of the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill].

are we to meet them? How are we to meet this challenge of the times? How are we to answer the question: For the past ten or 20 years you have said, we will do it. Why have you not done it? It is not good for us to say: We are helpless before fate and the situation which we are to face at present. Therefore, we have to think in terms of these big changes, land changes and the like and therefore we thought of amending Article 31. Ultimately we thought it best to propose additional Articles 31A and 31B and in addition to that there is a Schedule attached of a number of Acts, passed by State Legislatures, some of which have been challenged or might be challenged and we thought it best to save them from long delays and these difficulties, so that this process of change which has been initiated by the States should go ahead. Many of us present here are lawyers and have had some training in law which is a good training and many of us respect lawyers. But nevertheless a lawyer represents precedent and tradition and not change, not a dynamic process. Above all, the lawyer represents litigation Somehow, we have found that this magnificent Constitution that we have framed was later kidnapped and purloined by the lawyers If we do not make proper arrangements for the land, all our other schemes whether they are about grow more food or anything else may fail. Therefore, something in the shape of this amendment that I have suggested becomes necessary."

Again, the Prime Minister observed⁴⁹ on 1st June, 1951, during the consideration of the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill:

"We are fundamentally an agricultural country and however much progress we might make in big industry, or the like, . . . agricultural land will continue to play a dominant part in India. That is because a vast proportion of our population is engaged in or dependent on agriculture. Therefore (the) land problem is today and will continue to be the biggest problem—whether you look upon it from the point of view of the large number of people engaged or of food production which is vital and of high priority, or any other way. Now this whole concept of the abolition of the

zamindari system came up before us, because we felt this inner urge of our people, because we heard the cry of millions of people and sometimes those deep murmurs and rumblings, which if not listened to and if not answered, create big revolutions and changes in the country. So we took this step rather slowly and hesitatingly and it has taken a mighty long time. Nevertheless we are on the way. Therefore it became of the highest importance and urgency that we should do something in this Parliament to remove any other obstructions that might remain, whatever they might be. Because the problem we deal with is ultimately something bigger than the Constitution, and Constitutions are upset if that problem is not dealt with properly. They are upset not by your vote and mine but upset by those big upheavals that have taken place from time to time in countries and that are taking place in the greater part of Asia today. I lay stress on this because of the deep significance of this problem which is something much more than legality and constitutionalism or compensation or the like. We have tried to deal with this problem in a democratic way, in as reasonable a way as possible, so as to avoid injustice as far as possible. But then what is the measure and yardstick of your justice and injustice in this matter? If you bring me some article in the Constitution to say that so much compensation should be paid because of something there about non-discrimination or equality, well, that may be perfectly right; but if it leads you to the conclusion that if that is strictly followed no major agrarian reform can take place, then obviously that article in the Constitution is wrong, because it comes in the way of something that is important and urgent and of the most vital significance, and that article has to be amended or changed or done away with, as you like. But the major thing is (that) you have to keep going in regard to land. Whatever your policy, you have to change the present system which is an out-of-date system, which is against progress, etc. Nobody can tell me that it involves an upset. Of course, it involves an upset. But it involves a lesser upset, and you will find that we are proceeding slowly, gradually, weighing things, so that there is less of injustice and upset than what

49. See *Parliamentary Debates, Official Report*, 1st June, 1951, Columns 9916-9922.

you will find in any country that has dealt with this problem.

"Compensation. Yes, and I have been reminded again and again in the course of the last two or three days of a certain word I used⁵⁰—adequate compensation. Of course, adequate. But the opinion of Mr. Hussain Imam⁵¹ and my opinion may differ vastly as to what 'adequate' is. Because, as I said in my speech when this Article was being adopted in the Constituent Assembly, we have to balance two things all the time, the rights of the individual and the rights of the community. We do not want to crush the individual even for the sake of the community. I agree. But we cannot allow the individual to override the rights of the community. And the rights of the community in the final balance are more important, because ultimately they affect the rights of the individual too . . . even in regard to these laws which have been passed (by State Legislatures) and which we seek to validate here . . . first of all we have to validate them and go ahead because nothing is more dangerous than delay in this matter . . . Those who think in legalistic terms, do they know that millions of people are on the move? . . . Now, of course, the abolition of the zamindari system is not the end of the story. What must follow it is the land reform. Otherwise it is only half way but we have got stuck up in this; we could not go far in that matter. It has to follow. . . . One Hon. Member referred to the concept of property. I do not wish to take up the time of the House; but the subject is a fascinating one. The concept of property at one time included human beings as slaves. The concept of property included all land including every man, woman and animal as being the personal property of the King or ruler of the time. Kings waged wars to get more and more personal property and everybody conquered was a slave. From those days to this, the concept has changed considerably. To imagine that the present stage or yesterday's stage is static is as wrong (as) to imagine that the age when human beings were considered as property was right. It is a changing concept . . . this concept

of property is a completely changing one. . . . Therefore, I hope—not a question of hoping—I am sure that this House will adopt these Clauses 4 and 5⁵² and the Schedule (Ninth Schedule)⁵³ attached, practically unanimously, because there is no way for us . . . the temper of the age and the position today in Asia and India requires rapid agrarian changes, and if you want these changes to come democratically, peacefully and with as little injustice as possible, then, we have to follow some such path and try to remove the injustices, and try to lessen wherever we can. But it is no good (for) one trying to stop that, because in trying to stop it and in trying to perhaps grab something more, it is quite possible you may lose all, by other forces coming into play, forces other than Parliament, Constitution and laws. We do not want these forces to come in and upset the whole apple-cart. Therefore, we proceed with care and also we must proceed with rapidity."

We may also note here what Dr. Ambedkar, the then Minister of Law, Government of India, stated with regard to the proposed amendments to Article 31 of the Constitution. Referring to the proposed new Article 31A he said⁵⁴ in Parliament on 18th May, 1951:

"Let us understand, first of all, what this Article does. What this Article does is to permit a State to acquire what are called estates. Secondly, it says that when any legislation is undertaken to acquire estates, nothing in the Fundamental Rights shall affect such a legislation The new amendment to Article 31 not only removes the operation of the provision relating to compensation, but also removes the operation of the Article relating to discrimination. In this amendment, I am emphasising the word 'estate'. The new Article is a very limited one. It does not apply to the acquisition of land. It applies to the acquisition of estate in land which is a very different thing. What is an estate has been defined in this parti-

52. I.e., Clauses 4 and 5 of the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill, 1951, which became Article 31A and 31B of the Constitution of India.

53. To the Constitution of India.

54. See *Parliamentary Debates, Official Report*, 18th May, 1951, Columns 9024-9028.

50. On 16th May, 1950. See *Prime Minister Nehru's speech* quoted above.

51. A Member of Parliament from Bihar.

cular article, namely, the right of proprietor, sub-proprietor, tenure-holder, or other intermediary. Of course, the terminology is different in different provisions. It (*i.e.*, the proposed Article 31A) does not refer to the acquisition of land. That is to be borne in mind. Therefore, all that Article 31A does is this. When any law is undertaken with regard to the acquisition of property, two questions can properly arise. One is the amount of compensation; the second is discrimination as between the various proprietors as regards the amount of compensation. These are the only two questions that can possibly arise and give rise to litigation . . . It seems to me that we really cannot adopt the said two Articles⁵⁵ of the Fundamental Rights relating to compensation and discrimination with regard to this land question The question we are considering now is whether the intermediaries should be allowed to continue. That is the point, and on that point, I think there can be no dispute that the intermediaries should be liquidated, without any kind of interference from the Fundamental Rights either on the ground that there is no adequate compensation or that a discrimination has been made If you want the betterment of agriculture, I am convinced that these intermediaries must be liquidated." Dr. Ambedkar assured⁵⁶, however, on the 1st of June, 1951 as the Minister of Law:

"I would like to say this, that there is no intention on the part of Government that the provisions contained in Article 31A are to be employed for the purpose of dispossessing *ryotwari* tenants We are making a distinction between intermediaries and *ryotwari* holders there is no justification for any kind of propaganda that may be carried on by interested parties that this (Constitution First Amendment) Bill proposes to give power to Government to expropriate everybody including the *ryotwari* tenants."

And with regard to the proposed new Article 31B of the Constitution, he had observed⁵⁷ on 18th May, 1951:

"Now, I come to Article 31B. This Article enumerates in the Ninth Schedule (to the Constitution) certain laws which have been passed (by State Legislatures). Great objection has been taken that this is a very unusual procedure. *Prima facie*, it is an unusual procedure. But let us look at it from another point of view. What are these laws? What are the principles on which these laws are made which are being saved by the Ninth Schedule? All the laws that have been saved by this Schedule are laws which fall under Article 31A. That is to say, they are laws which are intended to acquire estates. And when we say by Article 31A that whenever a law is made for the acquisition of an estate, neither the principle of compensation nor the principle of discrimination shall stand in the way of the validity of it, I admit that sentimentally there may be objection. But from the practical point of view, I do not understand why we should not declare them valid pieces of legislation."

We have quoted above some extracts from the speeches of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Law, in connexion with the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill, just with a view to indicating what led to the insertion in 1951, of Articles 31A and 31B in our Constitution. And what they said in 1951 do equally apply in essence to Sub-Clause (a) of Clause (1) of Article 31A as well as to Article 31B of the Constitution today. A perusal of debates in our Parliament in 1955 in connexion with the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill will confirm this.

So far as Sub-clauses (b), (c) and (d) of Clause (1) of Article 31A are concerned, they have been inserted in the Article, presumably, mainly as a result of the judgment of our Supreme Court in what we have referred to before as the second Sholapur Mills case. And the object of Sub-Clause (e) of Clause (1) is also to prevent any possible litigation in matters contemplated by it. As a matter of fact, "the whole intention" of Article 31A is, to quote Sri H. V. Pataskar⁵⁸, Minister in the Ministry

55. *I.e.*, Article 31 (2) (as it was originally) and Article 14 of the Constitution of India.

56. *Parliamentary Debates, Official Report*, 1st June, 1951, Columns 9913-9914.

57. See *ibid.*, 18th May, 1951, Columns 9027-9028.

58. See Shri Pataskar's speech in Lok Sabha on 12th April, 1955.—*Lok Sabha Debates*, 12th April, 1955, Column 5057.

try of Law, to save legislations envisaged by it "from being declared void in Courts of law because they are so necessary and important for the purpose of social work which we have undertaken." This observation also applies to Article 31B of the Constitution. Indeed, it appears to us that this latter rather extraordinary provision has been inserted in our Constitution, as a precautionary measure, to make "assurance" against litigation "double sure" so far as the Acts and Regulations specified in the Ninth Schedule thereto are concerned.

VI

In conclusion, we should like to say that on a very careful consideration of what we have shown in this and in our three preceding articles⁵⁹ it appears to us that Fundamental Right to Property has, as a result of the changes made in our Constitution by the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951, and the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955, become, legally speaking, whatever might be the socio-political justification of the changes, almost, unlike our other Fundamental Rights, a myth. We may also note here what Mr. Justice William Douglas of the American Supreme Court has observed in this connexion. Referring to our Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955, he stated⁶⁰ in the course of his Tagore Law Lectures delivered in the University of Calcutta in July, 1955:

"Whatever the cause, the 1955 Amendment casts a shadow over every private factory, plant, or other individual enterprise in India. The legislature may now appropriate it at any price it desires, substantial or nominal. There is no review of the reasonableness of the amount of compensation. The result can be just compensation or confiscation—dependent wholly on the mood of the Parliament."

Further⁶¹—

• "When it came to the taking of property

both (i.e., the judiciary in India and the judiciary in America) performed the same role and spoke with the same authority before India in 1955 amended her Constitution so as to leave to the legislature, rather than to the courts, the question of what constitutes reasonable compensation for the taking (of property). In sum, India, like America, ranked property rights high among the Fundamental Rights of man. What effect the 1955 Amendment will have remains to be seen. If the Parliament appropriates private property for only nominal compensation, the spectre of confiscation would have entered India contrary to the teachings of her outstanding jurists."

During the consideration of the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill the Minister for Home Affairs, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant observed⁶² in the Rajya Sabha on 19th April, 1955:

"I think the Parliament will always try to take a reasonable view. The collective wisdom of the Parliament will do the right thing and will always take a just and equitable view. The Parliament consists of the representatives of the people. It is interested in advancing the welfare of all classes and all communities. We have to work for the establishment of a Welfare State on a socialistic pattern. That is what the Parliament has decided. There are certain directive principles in our Constitution. So, in whatever the Parliament does, it will place before itself the central objective for which (it) has to function. And it will consistently with those objectives and principles make every effort to render justice to everyone—to pay to Peter as well as to Paul what is due to either. So, there need be no apprehensions in any quarter."

Let us sincerely hope and trust that our Parliament and also our State Legislatures will exercise the powers vested in them by our Constitution with regard to the question of property, wisely and justly.

In our next article in this series we propose to deal with our Fundamental Right to constitutional Remedies.

59. See *The Modern Review* for January, April and July, 1958.

60. See William O. Douglas, *From Marshall to Mukherjee, Studies in American and Indian Constitutional Law*, 1956. p. 224.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

62. See *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha*, 19th April, 1955, Column 5104.

CANADA AND USA

By DR. KALIDAS NAG

WHILE attending the British Commonwealth Conference in Sydney, just on the eve of the Second World War, I was pleased to get invitation from the Canadian delegates to visit Canada. But the War upset all calculations and I had the pleasure to visit Canada in 1958.

The International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom (founded 1900) invited me, with other European delegates, to participate in their 16th Congress held at the University of Chicago (August, 1958). As the principal speaker, representing Hinduism, with four other speakers for Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, we were given all facilities of travels—by sea or air—from our home bases. I was informed that if I could reach London by the end of July, I may travel with about 120 European ladies and gentlemen, sailing per S. S. *Saxonia* the charming Cunard Liner. It was a fine ship, offering us excellent meals and good books on America and a splendid relief map of Canada which all of us were so eager to see on voyage in the glorious season.

The ship touched France and then Ireland to take passengers and our fellow delegates—all roused by the news that the Nuclear Submarine *Natilus* (USA) plunged into the Pacific near Alaska, crossed the vast Arctic Ocean via North Pole and emerged into the Atlantic near Greenland in a record time. God Poseidon seemed to have grumbled with USSR who soon took noble revenge by launching the first man-made planet beyond our Earth's atmosphere. In the South, USA and USSR, UK and Australia, with others, were rediscovering and mapping Antarctica (one or two?), the vast continent explored in this International Geo-physical Year. My cabin-mate, a Cambridge Don, explained to me the vast significance of these discoveries and adventures. On the other hand the Philosophers and Theologians in our party, nodded their heads sceptically and questioned as they said: 'What are all these worth' if Man misuses Science to destroy the Human species and Civilisation, only a 100 years after the publication of Darwin's *Origin of the Species*.

Threatening fog enveloped our brave ship *Saxonia* which seemed to toss and tremble for

24 hours, aimlessly (as we apprehended and remembered how, through collision with Iceberg, the ship *Titanic* was lost in 1912). Luckily, for us the sun dispersed the fog, brightening gloomy faces; and we went up the deck to gaze on the Belle Isle the beautiful island which made gesture to us, as it were, showing that the historic estuary of the mighty river St. Lawrence was near! I stopped studying books and applied henceforth my mind to watch Nature's glory and grandeur of gigantic Canada—the friendly neighbour and sentinel of the Arctic for the United States—which I visited from the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts but never from the Arctic arc. Canada is attending to her sector of the Arctic while the USSR scientists are planning to pump the warm water of the Pacific into cold Atlantic end, changing thereby the frozen Arctic Zone probably into a vast fertile food-producing region. Granted good-will and peace, the narrow Behring Sea may develop into a great causeway of friendship and co-operation between the USSR on the one hand and Canada-USA on the other.

Pre-historians and anthropologists have proved beyond doubt that the Palae-Siberian men from Asia and their culture, crossed via the Behring zone into Alaska and Canada to the present USA and Latin America. Hence we find the Esquimos and Amerindians of the Stone Age, followed by the Mayas of Mexico and the Incas of Peru, over 2,000 years ago. Some Canadian scholars have recently supported the Buddhistic hypothesis of some Chinese Buddhist monks sailing 5th century A.D. in frail boats, to the New World leaving traces of Buddhist sanctuaries in Mexico. There is little doubt now that, long before Columbus, the Scandinavian Norsemen sailing in their Viking boats (one still to be found in the Oslo Museum, Norway) plundered England, occupied Iceland and even built a colony in South Greenland which was really green in the 10th century A.D. But, due to climatic changes and movement of glaciers and Ice-caps from the North to the South, Greenland colonies were abandoned, leaving some relics down to late 15th century when Columbus and Cabot were preparing to discover America of our

geography which should not forget, however, the Scandinavian pioneers who landed, centuries ago, on the Atlantic sea-board of Canada and USA.

• Columbus was so much obsessed by Marco Polo that, anywhere he touched the New World, he identified that place with some part of Asia of the age of Kubla Khan! Thus a part of the West Indies was identified by Columbus (following Marco Polo) with Cipango or Japan! He thought that the Panama coasts were Malay Peninsula; and the name India (Indios) and Indians were written large in so many zones and races of Canada and USA. From Henry VIII to Elizabeth, there were several expeditions and after three voyages (1576-78) Frobisher discovered Baffin Land and the mouth of the Hudson Strait. Gilbert occupied Newfoundland in 1583 and wrote his *Discourse* to prove the existence of the North-West Passage to trade with Asia. In 1553 a company (later known as the Muscovy Co.) sent out ships to discover the alternative route of the North-East Passage, along the coast of Siberia (where Buddhist Lamaseries flourished for ages) and thence, the White Sea and Russia, half Asian in race, economy and culture.

John Cabot discovered Newfoundland, (24 June 1497), and his son Sebastian Cabot also was a great explorer. England and France would be the major competitors for their empires of the New World which, however, was already partitioned and settled by the Papal Bull of 1493 between Spain and Portugal forming the two original Oceanic empires. In 1530 when Thorne was writing his British "Declaration of the Indies," the French explorer Cartier entered (like us) the St. Lawrence river valley reaching Quebec (still speaking French) and Montreal. The French also were trying to find the North-West passage to Asia, but the river could not oblige them. The French and the British, however, established contacts with the American Indians developing the fur-trade which, with other factors, led to the White Colonization of Canada. The Red Indians were doomed however to segregation and neglect both by Canada and USA who built a New World out of their old settlements overrun by the Catholic Bourbons and the British and Dutch Protestants.

The long Anglo-Spanish Wars from 1585 to 1604, provoked colonizations of the British French and the Dutch in the New World. Under Raleigh's lead the British settled in fertile Virginia (making tobacco plantations) in 1607; the French colonized Quebec in 1608 and the Dutch in New Amsterdam (New York) in 1614.

From 1620 onwards the English Puritan emigrants settled in New Plymouth, New Haven, New Hampshire and Newfoundland (1610), the last bringing much money from Cod fishery, furs and beaver-skins. Thus the New England merchants, from Quebec to New York, exported their surplus foodstuffs to the rich plantations further South. In 1602 the competing Dutch syndicates strengthened themselves by forming the Dutch East India Co., but preferred to build their empire in Indonesia (1600-1950). Many other European nations supplied man-power and talents to America. The Boston-New York sector began to handle huge business so that they became rivals of London which began grumbling!

Mercantilism and Colonial wars became, for two centuries, (1739-1939) the orders of the day. Sea-power and mercantile-cum-political imperialism led to the greatest period of Oceanic wars. England fought the Bourbons of France and Spain (1739-1763) when Canada and North America became completely British although French language, law and culture continued in Quebec, New Orleans and a few other places. But the growing sense of economic self-sufficiency and new nationhood demanded freedom from the trammels of the British Parliament. As the result of the seven years (1756-63) the slogan "no taxation without representation" brought about the Wars of American Independence, which drove out of USA to Canada all those who were pro-British and monarchists in their sentiments. Edmund Burke's speeches on American Taxation and Conciliation were delivered apparently in vain and the Bourbons were engulfed by the Wars of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. Like Alaska purchased by USA from Tzarist Russia, rich and big French possessions along the Mississippi were won by the Louisiana purchase.

The French lost Quebec and Montreal in 1759 just two centuries ago.

All these historic events came to my mind when I was floating along the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador, and then through the St. Lawrence I viewed Quebec. Since 1605 the French were building up there permanent settlement in Acadia or Nova Scotia which will celebrate soon its Bi-centenary. The French explorer Champlain selected and built up Quebec as a natural fortress and Montreal as its sister city where the Rapids on the St. Lawrence river began. Acadia was ceded by the French to the British in 1713. Its area is 21,068 square miles with a population of 702,000 and revenue (1956-57) of about 60 million dollars.

Quebec is 594,860 sq. miles with a population of 4,055,681 (1951) out of which 3½ million are Roman Catholics who manage three universities: Laval founded in 1852, Montreal in 1873 and Sherbrooke in 1954. Catholic schools number 9,245 with 34,000 teachers while the Protestant schools with 355 teachers attend to 3,640 teachers. This French-speaking part of Canada works harmoniously with the English-speaking people, both sharing prosperity under a Liberal and Federal Dominion Constitution.

But in 1837 there was almost a Franco-British rebellion averted by the wise Report of Lord Durham who warned: "I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single State; I found a struggle, not of principles but of races (French and British)". Alas, out of such a desperate situation, so many nations have suffered from Civil War or partition (as in India). But Canada was lucky and offered us thereby an example in peaceful negotiation leading to Federation (which could have been achieved also in the case of India and Pakistan, after a century).

Canada leads the way in self-government in political unification and in developing a foreign policy, independent of England and the powerful neighbour USA. Holding the Polar route, and the Arctic Ocean, Canada now is the main buffer-state between Soviet Russia and the United States; so Canada may yet play a great role as a "peace-maker" between the "Individual Capitalism of USA and the State Capitalism of the USSR," according to President Eisenhower's phraseology.* If better

sense prevails to end the "Cold War" epoch, the two Polar Powers, USSR and Canada (with their secret reserves of Uranium and other strategic minerals), may remove coldness from the souls of many nations; and they may warmly co-operate to make the UNO really a fraternity of United Nations. With the warming of the Arctic Ocean, Canada and USA may come closer to vast China of 600 million souls; and a new North Eastern Passage may be opened by submarine (*Natilus* type) and jet planes and missile-letter Post Offices. In this age of planet making and inter-stellar researches in Astrophysics and Astronomy, the tempo of progress will be quickened beyond imagination. How to divert now this demoniac tempo towards destruction into constructive fellowship to conquer disease, death and poverty, still ravaging more than half of mankind?

These ideas convulsed my mind as I surveyed the superb yet sombre seascapes and landscapes† of Canada, passing from Montreal and Toronto (in Ontario: area 412,582 sq. miles; population 5,404,933) to the Canadian Niagara Falls (which I saw before from USA side). It presented to us a wizardly geological formation and horizon where the majestic flow of the downrushing river hides underneath the 'eating of the bedrock shelves'—some of the oldest in America. Ontario's metropolis, Toronto (population 1½ million) is much bigger than Ottawa (population 340,460). Among the 5 universities of the State the biggest is the University of Toronto; it was founded in 1827

* "We have had relations with Europe because of our political and economic ties; with China and Japan because we are a Pacific power; with the USSR because of Geography. The world-wide connections of the USA arise almost exclusively from the obligations she had to assume as the greatest power in the world."

—Mr. Ford: Canadian Ambassador to Columbia.

† Cf. *The Unknown Country* by Bruce Hutchison:

"My country is hidden in the Dark. . . It is all visions and doubts, hopes and dreams. Who can know our loneliness on the immensity of prairie, in the dark forest and on the windy sea rocks? All around blackness, emptiness and silence!"

and has over 1,400 Professors attending to over 12,000 students. The Royal Ontario Museum has some rare collections of art and anthropology—especially of the American Indians (over 1 lac) and the Esquimos who appear even today •(defying the Iron Curtain) in USSR Arctic zone as also in that of Canada.

In Toronto I was welcomed as a guest of our Unitarian friends Mr. and Mrs. Denison. The wife is a talented painter whose sketches I admired in her home-studio.

Mr. Denison was once a Mayor of Toronto now out building up a progressive Socialist Party, growing in importance in the midst of huge capitalistic developments. From Mr. Denison I got some idea of the Labour Unions and Party Government there. Canada, still belonging to the British Commonwealth, calls its Upper House—not House of Lords—but Senate following the USA; just as our Indian patriots called their biggest organization, the Congress not Parliament. The constitutional relations between UK and Canada were settled largely by the British North America Act of 1867, functioning now over 90 years.

British Columbia, on the Pacific-Asian coast, was established as a separate colony in 1858. So we got some publicity materials on the Centenary of that State, in 1958, celebrated with Royal glamour surprising the majority of Republicans in USA.

Newfoundland joined as the tenth province of Canada (31 March, 1949) and after a peaceful treaty with Norway (1931) Canada now "holds sovereignty in the whole Arctic sector, north of the Canadian mainland." Just as Norway avoided near war with Sweden over their boundaries and are living together peacefully, so, we found perfect peace maintained between USA and Canada having thousands of miles frontiers. So that, I and my fellow-delegates seldom noticed the change of climate (including that of Customs officers) and landscapes between Detroit (half Canadian) and Chicago, the venue of the Congress of Religious Freedom (IARF).

CANADA TO USA

As we passed from the shores of Lake Ontario to those of Lake Michigan I was welcomed by a hospitable Unitarian couple Dr. and Mrs. Pulman, Canadian Detroit. They

know a good deal about India through their contact with the Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta and their genuine appreciation of our great pioneer, Raja Rammohun Roy and of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

They showed us the gigantic industrial plants of the Ford Motor Co. which manufactures about 50 per cent of the total USA motor cars. The total number of plants are 353 (1954) employing 346,079 workers paying them \$1,739,924,000 in wages and salaries.

Our Unitarian friends kindly came up to the Chicago University to listen to my address on "Hinduism." They asked me to come again after Queen Elizabeth II opens soon the lock-gates and dams; so that, as soon as we reach the St. Lawrence river post of Montreal, the ocean-going liners could be safely taken from lake to lake, thus gliding down to Lake Michigan on which stands our lovely multi-storied Hotel Windermere! Thanking my guests, I entered again Chicago where I saluted in 1953 Swami Vivekananda, who came in 1893 to attend the Parliament of Religions. Swami Visvananda then kindly showed me the Chicago sites associated with Vivekananda legend. To celebrate the Golden Jubilee, as it were, of the Parliament of Religions (1893), the IARF demanded to hold their Congress of Religious Freedom in Chicago. In the interval of the session I revisited the wonderful collection of the Field Museum as well as the Library and the galleries of the famous Oriental Institute.

I need not give a gist of my address on "Hinduism" which (minus my oral commentaries) was published after my return to Calcutta (vide *The Modern Review*, November, 1958) and also in the *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Institute of Culture*, where I delivered two lectures developing my plan of publishing books from Free India, under the Institute's plan with the Unesco, to foster mutual understanding of the East and West. I found, in 1952-53, as a Visiting Professor of Asian Civilisation in St. Paul, Minnesota, that the Ford Foundation financed the publication of the Great Books of the West. Such a foundation and the Unesco may be approached, now by India, for publishing another and much-needed series entitled "Great Books of the East"

supplementing the work of Max Muller's *Sacred Books of the East*, planned nearly a century ago. India is the major partner of the Afro-Asian Federation and has a background of literary tradition of centuries, permitting India to sponsor and publish the series, from the standpoint of comparative religion, literature and culture.

My friend and fellow-delegate, Sri J. N. Das, Secretary, Sadharan Brahma Samaj, wisely remarked:

"The learned addresses delivered by the five presidents (representing Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam) were no doubt pregnant with philosophical thoughts as well as historical view-points. But it is difficult to say how far they could help to show how the religion that each president advocated could meet the present-day needs of the world; . . . really there is only one religion for all, i.e., Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man."

Asia is the veritable cradle of all the major religions of the world, as I affirmed in my address and appealed for world support in propagating Peace and Understanding through Religion and the Asian Classics to be named the *Great Books of the East*.

Presidential addresses apart, the five principal speakers were invited to participate in a studio symposium on Unity through Religion which was given the widest publicity by the Columbia Broadcasting and Television Co. serving from coast to coast.

After the Chicago Congress, the delegates were taken charge of by the special committee showing us the most important sites and monuments of the USA. They took us to the earliest Chapels of New England where the Pilgrim Fathers (1620) held their first prayers and Thanks-giving ceremonies. The Harvard School (now the richest University and Divinity School) was founded in 1635 in Cambridge, Mass. A century after was born George Washington (1732) originally of British parentage and a British officer who fought (1776-1783) against the despotic British Government and won freedom for America. We saw his Virginia home with a special guest room—for his noble French ally General Lafayette. The 18th century Manor house so well preserved, elicited

our deep admiration. Not only military glory but spiritual devotion, freedom of thought and literary creations were also unfolded to us, as we were taken to visit the Chapel of the great Unitarian Minister Channing (born 1782, a junior contemporary of Rammohun Roy), the sylvan home of Emerson in Concord where came also Thoreau who influenced Gandhiji in his plan and principle of Passive Resistance.

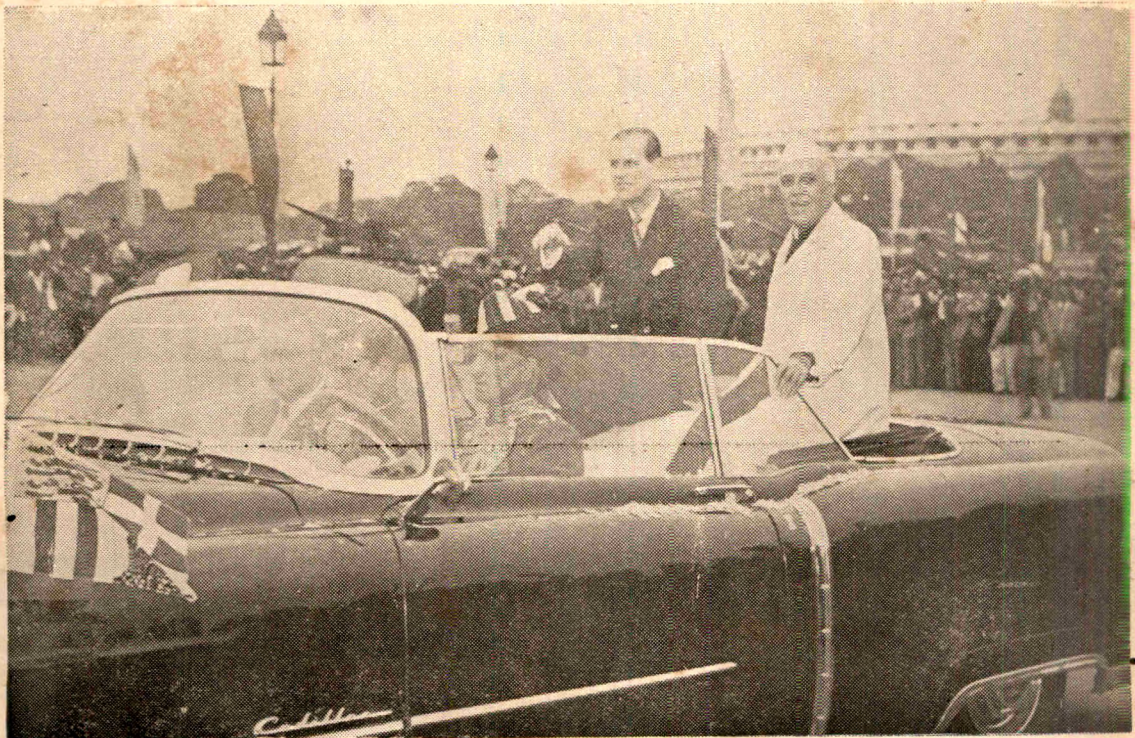
Coming to Boston I was deeply touched by the historical and spiritual atmosphere of the place, the cradle and the headquarters of the American Unitarian Association. Its new President Dr. Dana McLean Greeley gave us all help and a cordial reception. So the Rev. Dr. E. W. Kuebler, newly elected President of the International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom, gave us his friendly co-operation. When from the USA I came to England to meet my friends of the British Unitarian Association (Gordon Sq., London), I was glad to hear that Dr. Kuebler would personally attend the consecration of the old Unitarian Church Centre, the Essex Hall, destroyed by bombing in the last war.

But before leaving America I thankfully remembered the generous hospitality, so characteristic of American men and women and their genuine sympathy for the young Republic of ancient India. We were touched also by their profound admiration of the ideals for which Mahatma Gandhi sacrificed his life. So, among the heavy-loaded tour-cum-cultural programmes, our American friends brought us to the superb Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) Memorial in Washington. There I paid my sincere and silent homage to the great American who built, with his life-blood, the Union of the North and the South (avoiding partition) and proclaimed, with his prophetic voice, his Hymn to Democracy "of the people, by the people and for the people." His words rang in my ears, as I stood at the foot of the Lincoln Monument and I offer him our deep respects on his 150th Birth anniversary.

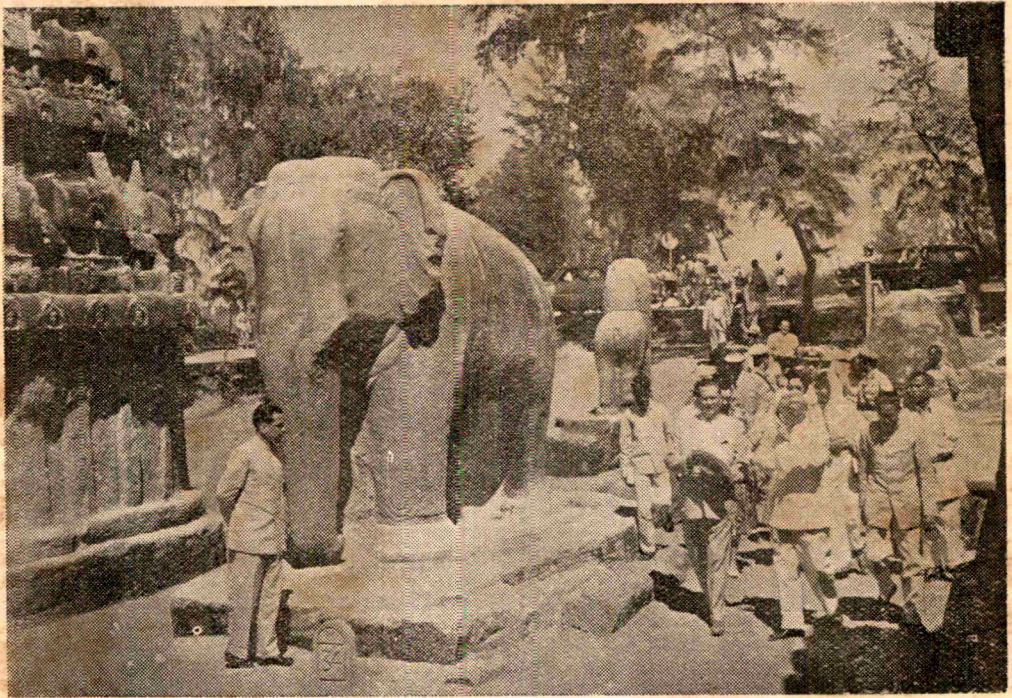
Touring from British Canada in the North, to the United States in the middle, I wished also further progress, prosperity and peace, to the republics of Latin America (from Mexico to Chile) which I visited in 1936 during the International PEN Congress, Buenos Aires,



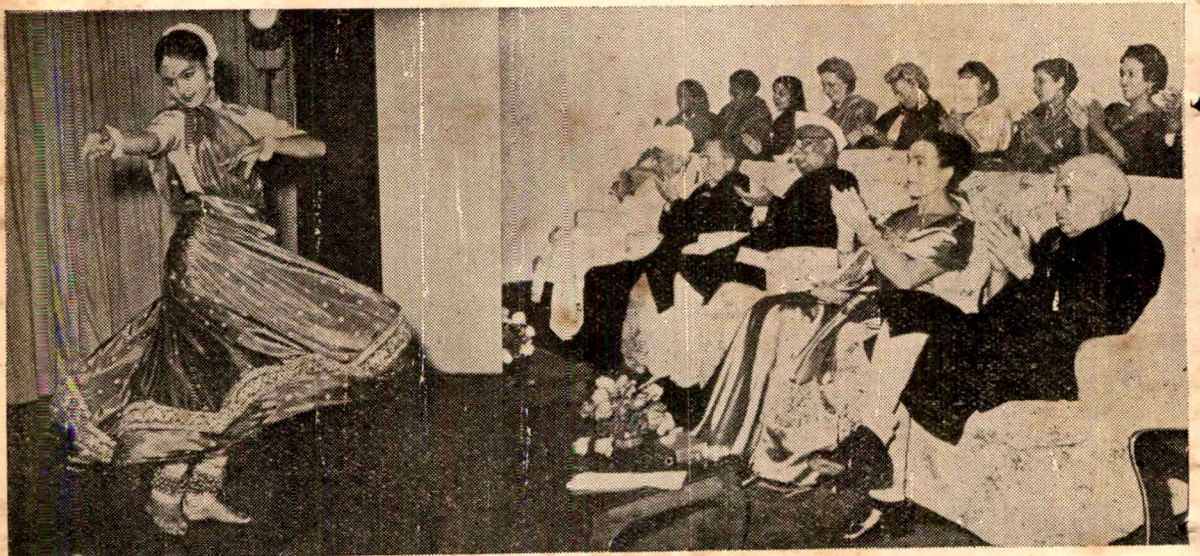
Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh, on his 14-day tour of India was received at the Palam Airport by the Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and Srimati Aruna Asaf Ali, Mayor of Delhi Corporation



The Duke of Edinburgh driving through the Vijay Chowk with the Prime Minister of India, to the Rastrapati Bhavan



Marshal Tito recently visited the temples and monolithic sculpture at Mahabalipuram near Madras. In the foreground is a giant rock-cut elephant



The distinguished visitors watching a kathack dance performance by Kumari Archana, presented at Rastrapati Bhavan in honour of Marshal Tito and Madame Jovanka Broz Tito

Argentina. I shared my impressions with our learned colleagues of the London PEN and its musician Secretary, David Carver, who gave me a reception, as Vice-President of our Bengal PEN. Through Literature and Art, Religion and Philosophy, the common men and women of the West may yet help maintaining sanity in this panicky age of Atomic destruction.

But India of Tagore and Gandhi will ever hold to the spiritual moorings of Peace and Fellowship which, we hope, will bring all races together in a Fraternity of Faiths and World Brotherhood.

—:O:—

A DECADE OF ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE IN INDIA

By P. R. DUBHASHI, M.A., I.A.S.

I. CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

HISTORY is a product of *continuity and change*. The history of the first decade of Independence is no exception. During the last ten years several historical factors have served to change the face of the country; but several other factors have made for continuity; and it may be said with certainty that Public Administration has been one of the factors that put its weight on the side of continuity. Among the several legacies of the British rule in the country, one that was recognised as an asset was the Administrative system. After ten years of change, the core of the administrative machine, built up by the Britishers, still remains intact. The Secretariat and Departments at the Centre with their staff organisations, the State Secretariates and the State Departments with their staff and line organisations and the urban and rural Local Self-Government institutions still constitute the blue print of the administrative system. District continues to be and indeed has grown in importance as the pivot of administration. The Revenue Administration with its ramifications reaching down to the village still continues to be the agency through which the Government contacts the villager. The great judicial system embodying the principle of the Rule of Law has gained in stature as the watch-dog of the Constitution. The Police Administration with "Thana" as its basic Unit still continues to be the protector of person and property. The great system of Audit and

Accounts continues with even higher responsibilities as the custodian of the State Exchequer.

But if public administration has been a factor making for continuity, it has not been working in a water-tight compartment of its own. It could not have worked isolated from or uninfluenced by several changing factors around it. A distinction has been made between Public Administration as process and Public Administration as politics. The former covers matters like—organisations, techniques, methods, procedures and personnel which are internal to administration. The latter refers to general political set-up, the basic purposes of the State, the fundamental principles which govern politics and which as a totality powerfully influence and alter the internal processes of Administration. These latter have undergone a revolutionary transformation and the administrative history of the last decade must principally consider the *influence of the political revolution on the inner processes of Administration*.

II. UNUSUAL DEVELOPMENTS

But the political revolution with its far-reaching consequence on Administration was accompanied by certain unusual developments which followed in the wake of Independence. Their administrative consequences were considerable not only in the short run but also in the long run. Independence was accompanied by Partition. That partition was not only of the Nation but also of States. This partition

at once created two administrative problems of major importance—one was refugee rehabilitation and the other was that of bringing about administrative divisions to match the political divisions. Refugee rehabilitation constituted a formidable administrative problem. It required all administrative resources to settle down a total population of 74-80 lakhs of displaced persons—49.05 lakhs from West Pakistan and 25.75 lakhs from East Pakistan. Relief to displaced persons, settlement of property claims, schemes for urban and rural settlement, provision of employment opportunities, provision of loans and business and industrial premises, training and education of displaced persons, were the several problems tackled by the Ministry of Rehabilitation and the Director General for Resettlement and Employment. It is no mean an administrative achievement that displaced persons have now been, by and large, absorbed into country's economic and social life. Perhaps, even more formidable was the problem of partition. Political partition cut across the administrative units. It meant partition of armed forces, forces of civil personnel and records, of assets and liabilities, of revenue, currency, coinage, exchange, budget accounts, railways, posts, telegraphs and A.I.F. For tackling these problems, a Partition Apex Committee was established, under which several Steering Committees required to handle several problems of division mentioned above. According to contemporary Western Commentator, "the success of Partition Committees reflected great credit upon statesmen of the new States and their officials, who with a tradition of working together, confirmed their patient negotiations even when political bitterness was at its highest."

Of even more far-reaching effect on administration than these, was the sudden loss of the service of experienced officers. The I.C.S. steel frame had built up a reputation for efficiency. The steel frame was now breaking. Civil servants were asked whether they wanted to continue or not after 15th August 1947. Their conditions were guaranteed. Yet, almost all European

members of the Civil Service chose to bid good-bye and majority of the Muslim civil servants opted for Pakistan. Thus, nearly 600 members of the Indian Civil Service left India, leaving about 400 officers to shoulder the burden of responsibilities in the new State. The Indian police too suffered a similar fate. The great void thus created was filled up by emergency recruitment from the States services, Army officers and open market, and though this might have been the only course possible, there was no doubt that it meant an abandonment of the established principle of recruitment to the Civil Service, viz., through open competition.

The administrative problems created by Partition were followed by problems of Integration of States. The States Ministry, manned by an able group of Civil Servants and led by a great politician-administrator, tackled this problem with rare skill and out of the integration of hundreds of the princely States, emerged 9 Part A States, 9 Part B States and 10 Part C States. This great problem did not, however, end till the passing of States Reorganisation Act 1956, which created, mostly on linguistic basis, 13 Part A States, 1 Part B State and 5 Part C States. All these developments created administrative problems of division of assets and liabilities, not dissimilar to those arising after partition.

With the problems of partition were the problems of scarcity of several essential things like cement and steel, but above all, of food. The problems of controlled distribution of scarce commodities were all important during the first few years of Independence. In fact, the period from 1947 to 1951 could well be styled as the era of emergency administration—emergency created by partition and scarcity. "During the first phase, the consolidation of freedom, the political and financial integration of territories of the former Indian States, the drawing up of a new Constitution, the rehabilitation of displaced persons, and the establishment of new and common administrative services for the Centre and the States, were the urgent preoccupations of Government. The

inauguration of the Constitution early in 1950 and the decision to undertake planned development on a national scale, to fulfil the directions of State policy, embodied in Constitution, marked the second and longer phase—the building up of a Welfare State.”

III. ADMINISTRATION FOR DEMOCRACY, DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIALISM

From 1951 started the era of Administration for democracy, development and Socialism. With that, the Administration faced new and immensely vital tasks. On 26 November 1949 the Constituent Assembly adopted the Indian Constitution. The Administration, which was an instrument of an Imperial Authority for colonial rule, became an instrument of Sovereign Democratic Republic. Parliament became under the Constitution, the embodiment of this Sovereign Democratic Republic. Article 326 of the Constitution laid down that “the elections to the House of People and Legislative Assembly of every State shall be on the basis of *adult suffrage*.” The administrative consequences of these principles were gargantuan.

The administration had to shoulder the burden of arranging the election for the greatest democracy of the world. True, the Constitution vested the responsibility for the conduct of elections and the superintendence and control of the preparation of electoral rolls in the Election Commission “consisting of Chief Election Commissioner and such other members of the Election Commission as President may fix from time to time.” But this Election Commission had no field administration of its own. It relied upon a normal administrative machinery itself and it redounds to the credit of this machinery that it stood the strain of this greatest experiment of democratic election, very creditably indeed. By and large, Indian elections were considered to be fair and impartial. The spectacular aspects of this Election Administration were seen only at the time of the two General Elections. But in fact, it had to be active and vigilant every year throughout. Thus, one of the special features of Election Administration was its ordinary and extra-ordinary phase. Its ordinary working consisted of its

unostentatious, but by no means, unimportant work of revision of electoral rolls. Initial printing of these rolls at the time of the First General Elections was a formidable printing effort. But the job did not end there. Every year, these rolls had to be brought up-to-date. Every year, it was necessary to take account of the deaths and growths on the one hand, and immigrations and emigrations on the other, in addition, of course, to the printer's devils. Additions, deletions and corrections were annually made to keep the rolls up-to-date. The additions, deletions and corrections warranted by births and deaths, immigrations and emigrations in 5.5 lakhs of Indian villages had to be noted and in doing this job the Revenue Administration with its octopus tentacles reaching every village gave yet another illustration to prove its claim that it is the backbone of Government. This work of the revision of rolls was done every year according to a well thought-out calendar of work and was a remarkable example of planned team work.

This silent machinery burst into activity at the time of elections. Election Administration proved an outstanding example of organisation of human and material resources. Election Administration had the “Polling Station” as its unit of voting and “Constituency” as the unit of election. Every Polling Station had to be manned by a Presiding Officer, assisted by a team of six Polling Officers, a Lady Assistant and Menial and Police staff. Every Constituency had to be supervised by a Returning Officer, assisted by Assistant Returning Officers. Every Polling Station had to be provided with ballot boxes, ballot papers, seals and about forty pieces of election articles and stationery. Every polling team had to be trained through lectures, demonstrations and mock-elections. A District easily required more than 100 trained teams. Polling-Stations had to be erected in the remotest villages. Deployment of men and material at the right time to these dispersed Polling-Stations and receiving polled boxes sometimes beyond midnight called for the highest organisational skill, patience and vigilance from the administrative personnel.

Counting of ballot papers was yet another Herculean task, especially in double-member

Constituencies where the polled ballot papers ran into lakhs and the tedious method of finding out cumulative voting required more than hundred Counting Clerks to work continuously for more than two or even three days.

The Election Administration was distinguished not only by the enormity of its scale of operation, but also by the fact that it required the effective utilisation of an amateur staff, imparted concentrated training in a short span of time for an arduous job, bristling with technicalities. There can be no nobler proof of the devotion of administrative personnel to democracy than the very hard job they have done in electing Parliament and Legislatures of the Indian Democracy.

The Administration which served to elect the Democratic Parliament, also served to fulfil the basic purposes of the State enunciated in the preamble of the Constitution, *viz.*, to secure to all its citizens, "justice—social, economic and political, liberty of thought, belief, faith and worship, equality of status and opportunity." Administration, which during the British regime, was an instrument of the Police State, now became an instrument of a Welfare State. The Constitution stated in its Directive Principles of State Policy (Article 38 of the Constitution) that "the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice—social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of National life." Administration also became an instrument for the introduction of a Socialistic Pattern of Society. In December 1954, Parliament adopted the Socialistic Pattern of Society as the objective of social and economic policy. But the basic principles of the Socialistic Pattern were laid down in the Constitution itself. "The State shall direct its policy towards securing that

- (a) The citizens, men and women, equally have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;
- (b) That the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good;
- (c) That the operation of the economic system does not result in concentra-

tion of wealth and means of production to the common detriment;

- (d) That there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women."

Article 41 directed that the State should make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement. Article 42 required the State to ensure just and humane conditions of work and to provide Maternity Schemes. Article 43 emphasised the need for a living wage and for promotion of Co-operative Cottage Industry. Article 48 enjoined the State to endeavour to organise Agriculture and Animal Husbandry on modern and scientific lines.

Administration had to be organised for attaining each of these objectives. To organise Agriculture and Animal Husbandry on modern and scientific lines, was set up the Community Development and National Extension Service Administration. To promote Cottage Industry on Co-operative lines, were set up Six Boards at the Centre. To ensure a living wage, was passed the Minimum Wages Legislation. To ensure just and humane conditions for labour, was passed voluminous Labour Legislation. To assist in old age, sickness and disablement, by way of a start at least, was established the Employee's State Insurance Act Administration. To prevent the operation of the economic system from resulting in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment, was passed the Companies Act of 1956, which put great and grave responsibilities on Administration. To utilise the material resources for the common good was effected a considerable expansion of the Public Sector, especially in the field of Industry and to achieve all these, as well as to ensure that all citizens, men and women, equally have the right to adequate means of livelihood were prepared the two Five-Year Plans.

The impact of all the forces on Administration was tremendous. Administration was no longer an instrument of Law and Order but an agent of Welfare and Development. *Laissez-faire* could no longer be its ideal. Neutrality could no longer be its hallmark. Administration was purposefully and positively involved in welfare and development of the

masses, who became its Masters. In every sector of activity *laissez-faire* administration had to give way to planned administration. The scope of administration grew in volume, variety and diversity. Such far-reaching changes in the purposes and scope of Public Administration, called for major Administrative Reforms and considerable thought was given to this. Several Committees were appointed. "The Planning Commission had to consider the different fields, the question whether the present administrative machinery and methods were adequate and could meet the requirements of planned development."

Accordingly, it requested Mr. A. D. Gorwala to make a study and suggest measures for bringing about improvement in Public Administration, especially in relation to the implementation of Development Programmes of the Central and State Governments. Shri Gorwala addressed himself to the following points as of salient importance:

- (a) Giving first place to first thing and making the best use of the best people—priorities for politics and personnel.
- (b) Insisting on standards of integrity, implicit and explicit—not only the reality of integrity, but also the demonstrable appearance of integrity.
- (c) Promotion of mutual understanding proper readjustment of human relations involved in Government and Administration.
- (d) Reorganising the machine so as to ensure greater speed, effectiveness and responsiveness.
- (e) Arranging for proper training for the short-term as well as the long-term and planning proper recruitment for the long-term.

Apart from this Report on Public Administration, Shri Gorwala produced yet another valuable report on administration of Public enterprises, where he pointed out the superiority of the Public Corporation Organisation over the Departmental Organisation, for running public enterprises. Shri Gorwala's report on Public Administration was followed by a

report of Shri Gopalaswamy Iyengar, who also suggested radical changes.

Two years after Gorwala's Report on Public Administration, Dean Paul H. Appleby prepared, at the instance of the Prime Minister, his survey of Public Administration. It was "complementary to the studies already undertaken." He considered Government of India as among the dozen or so most advanced Governments of the World. The Civil Service in India, he felt, was more uniformly established than in many other Governmental systems. Among the Chief merits of the Indian Administrative system, he mentioned, "a singularly unprejudiced approach to the consideration of Policy and Administrative method", "practices appreciative of the importance of the generalist", "presence of Administrative leaders, small in number when compared to needs, but of outstanding quality and devotion" and among its chief weaknesses, he listed "lack of action-mindedness," an 'administrative lack', a lack of highly developed capacity to conduct Action Institutions", extended diffusion of administrative responsibility and "insufficient consolidation of action discretion", "failure to use modern machinery, less type-writing and more long hand papers, less modern filing systems, more low-cost personnel and less well-paid personnel", "absence of pyramidal form essential to good hierarchical performance, for good communication, underpinning effective delegation and more constant development of personnel capacities", "too much and too constant consciousness of rank, class, title and service membership", "Rules of Business, Secretariat Instructions and Office Manuals, which are too didactic and confusing, too detailed and unimaginative and finally too much of 'rupee-pinching' ". Appleby made two major recommendations, which were subsequently accepted, viz., the establishment of Organisation and Methods Division and an Institute of Public Administration. Both these Institutions developed rapidly and revealed great potentialities. Appleby's first Report was published in 1953. Three years later, another report was published, which consisted of the "Re-examination of Indian Administrative System with special reference to Administration of Government's

Industrial and Commercial enterprises." He considered that "the general fault of the Indian administrative process exists in the practice of seeking agreement on everything by everybody before anything is done." He called for the fulfilment of administrative requirements of Bigger Government. He criticised the "total proliferation of special organisations. He severely criticised the greatly exaggerated notion of the importance of auditing, which he considered to be a highly pedestrian function with narrow perspective and very limited usefulness." As regards the administration of State Industrial and Commercial enterprises, he felt that "the decision whether to establish a Corporation or a Company or an Executive ministry is not a fundamental and determining one." Success of State Industrial and Commercial enterprises, according to him, depended upon rapid decision-making and rapid action.

Apart from the Administrative Reforms Committee at the All-India level, several Committees were constituted by individual States, the most important among them being the Karve Committee in Bombay, the Hyderabad Committee, the Rajasthan Administrative Enquiry Committee and the recently constituted Committee in Kerala whose report is keenly awaited.

Planning Commission also added to this new thinking in Administrative Reform. The First Five-Year Plan report stipulated that integrity, efficiency, economy and public co-operation were the principal objectives to be achieved in Public Administration. It gave special attention to re-organisation of District Administration on the following lines:

1. Strengthening and improving the machinery for general administration.
2. Establishment of an appropriate agency of development at the village level.
3. Integration of activities of various Development Departments in the district and provision of common Extension Organisation.
4. Linking up in relation to all Development work, of Local Self-Governing Institutions with Administrative Agencies of State Government, and

5. Regional Co-ordination and supervision of District Development Programmes.

It also emphasised the need of public co-operation in the Development Administration.

The Second Five-Year Plan enumerated its principal administrative tasks as follows:

1. Ensuring integrity in Administration.
2. Building up Administrative and Technical Cadres.

3. Continuously assessing personnel requirements and organising large-scale training programmes in all fields.

4. Devising speedy, efficient, and economic methods of work and objective evaluation of methods of results.

5. Carrying technical, financial and other aids to small producers in Agriculture and Industry.

6. Building up of organisation for efficient management of public enterprise in Industrial and Commercial undertakings, Transport services and River Valley Schemes.

7. Securing local community action and public participation so as to obtain maximum results from public expenditure.

8. Strengthening co-operative sector of the economy through assistance in Managerial and Technical personnel, and establishment of Co-operative, Financial, Marketing and other institutions.

9. Co-ordination in policy and programmes in different sectors of the economy.

10. Carrying further the measures enumerated in the First Five-Year Plan for re-organisation of District Administration.

Planning Commission established by Government of India in March 1950, became the apex of Planning and Development Administration. Both for the preparation and implementation of the Plan, was required a Plan Administration from top to bottom. The conscious adoption of a democratic planning as opposed to totalitarian planning required that planning should not be a product of a Master mind to be imposed from above, but a synthesis of "grass root" plans coming from below. To this end, were established the National Development Council at the Centre, State Development Councils at the State level, the District Development Councils at the

District level, the Block Advisory Committees at the Block level, and the Village Panchayats at the village level. A vertical hierarchy of Planners was erected—the Prime Minister for National Planning, the Chief Minister for State Planning, the Collector for District Planning, the Block Development Officer for Block Planning and the Village Level Worker for Village Planning. The Planning machinery at every level had to prepare plans at its own level. This meant that National Plans had to be carefully broken into State, District, Block or Taluk and Village Plans. This was by no means an easy administrative task. It was necessary precisely to know which programmes could be taken up at National level and at no other lower levels, which others could be broken up at State level and no other levels below and so on. Moreover, at the District level, people's participation was an unknown, invariable, but very important component indeed, to supple-

ment the Government resources serving as a nucleus. This experience of Planning from below was by no means a perfect success. At the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan, plans were prepared for every village and those were summoned up at the Taluka and District levels. They were, however, prepared irrespective of the financial resources available. As a result, these Plans took more notice of the insatiable wants than of limited resources. No wonder that when they were totalled up at the State level, they had to be mercilessly pruned. The final pattern of Planning that emerged, therefore, was more a plan from above than a plan from below. This experience of planning from below clearly brought out the imperfections of Planning machinery, which had to be improved in several ways for making it a powerful instrument of planned actions.

(To be continued)

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INDO-GERMAN CULTURAL CO-OPERATION*

By Prof. TARAKNATH DAS

I

Some scholars now-a-days place tremendous emphasis on the doctrines of "struggle for existence" and "survival of the fittest," ignoring the vital importance of "co-operation" even in the very efforts for "struggle for existence"; although it is a fact, and an undeniable fact, that even wild animals and savages, not to speak of civilised men, must co-operate to carry on their struggle for existence. Development of all civilizations has been brought about through co-operation or Mutual Aid, to use the expression of Prince Kropotkin, among the members of the society. Lest I may be misunderstood, I wish to make it clear that importance of an individual and his contribution in developing a civilization or that of a genius in moulding the cultural life of a people can never be overestimated. But it is in an organised society an individual can contribute his best. It may not be out of place to mention here as an

example that contributions of great learned individuals have been made possible through organisation of universities and learned societies, which have flourished, through united efforts of individuals, societies, nations and civilised world.

Isolation is the direct anti-thesis of co-operation. A society or a nation survives and grows through co-operation and it generally becomes weak and even dies in stagnation, caused by isolation. Thus on the one hand the cultural life of a people becomes enriched through co-operation or accepting or assimilating the best of other nations, while on the other hand cultural

*Substance of a speech delivered before the University of Munich on December 3rd, 1952, by Prof. Taraknath Das. The text of this speech reached us late for topical publication, but in view of the importance of the subject we publish it in memory of Taraknath Das. Ed.—M.R.

life of a people, through isolation stagnates, deteriorates and even perishes, due to lack of new stimulus. I may say that deterioration of the once-rich Chinese and Hindu civilization was primarily due to cultural isolation and prevailing spirit among the cultural leaders of these peoples that they were "superior peoples" and they had nothing to learn from others who to their estimation were supposed to be inferiors culturally and spiritually.

If a nation is to remain culturally vital and vigorous and to enrich world's cultural heritage, then it must increase its own cultural assets which can be achieved by cultural co-operation in the broadest sense of the expression. This fact is today recognised by leaders of all peoples. Even the politically, economically as well as culturally the strongest nations cannot afford to be isolationist and cannot maintain their prominence by pursuing a policy of isolation. Thus we find the United States of America, to enrich herself and at the same time to aid other nations is inviting "foreign students and scholars" in her universities. Today there are more than 50,000 foreign students and hundreds, if not thousands of foreign scholars of all types associated with educational institutions and industrial and commercial organisations and research institutions of the United States.

Germany has made very vital contributions to augment cultural assets of humanity. As a natural consequence of defeat in the last World Wars, Germany suffered great losses materially and also culturally. But as a vital and virile nation, the German people, through their unceasing efforts for recovery have already achieved a marvellous success which has astounded other nations. German businessmen and specially scholars are again going to various countries, as if to conquer new fields of their activities. Above all, foreign students, foreign professors, foreign industrialists have begun to visit Germany to study, to carry on higher scientific researches and economic and industrial collaboration. There is no question in my mind that Germany of tomorrow will play a

vital role in cultural co-operation with all nations.

II

Now I wish to devote a short time in discussing the significance of Indo-German cultural co-operation, its recent history of a movement for systematic endeavour for Indo-German cultural co-operation and its future prospects.

When we study cultural history of mankind we find supreme importance of cultural collaboration between the East and the West. From ancient times India has played an important role in influencing the life—not merely material life, but thought-life—of the East and the West.

It is needless to emphasise the fact that wherever the spirit of Buddhist teachings has prevailed, there we find the influence of Indian thought; and I venture to say that Buddhism which flourished nearly seven centuries before the birth of Christ, has influenced the spiritual and ethical life of the peoples of China, Japan, Central Asia, all the regions of South-east Asia which is generally known as "Farther India." It may not be out of place to point out, as Prof. Will Durant and others have done, that Greek thought had been influenced by Indian thought. There is no question in my mind that the Upanishads and the Bhagavat Gita antedate writings of ancient Greek philosophers such as Pythagoras, Plato and others. Thus Hindus were the first to inquire into the Nature of Man and coming to the conclusion that human life is something more than material existence—man is more than his body. Thus came the doctrine of Immortality of Soul, the Atman and the relations of the Atman to Brahman (the Divine Essence,—the Essence of Being, the Essence of Intelligence and the Essence of Bliss). Hindus were the first to delve into the laws of Karma which might be well compared with the "law of causation and succession," which was so well developed by the great German philosopher Kant, and the doctrine of Dharma and supreme importance of Duty in man's life. It was long before the advent of Christianity, the doctrine of Compassion for all living was

proclaimed by Buddha and it was he who preached the doctrine that "hatred cannot be conquered by hatred, but hatred can be conquered only by love." The spiritual and ethical values of life as understood by the Hindus have long since been regarded as not a special property of the Hindus, but spiritual heritage of mankind.

Achievements of ancient Hindus were not limited to the fields of philosophy, ethics and religion. The peoples of ancient India built great empires and made substantial contributions in the fields of political theories and governmental administration as well as in the fields of positive sciences.

Western scholars have often given adequate recognition of contributions of the Arabs in the fields of sciences, specially mathematics and medicine. But the fact remains that fundamental contributions of the Arabs were nothing but the original contribution of Hindus, translated by the Arabs. Even the Islamic architecture, so Havel has pointed out, had its foundation in Buddhist architecture. It may be recorded here that for a period of a thousand years and longer—from the days of Asoka to those of Harsha and his successors, many Indian universities flourished and students from all parts of the world flocked there, where the ideal of investigations was founded on the doctrine "Victory of Truth."

With the downfall of India politically she naturally did not make great contribution in cultural fields directly. But it may be said that she in many ways conquered the conquerors in the field of cultural life of the Islamic peoples and also their Western conquerors (as the Greeks did with the Romans). However, it may be noted here that not until the end of the nineteenth century the western world did not know much or anything about the richness of Hindu culture. Credit must be given to the British scholars, Jones, Williams and others, who, during the administration of Warren Hastings as the Governor General of India, under the East India Company, while searching after the sources of Hindu laws, social institutions and customs, dis-

covered vast storehouse of ancient Hindu literature and the relation of Sanskrit to all Indo-Germanic languages.

From the cultural point of view, even during the time of Frederick the Great, German language did not attain maturity and there was no German nation—United Germany—in the modern sense of the term. But it was most interesting that it was Germany with her cultural awakening or assertion took the most prominent part in the study of science of philology, linguistics and comparative literature and thus Indian



Dr. Franz Theierfelder, President of India Institute, welcoming Prof. Taraknath Das before he delivered his speech at the University of Munich

cultural assets—Bopp in the field of linguistics and Grammar, Schopenhauer and others in the field of Philosophy, Goethe, who appreciated Kalidas's *Shakuntala*, in the field of literature. Later on came Max Muller, Duessen, Oldenberg, Hildebrandt, Jolly, Geiger Winternitz and a host of great scholars and Indologists, who have done so much to spread Indian thought among the Western people. I wish to pay

tribute to German universities for the recognition they have given to importance of Indian culture, by establishing chairs on Indology and providing facilities for researches. By the beginning of the twentieth century Indian scholars wanting to specialise in Sanskrit and study it critically as well as Arabic and Persian and other fields of Oriental studies, began to come to Germany to study under German masters.

In modern times the German people have shown great appreciation of writings of great men of India—men of spirit such as Swami Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Sri Aurobindo, Mahatma Gandhi. The nature and depth of this appreciation can be fully understood from what Dr. Rabindranath Tagore once told me in answer to a question about his estimate of valuation of his works in the West. He said to the following effect :

"It was a group of British friends who induced me to translate a few of my poems from Bengali to English. They did so because of a very high estimate they had of the meaning behind these poems. Thus my *Gitanjali* or *Song Offering* was published. But when, in recognition of the universal character of the message in them and also its literary value, I was awarded the Nobel Prize of literature, it received world recognition. This had a greater significance—recognition of universality of mind, and refutation of all foolish assertions that the East and West could never meet. After I got the Nobel Prize, my books began to be translated into various languages and they spread all over the world. Japan was the first country where the Government through the Imperial University at Tokyo invited me to deliver a course of lectures. I must say that when I was in Japan, I first fully realised the extent of influence of ancient Hindu thought in Japan. But I was also conscious of the possibility of development of materialism and imperialism in Japan against which I gave my warning. But if one is to estimate the appreciation from the number of my books published and sold in a country, then I must say that it was Germany which showed the greatest re-

cognition, because the number of my books sold in Germany was greater than those sold in all other lands. During my visit to Germany I felt the warmth of reception greater than anywhere else."

This appreciation of Tagore's works was not due merely to curiosity—seeking among Germans, but was due to the character of the literature in which the ideal of supremacy of Spirit over matter has been revealed with exquisite beauty and elegance. This literature is something like art and is an expression of the finest ideals and messages common in all religions. The same may be said about works of Vivekananda and Gandhi which inspire a new hope for men seeking for Peace for Inner Man and Humanity at large. I presume that this aspect of Indian contribution may be of great value to all mankind.

III

Political subjugation of a nation leads to its isolation in every field, and when a nation tries to become free and independent, it invariably tries to break the chain of isolation, politically, economically and specially culturally. During the early second half of the nineteenth century—about 1860, Indian students first began to go England primarily to seek opportunities for passing Civil Service Examination and thus qualifying themselves for securing positions of importance under the British Government. Later large numbers of Indian students began to go to England to study Law, Medicine and Engineering. Up to the opening of the twentieth century, India's contact with the West was primarily a contact with the British. This contact had its favourable side, but this contact was never a normal one, because the British were the rulers and the Indians were the ruled. However, with the growth of Indian nationalist movement at the beginning of the twentieth century, specially after the Russo-Japanese War, Indian students, specially those who were interested in Indian Freedom and development of Indian industries and re-assertion of India culturally, began to go to three lands—the United States of America, Germany and Japan—

because these countries were not opposed to and in fact were sympathetic to Indian national aspirations. America was regarded as the land of opportunity and freedom where men and women of all countries could work their way to get into the realm of higher education; German science and efficiency was highly appreciated by Indian scholars who wanted to become great scientists; and Japan was regarded as the only Asian country which had genuine and active sympathy for Asian Freedom and thus Indian Freedom.

Those Indians who could go to the United States had the great advantage of knowing the language of the country, while those who went to Germany and Japan had the great difficulty of learning a new language. But the number of Indian students slowly and slowly grew in German universities. By the time the First World War, 1914, broke out, there must have been more than fifty Indian students in different German universities; and some of them on their own initiative suggested to the German authorities that they would be glad to help the German cause against the British. The Germans, up to this time, did not think of the political and military value of India, and they hardly expected that Indian Power would be used against them so effectively in European, Asian and African battle-fields. Men like the German Chancellor Bethman Holwegg was hoping for British neutrality and some German politicians were dreaming about a successful Indian revolution during the World War I. Germans got a rude awakening about their own negligence of cultivating Indian friendship. Some German educators, like the late Eduard Meyers, the great historian, statesman Erzberger and a cultured Foreign Office Official, Baron von Oppenheim, became interested in the need of cultivating Indo-German Co-operation. But during the World War I, this effort was vitiated with the ideal of using India, at least to create a political and military diversion against Britain. Thus this effort was really not an effort to promote cultural understanding, but was an expression of Kultur-Politik in War time and

therefore it did not have any spiritual basis and no permanence. After the first World War, defeated Germany with all her miseries did not have any use for India which fought against her, and poor Germany was not in a position to spend any money for Indo-German cultural co-operation, while her own students, university students, did not have enough food and were starving.



Prof. Taraknath Das, one of the founders of India Institute speaking before a distinguished audience of professors and students of Munich University

IV

As early as 1914 I was one of the Indians who was deeply interested in Indo-German Co-operation and induced my teacher, the late Professor Eduard Meyers of Berlin, to give special attention to it. But I learnt my lesson that any effort for cultural co-operation controlled and directed by any Government or a group of Government officials might ultimately degenerate into a political movement camouflaged as a cultural movement. Thus

in 1925-26 when my wife and I came to Germany, we tried to find out if there was any possibility of starting a movement for co-operation between Germany and India purely on cultural basis. Not until 1927, I could find a group of German scholars who were interested in the idea and through their efforts, India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie was founded during the academic year of 1927-28. Its programme was very simple: to secure a few scholarships, which will consist of free tuition and room and board, for really brilliant Indian graduates, for higher education in Germany, so that they would devote their life in educational work or increasing Indian national efficiency in scientific, industrial and medical endeavors. The programme also consisted of sending German professors to Indian universities to lecture, while Indian professors were to lecture in German universities on various subjects, specially on Indian History, etc.

It was possible to carry out the first part of our programme because German universities were willing to co-operate with India Institute. I am happy to say that in 1928-29 the University of Munich and Technische Hochschule of Munich were the first to extend four scholarships—one on Medicine, one on Indology, one on Applied Chemistry and one in Mechanical Engineering. The first scholar in Mechanical Engineering, Dr. Triguna Sen, is still serving India as the Principal of the College of Technology and Engineering near Calcutta, one of the largest Engineering Colleges in India. The example of Munich was followed by other universities, Stuttgart, Heidelberg and others; and our work flourished for a time. Nearly 100 Indian scholars from all parts of India were given scholarships and they creditably finished their studies in German universities. Today many of them are associated with Indian universities and as monuments of Indo-German Cultural Co-operation while others are serving Indian Government and industries.

The second part of the programme was also carried out in co-operation with the educational authorities of Munich and

Calcutta University. The late Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar of Calcutta University and National Council of Education, Bengal, was invited to deliver a course of lectures on Indian History at the Technische Hochschule of Munich and he also lectured in other institutions in Germany; while the late Professor Sommerfeld was invited by Calcutta University to deliver a course of lectures on Mathematical physics. The work of India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie was a great success, but during the Hitler regime when the cultural institute was made a political instrument, the work was completely destroyed.

V

In 1949 the work of India Institute was revived primarily through the efforts of Dr. Franz Thierfelder, the present President and one of the founders of the old institute and others.* It has been helping Indian students in Germany many ways. It is helping Indian scholars and public men and businessmen to get in touch with proper parties in Germany so that they will be able to accomplish their mission in Germany and be in close touch with the German people. India Institute has been helpful to industrial concern like Tata & Co., by helping their apprentice engineers while getting practical training in this country.

It is the hope of India Institute (and also my hope too) that it will be able to arrange that German scientists and distinguished professors may go to India to serve Indian institutions for higher education and in raising her national efficiency. With the growing economic recovery of Germany German businessmen are trying to secure equal opportunities for trade in all parts of India and it seems that there are fine prospects of economic co-operation between India and Germany. It is also heartening that the Government of India has shown generous attitude towards Germany in

*Prof. Dr. Taraknath Das took the initiative to revive the work and made the largest contribution to carry on the work of India Institute.—Ed., M.R.

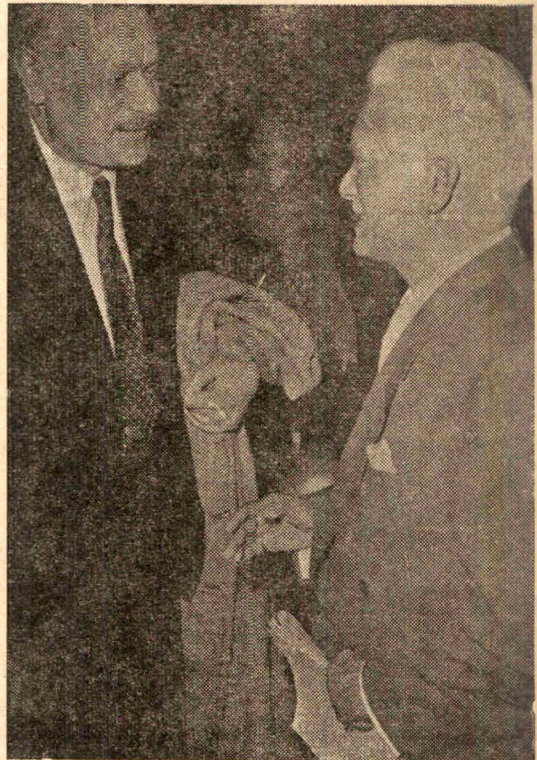
settling the problems arising from the war. Thus it is apparent that there is every possibility for co-operation between two countries which have common interests in world affairs.

It is gratifying that during recent months the Government of India has arranged for giving several scholarships to Indian students to carry on higher studies and practical work in Germany. Some Indian universities have also taken steps to promote German studies while German universities have established lecturerships to teach Hindi. Through the generosity of West German Government several Indian students who have been studying in German universities and have demonstrated exceptional ability, have been awarded scholarships so that they would be able to finish their work. The cumulative effect of these activities will certainly produce most favorable possibilities for greater cultural co-operation and better understanding between these two great peoples.

Here I wish to take the liberty to suggest that the scope of Indian studies in German universities should be broadened to embrace all phases of Indian life—history, economics, politics as well as philosophy, literature, art, music, etc. It will be most desirable that in every culture-centre of Germany, i.e., in important universities there should be an Indian professor among the members of the faculty. Presence of foreign students in German universities help broadening the outlook of German students; and may I say that foreign scholars as members of faculties in German universities may also be useful to help the German scholars to understand the view-points of foreigners in various matters. Similarly I also hope there will be also German professors and students in Indian universities and the scope of German studies in Indian universities may not be limited to study the German language, but will include German History, Politics, Economics, etc.

At this point, if I may be permitted to make a digression, I wish to say that the future of the great German and the Indian

peoples are bright and they will play very significant roles in world affairs. If Europe is to survive, then the European people should work together and develop the ideal of a European community which is bound to be a very vital factor in the West and thus the world. Without German participation on the basis of equality there cannot be a



Prof. Dr. Rheinfelder of Bavarian Ministry of Education congratulating Prof. Das after his lectures

European Community, and in the final analysis, if there is going to be a European Community and One World, then it is imperative that there should be a United Germany. United Germany in a United Europe will help to strengthen her in every way, while she will not become a disturbing factor which will be opposed to her interest. Similarly India is the heart of Asia, there cannot be any decision regarding any part of Asia without taking Indian interests into consideration. In fact from the Suez and the beyond in the West and Indonesia and other lands in the East or East Asia form the left and right flanks of

great India. If there is going to be a real community of interest among Asian peoples, then India is going to play an important part. India to play her part effectively will have to strengthen her own position. Just as there is no room for a divided Germany in a United Europe, so according to my judgment there is no room for a partitioned India. As a partitioned Germany has become an asset to the cause of Soviet Russian expansion in Europe, so partitioning of India has strengthened Russian and Chinese position in Asia.

Partition of Germany is merely an episode in her history, so is also the case with partitioned India; and in course of time there will be a United Germany as well as a United India to play their legitimate role in world affairs toward maintenance of peace among nations.

The work of cultural co-operation between Germany and India is of vital importance not only for these two countries but for the rest of the world. India may rightly be regarded as the heart of Asia and Germany is the heart of Europe; and better understanding between these peoples will help the course of better relations between the East and the West, which is one of the most important factors for the cause of world peace. India Institute can do a great deal more effective work to accomplish its objective, provided it receives active moral and economic support from those who can afford to extend it and have the full sympathy for the cause. It is my hope that activities for cultural co-operation and better understanding between India and Germany will be crowned with success.

Munich, December 3, 1952.

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GREAT AZERBAIJAN POET

400th Anniversary of the Death of Muhammet Fizuli

By MAMED JAFAR

The 400th anniversary of the death of Muhammet Fizuli, eminent Azerbaijan poet, is widely marked in the Soviet Union.

This poet, one of the towering figures in Azerbaijan literature after Nizami, Hagani and Nasimi, exerted an even more potent influence on the development of literature in the Near and Middle East than his illustrious predecessors.

Fizuli was an exponent of the progressive national traditions in literature as well as in the social, political and philosophical spheres of his time. And he contributed to the development and spread of these progressive traditions throughout the Orient. The impact of his genius was so great that after Nizami and Navoi, he elevated literary thought to new heights not only in Azerbaijan but among all the peoples living in the Near and Middle East.

This made Fizuli enjoy in his own lifetime great fame far beyond the borders of Azerbaijan. He was particularly popular among nationalities speaking the

Turkish, Persian and Arabic languages. He wrote in three languages—Azerbaijani, Persian and Arabic. This meant that his poetry was read by Uzbeks, Turkmenians, Tartars, Turks and Uigurs living in China as well as by Arabs, Persians and Tajiks. To them he was like a native poet and they drew inspiration from the noble, humanist ideals of his poetry. Many editions of Fizuli's poetry had appeared at different periods in Samarkand, Tashkent, Cairo, Constantinople and Tabriz. In Cairo alone his famous poem *Laila and Majnu* was published several times. Fizuli's lyrical poetry is widely read by the nationalities inhabiting the Caucasus. Scholars of the literatures of the Near and Middle East have invariably displayed great interest in the work of this prominent Azerbaijan poet.

In the course of the more than forty years of his literary career Fizuli wrote many lyrics, long poems like *Laila and Majnu* and *Seven Chalices*, and philo-

ophical poems, such as *Metlaul Etigad*, *Kind and Sakhid*, *Sihat and Maraz* and *Enisulgalb*. Apart from their value as poetic works, Fizuli's poems are a virtual encyclopaedia of the history, culture, and social and political life of the Middle and Near East in the Middle Ages.

Both a poet and thinker, Fizuli, reacted with great sensibility to the various trends current in his day and tried to understand the complex and contradictory age in which he lived. But he was not merely a cold observer of life. With all the ardour of the poetic temperament he dissected contemporary society and its material and spiritual relationships. He delved deep into the life, habits, morality and doctrines of his contemporaries, making a close scrutiny of antagonistic movements, comparing old and new religious and philosophical doctrines, trying to get at the bottom of the various existing sects and creeds, bringing to light their positive and negative features. He endeavoured to discover the answers to complicated and what seemed insoluble problems of the day. The course of human destiny was his great concern. Merely by perusing his *Melaul Etigad* the reader will glean the most exhaustive information on the level of development in the Middle Ages of philosophy, religion, morals, psychology, medicine and other sciences in the Muslim East. Many of Fizuli's other poems give the same rich picture of the times.

Fizuli's real greatness, however, lies in the fact that he sought to liberate man's spirit from the fetters of medieval bigotry and dogmatism, boldly attacking the accepted creeds and existing feudal relationships.

Such great love has this poet enjoyed that he has been often referred to as the "poet of the heart" or the "sun of poetry." And there was not a single great poet who came after him who had not been influenced by his wonderful writings.

Fizuli's poems are either of a philosophical nature or love lyrics. Like most of

the world's great lyric poets, Fizuli extols, in the most inspired language, the glory, the exquisite aroma and ecstasy of love.



Portrait of Muhammet Fizuli, the great Azerbaijan Poet

The free, genuine love sung by Fizuli in his poems was held by current religious beliefs to be impure and sinful. Glorification of freedom of conscience, individual liberty, and strong passion was Fizuli's answer to the asceticism of the recluse and to those who sought to enslave the human spirit.

Fizuli's noble ideas have influenced the revolutionary poetry of the period between 1905 and 1920 as well as contemporary Azerbaijan poetry. Jalil Mamedkulizade, an eminent revolutionary Azerbaijan writer, has said: "Fizuli lives today. He is a symbol of the unconquerable and indestructible force of the progressive poetry of his age." Azerbaijan poetry continues to flower but the charm and freshness of Fizuli's poems still enjoy unfading glory.

THE AIJAL MARKET

Mizo Hills, Assam

By BINOD BEHARI GOSWAMI, M.A.

The Aijal Market is situated in the heart of the town and is the main marketing centre of the Mizo Hills district. The whole Mizo Hills district is full of undulating hill ranges. Two rivers, the Dhaleswari and the Dubinala, are situated downhill at 13 miles and 2½ miles away respectively from the Aijal Hill. Near the latter river some cultivators have become interested in wet terrace cultivation. They have taken subsidy from the Government Agriculture Department and are now doing well. The rest of the area has to depend only on the rains as there are no water sources for irrigation. This determines the difficulty in implementing the method of wet terrace cultivation. The characteristic of the landscape is the shaven patches of cultivable land in the dense bamboo jungle. Paddy, millet, maize and tobacco are the crops. Seventy-five per cent of the Mizo working hours are taken up for requirements of food (producing, collecting, processing and consuming). Every house has its own kitchen garden, which is laid out in a well-planned manner. Great care is taken to maintain the gardens free from stones and weeds. Apart from the things grown in the field some vegetables and fruit trees are grown in the kitchen gardens for household consumption. The whole area is away from the mining and industrial centres. The natural resources are all forest products. There is enough bamboo in the forest, but the shifting method of cultivation is causing a devastating damage to the vast natural wealth of the country. Every year the country is losing a huge amount of wealth by this deforestation method, yet nothing can be done, as there is no suitable method at hand to replace this primitive method of agriculture. Fuel is obtained from the nearby unclassed forests.

The people inhabiting in Aijal town and in the neighbouring area are mainly Mizos. The inhabitants of this fast-growing town are mostly businessmen, office staff, etc. Apart from the local inhabitants many outsiders like Gorkhalis, Bengalis, Marwaris and Assamese are also living in the town either as businessmen or as Government, office staff. Floating population is very small. Many of the Gorkhalis have got them-

selves settled here since the annexation of the district by the British, and have but negligible connection with their original homeland. There are no caste, class and tribal monopoly in the marketing pursuit. The Aijal market depends upon the neighbouring villages; some of them are composite in which Mizos and Gorkhalis both live together.



The Aijal Market

The growth of the market results in and indicates the increasing demand as well as the increase in the market attendance. Moreover, it reflects the likes and dislikes and habits of the majority of the people who indulge in buying and selling. The market is thus a good place where to some extent the relation between the mentifact and artifact can best be studied. The market meets the demands of the local population, hence must satisfy the needs and necessities of life. It is a place for commercial transactions. All these conditions are present in the Aijal market.

All Mizos, poor or rich, are agriculturists except a few who are settled in semi-urban areas and have taken up professions other than agriculture. They are very few as compared with the bulk of the population. The Aijal market caters to the need of both the sections of the population, producers and non-producers. Producers need their toilet goods, luxuries and comfort goods, kerosene oil for burning and salt for cooking, and other goods which are of occa-

sional use. Non-producers not only need the above-mentioned articles but also purchase other things like cereals, spices, tobacco for smoking, etc. For all these commodities the daily market is open and they can be purchased at any time in the week, except Sunday, between 8-30 A.M. and 5-30 P.M. There are some other markets, of course not so big as the Aijal market, in the Mizo district. Sairong, Lungleh and Champhai markets (13 miles, 120 miles and 87 miles from the Aijal market respectively) serve the same purpose as is served by the Aijal market. This market beats all other markets, in being the official headquarters and also the centre of a network of roads which connect all the marketing areas of the district. The connection of Aijal by motorable roads with Lungleh and Sairong is another important feature, which increases the importance of the market.

ANALYSIS OF THE MARKET SITE

The Aijal market came into prominence after the opening of the Aijal Lungleh motorable road. Before the opening of A. L. Road, the Thakthing village market was more important than all other markets in the district, due to its buckle-like position which fastened the Aijal-Silchar jeepable road and Aijal-Lungleh bridge path. It is still evident from the density of the population in Thakthing and Aijal (Barabazar), that the former was more thickly populated than the latter. The opening of the new alignment has increased the importance of Aijal (Barabazar) to a greater extent than that of Thakthing. A technical change, the opening of a jeepable road, has resulted in the shift of importance of one market over the other. A disorganisation in the original market centre resulted in the reorganization of a new market in a new centre.

In the Aijal market there are dominant zones for different consumption commodities. The market is held by the side of the only road passing through the town. The road at the market site is levelled and tarred. Sellers get themselves settled on both the sides of the road, thus making a narrow alley between the permanent side-shops and the back of the sellers, and also making a narrow way between the wings flanked by the sellers. Hence, the only way to approach the market site is the road which runs from north to south. Just above the market site

is the Civil Hospital and the Police Thana from which people can approach the market site through small byways. Rows of open-air stalls which are arranged along this path have a kind of a system. No place is reserved for any seller and a earlier seller occupies the best position of his choice. Sellers sometime settle so near to each other that often customers confuse one shop for another. Vegetables predominate over all other perishable commodities and they are seen mostly on the eastern side in the central place of the market. When we go inside the market site from the north side, we first find on the



A typical Mizo

eastern side to our approach a shaded space reserved for butchers. These butchers do not belong to any special clan or tribe. Anyone intending to take up such occupation can do so. All meat is slaughtered in or near the seller's village and then brought to the market in big pieces. The method of bringing the heavy meat-pieces is by tying the pieces by a rope around a big strong cylindrical bamboo, which is then carried by two or more men. All the parts of the killed animal with almost no exception are consumed by the consumers. Meat is sold under a shed. The heavy pieces are hung in front of the shop and the customer chooses the piece of meat which the seller chops into pieces and then sews them with a fine bamboo strip which helps the buyer to conveniently carry the commodity home. Towards the right side of the approach fowls and eggs are sold where occasionally unslaughtered animals also, pig, goat, etc., are sold. Dried and fried fish are also sold here.

And then comes the area of vegetables which, as said earlier, predominate and dwarf the other commodities. In between the vegetable-sellers, tobacco, gur, rice and sweet sellers are also to be seen. Beside this zone a clustered area of stationery shops are to be found; shops belonging to sellers of ready-made garment, to toy sellers, fruit sellers, basket sellers, cooked food sellers are put in a row, which ends with the fowl sellers' shops in the other end of the market. One thing is evident from the above-mentioned description that the business of non-perishable commodities have a very important place in the open-air weekly market, as the business is owned and monopolized by the keepers of permanent stores and way-side shops.

The Aijal Barabazar is a large and active market where local products and consumers goods from other parts of the country are available in a variety and in large quantity. The shops and stores which are open all the days of the week except Sunday are very active between working hours. The activities of the market begin at 7-30 A.M. and last for about three hours, so that by 11 A.M. the business in the weekly market is over. And after that period permanent shops and stores find their customers. On the market days business in shops and stores goes up.

On the weekly market days, from early dawn villagers of the neighbouring area, specially women and young girls, march for the Aijal market with loaded baskets of commodities for sale. Many of the sellers come from villages often 20 miles away on foot. The local products dominate in the open-air weekly market, which are tobacco, rice, gur, fruit, fowl eggs, vegetables, dried fish, beef, pork, sheep, goat, baskets, etc. As regards consumers goods the demand for vegetables is the maximum, as in no other days except market days vegetables are available. Sellers who come to sell these commodities never face much difficulty. The rush for vegetables is so high that if a person reaches late, he gets mostly those vegetables which customers have not touched either due to high price or due to bad quality. During retail business in permanent shops and stores prolonged haggling and gesticulating are always avoided. The proprietors of the shops try always to sell things at a fixed price. But, in order to give

a turn to business transactions occasionally the proprietors raise the price, and then pose to make concession for the customers; in other words they know how to create psychological situations for doing business, for concessions are always preferred by Mizos. Often the seller will ask for a high price which the buyer will at once flatly refuse, then the seller will request the buyer to make an offer. The buyer at this will get nervous. The buyer will quote an amount which according to him is low as well as justifiable. The seller then will request the buyer to increase the quoted amount, and this will go on calmly until a compromise is reached. This habit is acquired from the plains people. A man of interior country do not know such arduous process of gesticulation.

Shops and stalls of the Aijal Barabazar Market

<i>Commodities</i>	<i>Open-air stalls on market days</i>
1. Meat	15
2. Unslaughtered animals (Livestock)	13
3. Cooked food	10
4. Vegetables	150
5. Grains & Rice	12
6. Various fancy goods	6
7. Native tobacco	8
8. Cotton & Yarn	2
9. Smoked fish & dried fish	6
10. Baskets, etc.	4

This chart has been made out from observations during a year's study. And the number of stalls show the average attendance. Fluctuations in the market attendance are wide. In the month of November and at the end of December the number of sellers and buyers goes up high which again comes down in the month of March to July. As the market is dominated by the vegetable-sellers, the attendance, therefore, is governed by the agricultural seasonal cycle. Specially the number of shops of fancy goods and clothes increases during the months of festivals.

Like all other markets of the Assam Hills, women outnumber men in the Aijal market also. The hard-working women belonging to all classes with their baskets hung and sup-

ported at the back by plaited bamboo straps for changing their kind into cash. But there are the most common visitors. Almost all the sellers and buyers are women. As no stigma is attached to physical labour or to carrying baskets at the back, and as per the social norm women must endeavour to take up more work, this marketing business is entirely in the hands of women; almost all the shops and stalls are kept by women. Only in fancy goods shops and meat stalls men take up the job of selling.

The distinction in the role of sellers and buyers is not very marked as most of the sellers become buyers. Sometimes the same women who sell vegetables sell fowl, tobacco or basket. The sale of fowl is almost always combined with that of eggs or smoked fish. The woman or the girl who sells cooked food often sells local cigarettes or betels. The occupation of the seller is always reflected by the articles she sells. The identity of the seller, whether she is from the village or from the urban area, can be known from the goods she sells. As a rule most of the sellers are from the village, but some of the women are from the town, who usually sell products like vegetables grown in their own gardens or purchased articles. Most of the women who sell cooked food are Nepalese. Baked breads and biscuits are sold by Mizos. No large-scale trade is done in this open-air weekly market. A large percentage of the sellers are occasional visitors who come

are professional traders also, and those women are regular visitors. There are a few butchers, men of course, who are also regular sellers. Most of the women who sell consumers goods sell their husband's or father's farm produce.

Sellers who come to the market to sell vegetables or other consumers goods, purchase articles like salt, sugar, cloth, tobacco, paper, yarn, etc., from the permanent stores. Most of the villagers have shortage of cash and as no sort of barter system is practised in the market, the seller converts the goods into money which they spend in purchasing other necessities of life. Apart from business, the market serves as a place where friends belonging to both the sexes meet one another. Young boys visit the marketing centre to meet their friends and to see the village belles. Wayside tea-stalls swell up with such parties, and entertainments run high. The social value of the market is very high amongst the Mizos, which can easily be gauged by the late attendance of the office-staff and of the school-going boys and girls on marketing days. Villagers from distant places meet in the market, exchange their life-experiences, revitalize their social relationship, bridge the gulf of distance and carry back to their own village the messages, if any, for others.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

One of America's Great Universities

The University of California has reached its present position of eminence because it is dedicated to higher education for the largest number of people.

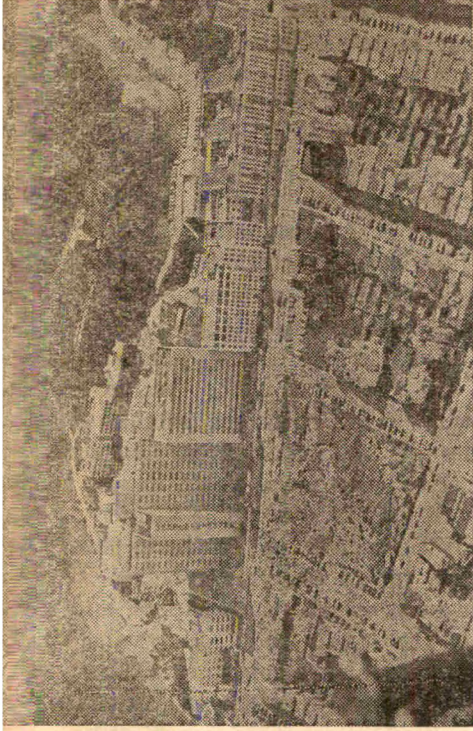
Comprised of eight campuses located at the cities of Berkeley, Davis, La Jolla, Los Angeles, Mount Hamilton, Riverside, San Francisco, and Santa Barbara, the University of California represents a vast wealth of knowledge placed within reach of almost anyone in the state. Yet it also shares this intellectual wealth generously with people the world over.

A full time enrollment of more than 38,000 students—plus a part time enroll-

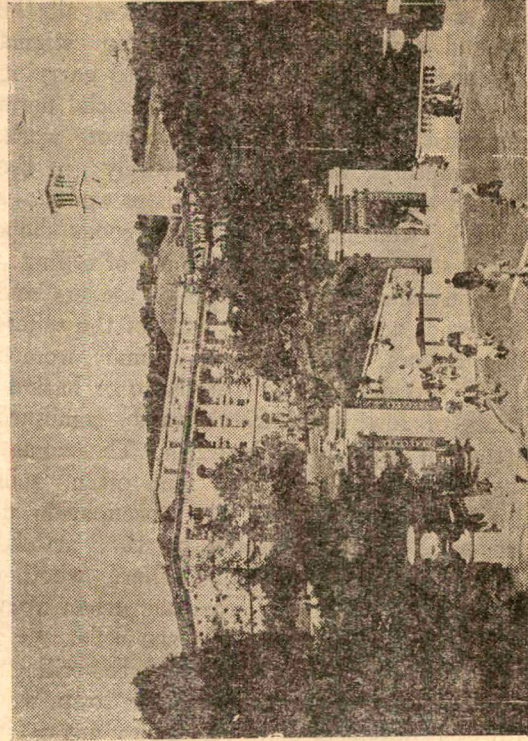
ment of some 100,000—and 5,872 faculty members, make this university one of the largest in the world.

The University of California spans all fields of learning. In addition to courses normally taught in letters and science curricula, there are colleges or schools of agriculture, architecture, business administration, chemistry, criminology, education, engineering, forestry, law, library science, medicine, nursing, optometry, pharmacy, public health, and social welfare.

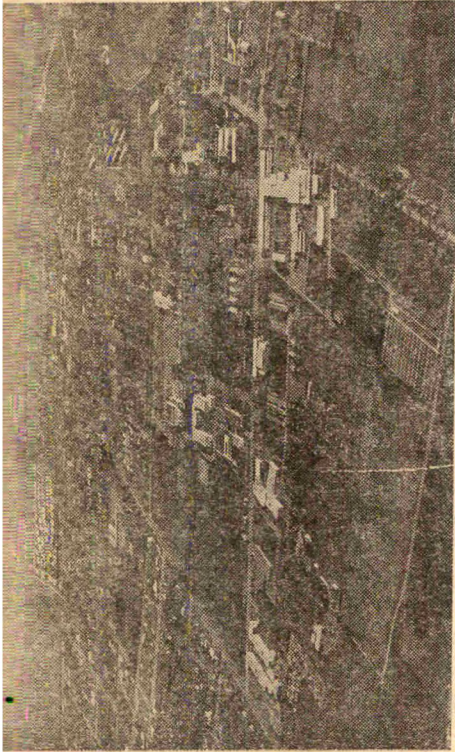
It maintains exceptionally high scholastic standards. Its outstanding faculty in-



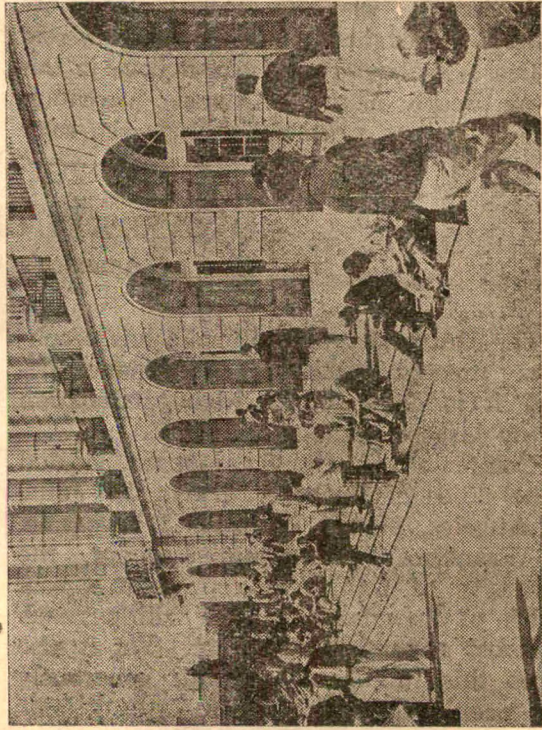
Aerial view of the University of California's Medical centre in San Francisco



Sather Gate, entrance to the University of California at Berkeley



Aerial view of the 3,000-acre Davis campus of the University of California



Wheeler Hall on the Berkeley campus is one of the University's cultural centres where lectures, seminars, concerts and theatrical productions are held

cludes six Nobel Prize winners—more than at any other university in the world—and the second largest membership in the National Academy of Sciences.

The University of California was founded in 1868. It is largely supported by taxes appropriated by the California state legislature. Additional revenues come from student fees, gifts, endowments, state and federal grants for research and public services. Private industry has also contributed many millions of dollars for research conducted by the University.

Oldest of the eight campuses of the state-wide University of California is the Berkeley campus. It has an enrollment of 17,000 students and covers more than 900 acres in the foothills on the east shore of San Francisco Bay.

Its position across the bay from San Francisco, port of entry for ships and cargoes from Asia and the western world, its extensive teaching and research facilities, and the location of the International House at Berkeley, offer exceptional opportunities in almost every field of study.

The University of California at Los Angeles has the second largest enrollment in the University of California system—16,000 students. It serves the education needs of the southern part of the state. Like the other eight campuses, UCLA is an independent unit. It has developed a fierce traditional rivalry with the older campus at Berkeley which extends into academic as well as athletic life.

The 3,000-acre Davis campus is the largest in physical size of the University's state-wide system. Set in the heart of Central Valley, 13 miles west of Sacramento, the tree-lined campus and city of Davis are within sight of the Sierra mountains. About two-thirds of the campus is devoted to facilities of the College of Agriculture which includes schools of veterinary medicine, food technology, soils and irrigation, home economics, and poultry science.

The San Francisco campus is devoted exclusively to medical sciences. It includes schools of medicine and nursing,

dentistry, pharmacy, and physical therapy. There are also research laboratories for radiology and tropical diseases.

Atop 4,209-foot Mount Hamilton, commanding the fertile Santa Clara valley, is the University's world-famous Lick Observatory. The Mount Hamilton campus is dedicated to study of the heavens. Its facilities are available not only to the staff, but to graduate students and scientists from universities throughout the world.

There is the new 120-inch telescope, second largest in the world, a 36-inch equatorial refractor, a 36-inch Crossley reflector, and a 20-inch astrographic telescope. Throughout its history, Lick Observatory has been a prolific source of astronomical data and the training ground for a large percentage of America's astronomers.

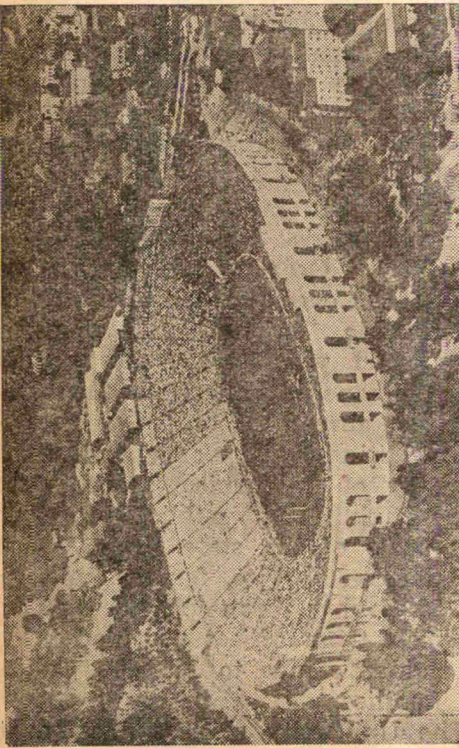
In addition to its four year liberal arts college, the Riverside campus of the University of California includes the world-famous Citrus Experiment Station. It conducts vital research in subtropical horticulture.

Santa Barbara campus also offers a four-year undergraduate liberal arts program. The small size of classes and the calibre of the faculty assure close attention to the individual student's needs. More than 40 major fields of study are offered here.

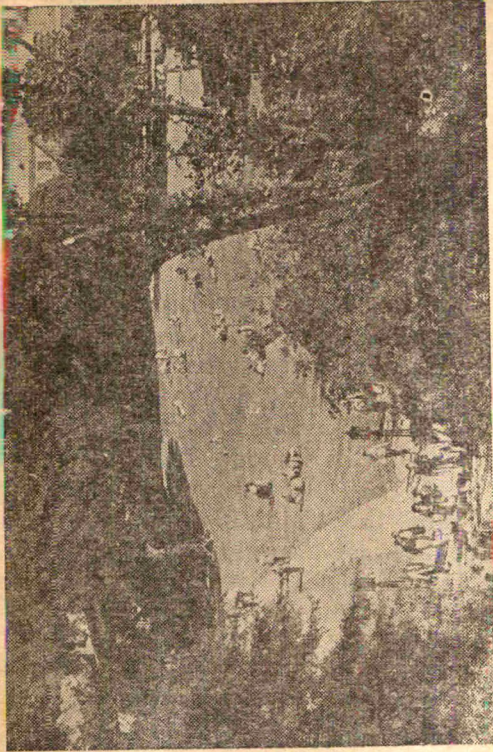
The largest institution in the world for oceanographic research, the Scripps Institution of Oceanography at La Jolla, sends vessels over the seven seas in quest of scientific information about the oceans. Each year it plays host to distinguished oceanographers from the United States and abroad.

In addition to these eight campuses, the University of California sponsors teaching, research, and public programs in many parts of the state. The Agricultural Extension Service, for example, maintains 50 County Farm Advisers Offices. Last year, these offices provided information and assistance to 125,000 California farm families.

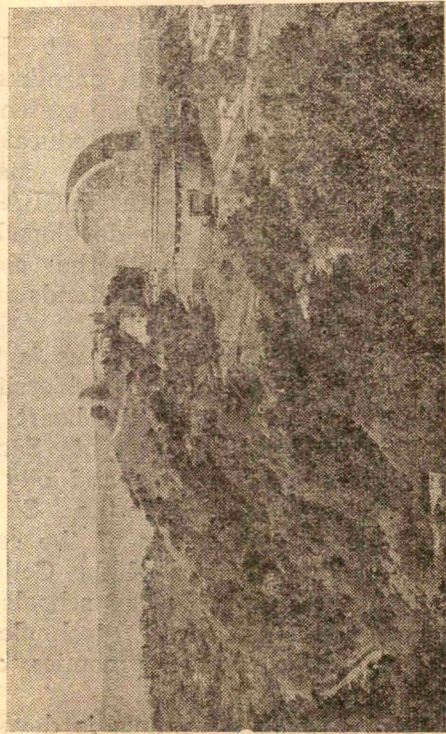
The University also conducts a state-wide adult education program. This program brings college-level classes to



Memorial Stadium at Berkeley is one of the largest in the United States



Students Lounge on Faculty Glade on the Berkeley campus of the University of California



Dome of the 120-inch astronomical reflector telescope, second largest in the world, dominates lick observatory atop Mount Hamilton, California



Class meets in one of Boalt Law School's Modern Lecture Halls

approximately 40 communities in California. It also provides educational films, television programs, institutes, clinics, workshops, concerts, short courses and correspondence courses to groups and individuals throughout the state.

Other activities include medical and dental services, testing services for industry, studies for state and local government, and research and reports to business problems.

Since its establishment, the University of California has developed into an important cultural center at which the two-way flow of men and ideas from East and West converge. The West goes to the East, and the Orient comes to the Occident.

Some 1,500 students from abroad are currently enrolled in the eight campuses of the University of California. At the Berkeley campus, there are 81 Chinese students, 64 from Japan, 44 from the Philippines, 50 from Korea, 50 from India, 25 from Thailand, 18 from Indonesia, 8 from Pakistan, 5 from Malaya, 5 from Vietnam, 3 from Burma, and 1 from Ceylon.

Many students from Asia have gone on from the University of California to use their knowledge and training in the service of their people.

In turn, the influence of Asia on the University of California has been substantial:

The General Library of the Berkeley Campus, for example, has a collection of materials on India which covers many subjects including international relations, Indian law, geography, ethnology, and history of art.

In 1949, Indian students at the University laid the foundation for a collection of

materials on the life and work of Gandhi.

In 1954 the Universities of California and Indonesia started a project under which 13 American medical specialists joined the faculty of the University of Indonesia while 13 Indonesian students came to the University of California for advanced medical training.

Indonesian and American students also initiated Project Cal-Indo, an organization devoted to increased understanding between the United States and Indonesia. This organization donated books in Indonesian to the University of California. The exchange of books is a reciprocal project of both Cal-Indo and its counterpart in Indonesia, Indo-Cal.

The East Asiatic Library, housed apart from Berkeley's General Library, ranks among the outstanding libraries of its kind. It contains many volumes in Chinese, Japanese and other Far Eastern languages. Oriental history, geography, and diplomatic relations are well represented. Many Chinese periodicals are on file and some 165 selected journals are received regularly from Japan.

The Institute of East Asiatic studies was formed on Berkeley campus in 1949. The primary purpose of the Institute is to promote research in culture, history, and current problems of China, Japan, North-east Asia, India, Southeast Asia and the islands of the Western Pacific.

A scholarship has been established by the Korean-American Cultural Association. This scholarship is awarded to graduate students of Korean nationality who are working for master's degrees. Winners of the award are often asked to assist in developing the Korean Collection of the University's library.



THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION

By Dr. EDWARD HINDLE, F.R.S.,

General Secretary of the British Association, 1946-51

Among the many thousands who daily enter the gates of Burlington House in London, either to visit the Royal Academy—an interloper—or one of the various scientific bodies, including the Royal Society, for which the building was originally intended, it is doubtful whether one in a thousand ever glances upwards to the windows above the archway. Yet these rooms above the archway are worthy of more than a passing glance, for they house the offices of an institution which has done more than any other organisation to establish the present position of science in Britain—The British Association for the Advancement of Science (B.A.).

Nowadays it is difficult to realise the position of science in 1831 when the B.A. came into being. Not only was it unfashionable, but positively disreputable, and an article by Sir David Brewster in the *Quarterly Review* at that time painted a very gloomy picture of the way that scientific institutions had been discouraged and even abolished. He severely criticised the Royal Society and other scientific societies for their failure to press the claims of science upon the Government. There was some justification for this criticism as the Royal Society of that date can hardly be said to have fulfilled its promising start under Charles II, when it included among its fellows not only scientists but many of the leading men of the time and even the Royal Family patronised its meetings.

Brewster pointed out that not a single philosopher enjoyed a pension, or an allowance or a sinecure, capable of supporting him and his family in the humblest circumstances. Moreover, not one, however eminent, enjoyed the favour of his sovereign or the friendship of his ministers. The position of men of science in Britain was contrasted with that in other countries, especially France, where they took

an active part in guiding the policies of their respective governments.

Humble Beginnings

However, the British Association has never concerned itself with such details as salaries and awards for scientific work, but confined its efforts to the wider objects for which it was founded.

The first meeting of the British Association was held at York in northern England in September 1831, under the presidency of Viscount Milton, later Earl Fitzwilliam, and was attended by about 200 "Friends of Science" including many outstanding men of the time. The objects of the Association were formally stated as follows:

To give a stronger impulse and more systematic direction to scientific inquiry, to obtain a greater degree of national attention to the objects of science and removal of those disadvantages which impede its progress, and to promote the intercourse of the cultivators of science with one another, and with foreign philosophers.

From these humble beginnings the Association soon established its position as a forum for scientific discoveries and the attendance at its meetings rapidly increased. It met with a certain amount of opposition in its early years, the most serious, curiously enough, coming from some of the leading scientists, who mistrusted any popularisation of science. Even the novelist Charles Dickens wrote a series of scurrilous articles about the meetings in *Bentley's Miscellany* later collected as the *Mudfog Papers*. The most persistent hostility, however, came from *The Times* which for many years refused to publish any accounts of the meetings except to hold them up to ridicule.

Gains Public Recognition

It is only necessary to add that in later years *The Times* has become one of the greatest supporters of the British Association and during the annual meetings devotes more of its space to scientific matters than at any time throughout the rest of the year. There is no better evidence of the manner in which the Association has succeeded in its original aims than the way in which, starting with an indifferent public and government, reflected in a hostile press, the B.A. has now become generally recognised by all the more responsible authorities as a great public institution, whose reports are necessary for the information of the public.

The annual meetings remain the best known activity of the Association and have been held each year since 1831 with the exception of 1917 and 1918, and 1940 to 1946 inclusive. Their nature has changed very little, the organisation into sections, each representing some branch of science, having remained constant since 1832, although their number has increased.

Annual Meeting Highlights

The list of Presidents includes most of the great names in British science, Charles Darwin being a notable exception, as for reasons of health he was unable to accept office. The living past-presidents include two members of the Royal Family, H.R.H. the Duke of Windsor, who presided at the Oxford meeting in 1926, and H.R.H. the Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, president at the Edinburgh meeting in 1951.

The presidential addresses have gradually become the chief scientific pronouncements of the year and are given the widest publicity. The meetings have often been the occasion for the announcement of some great new discovery, such as Sir J. J. Thomson's address "On the Existence of Masses smaller than Atoms" given at Dover in 1899; Clerk Maxwell's discourse on molecular physics in 1873; Crookes's first demonstration of the properties of a stream of electrons in a vacuum tube, now known as a cathode ray tube, at the

Sheffield meeting in 1879; Sir William Ramsy's announcement of the discovery of argon in 1894; and to come to more recent times Professor P.M.S. Blackett's report in 1950 confirming by cosmic ray evidence the existence of a giant meson in the atom.

Industrial Applications

The applications of science to industry have always been a special feature of meetings of the Association. Sir Henry Bessemer in 1856 first described his researches which were to revolutionise the steel industry; Sir Oliver Lodge in 1894 gave the first public demonstration of "wireless" and a producer-gas plant supplying an Otto gas engine was shown in 1881.

In addition, the meetings have often been the scene of very heated discussions, one of the more famous being the battle between science and orthodoxy at Oxford in 1860. Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, commonly known as "Soapy Sam," gave an address on the Darwinian theory in which he showed his ignorance of the subject in almost every sentence. In his peroration he turned to Huxley and asked whether it was through his grandfather or his grandmother that he claimed descent from a venerable ape. Huxley replied, "If I am asked whether I would choose to be descended from the poor animal of low intelligence and stooping gait, who grins and chatters as we pass, or from a man, endowed with great ability and a splendid position, who should use these gifts to discredit and crush humble seekers after truth, I hesitate what answer to make." Hooker followed, and, in his own words, "hit him in the wind at the first shot in ten words taken from his own ugly mouth."

Impact of Science on Society

The first great period of the British Association extended well into the present century. During this period a considerable proportion of the leaders of science attended the annual meetings regularly, and these were used as a forum for the first public announcement of important discoveries. The Association had been successful in promoting a wide range of researches, but many of its functions had been taken over by the Government

Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, or similar bodies, founded largely as a result of its efforts. It had succeeded magnificently in obtaining a wider recognition of the importance of science to the general community, and in the words of one of our past-presidents, Sir John Russell, had become "an inseparable part of our national life."

The Association is about to enter upon a second great period of useful activities. Modern science and technology is now one of the greatest factors in the world for good or ill. Mankind has released vast forces of nature which he is still struggling to control and it is more essential than ever that there should be a wider understanding of the issues involved in this struggle. This can only be obtained by giving the widest publicity to important scientific discoveries and their impact on society.

Growing Appeal to the Young

The annual meetings of the Association still provide an excellent opportunity for communications of this nature, and since the war have attracted greater attendances than ever before. In addition, a striking feature of recent meetings is their growing appeal to the young and already at least a quarter of the members are students from colleges and universities and senior school-children.

The Association is anxious to develop this interest among the rising generation and through the generosity of certain donors is already in a position to undertake a limited expansion of its activities such as arranging gatherings of special appeal to young people between the annual meetings. These will include lectures, demonstrations, discussion groups and open forums, all designed to arouse an interest in modern science, which has been aptly described as a fascinating mixture of experiment and theory, involving both manual dexterity and subtle thinking.

Expansion Programme

This is only one of the many ways in which the British Association is extending

its activities. Various other expansion programmes are now under discussion, and if these receive the necessary financial support a great increase in the usefulness of the Association may be anticipated. A fuller knowledge of science and its implications is vital to modern civilisation and a more intensive development and rational use of Britain's potential reserves and talent can only be ensured by increased public understanding of the issues involved. In the creation of such understanding, the Association with its representative membership, its reputation for objective communications and historical prestige, is well qualified to make an important contribution.

It can strengthen the links between scientists and laymen, and promote the development and use of scientific research in industry and commerce, and also help to make the public aware of its importance. It can educate people in all walks of life to the absolute necessity of more, and more advanced, scientific education; and combat such feelings as still exist that the "arts" are in some ways superior to "science" in the education and prospects of the younger generation, but avoiding narrow specialisation at an early age.

It hopes to bring within its orbit companies, firms and associations which have neither the means nor the opportunity of doing research on their own account. Finally it will continue to stimulate thought and interchange of ideas concerning scientific matters among scientists in their own spheres, and also between administrators and scientists, so that all may find a common forum of debate and ways of getting into touch with each other personally, avoiding the necessity of going through bureaucratic channels whether official, commercial or industrial.

The Association is setting a high standard, but its past history gives every confidence that its supporters will not be disappointed in future developments.*

* Dr. Edward Hindle writes in *The New Scientist*, London.

PLANNING FOR PROSPERITY AND ACCOUNTANTS' ROLE IN IT

By SUDHANSU MOHAN BANERJEE

It is necessary at the outset, that one should have an idea of the basic objects of what planning is, particularly in the context of our own needs. If I were a poet or a philosopher I would wax eloquent on our country's great past, its history and tradition, its ideas and ideals, its civilization nearly as old and as hoary as recorded in history, its sense of deep spiritual values nourished on its own soil. I could speak of its Vedic forbears, its epic grandeur, its Upanishadic heights, its *Bhakti* cult, its banner of peace and prosperity, its poets and prophets. I am reminded of a quotation of Mathew Arnold, "The East bowed low before the blast in patient deep disdain, she let the legions thunder past and plunged in deep thoughts again." And we thought and we thought, while history inexorable as she is, a stern task master, took its toll and through vicissitudes of centuries we went the old way till we came face to face perhaps by accident with a dynamism which the West brought us and 170 years later on theateful day of 15th August, 1947, the balance-sheet stood as follows: "Poverty, almost unbelievable poverty, unemployment, pressure on land, death, disease and starvation, teeming millions, a stagnant agriculture and industry, great inequalities of income and opportunity, a mounting population. Added to these was the immediate expectation of the people that independence itself would without delay solve these problems, that poverty and backwardness would disappear as if by waving a magic wand." In our new-found enthusiasm we forgot that there were to be years of preparation, toil, tears and sweat. Added to this was the sudden shock and tragedy of partition. What a colossal problem it created is evident to all of us.

I have spoken of the liabilities side. There were the assets side too. The first and foremost were the teeming millions—the human resources which could revolutionize everything if properly trained and tapped. Therein comes the role of education. Then there was the potential wealth

waiting to be used and utilized. Iron ore of the highest grade, manganese, bauxites, coal, titanium, thorium, oil, in addition to jute, tea or cotton. There was the highest potential for hydro-electric power. The Brahmaputra alone where it leaves the deep gorge of its Himalayan shelter could produce millions and millions of kilowatts of power.

Any development work therefore means that we are concerned with the shaping of future India. At the same time, there is the burden of history on our back. Our today is mingled with our yesterday and our vision of tomorrow. We cannot leave our past, we have to work for the present, but we have to hook our hopes for the future too. That is the great idealism of the framers of our Constitution—creation of a joyous and prosperous fraternity which will deny the negation of Man, assume the dignity of the individual and reflect the unity of the Nation.

The first positive organised overall planning began in 1951 though individual works such as Bhakra, Damodar, Sindri, Hirakud, etc., had begun much earlier. It was the first concentrated effort to utilize country's resources with foreign help where necessary through democratic means achieving a social and economic uplift, a new pattern of society, higher living standards, a richer and fuller life for the people.

To quote the Planning Commission the growth envisaged for the twenty year period from 1956-76 is foreseen as follows:

(See Table on next page)

There is one point to be explained here. The net investment is not the net outlay. As for example the Second Plan envisages Rs. 4800 crores expenditure in Public Sector and Rs. 2400 in Private Sector. Out of this about Rs. 1000 crores in Public Sector will be expenditure on social services, and though important enough to give indirect returns in the shape of better health, better facilities or better

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	Per cent in 20 years
National Income	10,800	13,480	17,260	21,680	27,270	152.5
Total net investment	3,100	6,200	9,900	14,800	20,700	576.5
Rate of investment as per cent of natural income	7.3	10.7	13.7	16	170	132.9
Population in million	384	408	434	465	500	30.2
Capital output ratio	1.8.1	2.3.1	2.6.1	3.4.1	3.7.1	
Per capita income	281	331	396	466	566	939

(The USA spends 4,800 crores in 80 days in defence alone).

insurance against risks such as floods, epidemics. it will not be investment in the accounting sense.

Immediately the question arises how is this huge expenditure (in our sense) being financed. One must realize that this money has to be found in addition to services outside the Plan, i.e., cost of defence, law and order, normal Government administration and basic services such as P & T, etc. We require 4000 crores in internal currency plus 800 crores in foreign exchange and Government hoped to balance its ways and means budget as below:

Taxes new	450
„ old	350
	<hr/>
	800
Other revenues	400
Loans and small	
Savings	1200
Deficit financing	1200
Gap	400
	<hr/>
	4000
plus foreign assistance	800
	<hr/>
	4800 crores.

obtained by making new issues, utilising corporate profits and reserves available for investment. There are other sources also such as finance from Managing Agents, excess profit tax refunds and capital from Government or Government financed or sponsored lending agencies such as Industrial Credit and Investment Corporations and also direct loan. Private enterprise also requires foreign exchange. Lengthened suppliers' credits sometimes meet the need but the problem is there in its acute form. Foreign exchange shortage has assumed such a big proportion that it has created in its train other problems, e.g., restriction of imports and non-essential consumer goods obtained, of short-term credits, drawing heavily on sterling reserves. There has of course been new foreign investment side by side with repatriation of original capital, reconverted profits and capital gains, particularly in oil refineries, in drug manufactures, dye stuff, brick manufacturing.

Now what exactly is the Accountants' role in this great national programme both in public and private sectors—is it merely to keep the accounts of the projects concerned as neatly and correctly as possible, to close its ledgers and journals, draw up its trading and profit and loss accounts or write up a balance-sheet for the benefits of the share-holders be it the people or Government of the country or the individual holders of scrips? The Accountants' role is of course all these but something more. He has to be a little dynamic too particularly in the Public Sector where an Accountant-cum Auditor has the right to go a little beyond the Managing Directors' thumb impression, beyond

But this is so far as Public Sector enterprises are concerned. What about Private Sector's need for capital? This is a moot question now. Ordinarily private domestic capital is

his red and blue pencil. To be brief, he can help in the following way:

- (1) Planning for overall prosperity is very difficult and involves research—evaluation based not only on correct data but on correct interpretation of such data whatever we may plan, its achievements are to be reflected in rupees and p^{ys}as and the accounts must give a complete financial picture of the concern. Its interpretation is also of considerable importance—are we keeping accounts in a way that show either hidden reserves, assets or liabilities? If the financial aspect of a plan is based on rough estimates or incorrect data, plan estimates are sure to go awry.
- (2) We cannot afford to have uneconomic and wasteful methods in the execution of the industrial schemes and projects. Elements which influence cost vary from industry to industry. There are various methods of financial control at various levels in the Public Sector and a Financial Administrator or Controller in the Public Sector is not necessarily an Accountant. Ordinarily an Accountant as we understand him is not concerned with financial control at the pre-operation or execution stages. He generally comes in, when the money is beginning to be spent and he sees it reflected in vouchers and pay-orders, bank-withdrawals and treasury-issues—debit and credit notes, letters of credit and store slips. Gradually the picture of the outlay becomes clear to him. He can, if he is intelligent enough and if his accounts are sufficiently detailed, find out whether expenditure on a particular item is not getting more than the estimated one under the same head. Progress of expenditure and progress of work have to be synchronised nor that they should tally at an earlier stage. To take an example, if building is being erected at Rs. 12 lakhs and the time schedule is

one year it may be that at the end of 3 months, the actual progress of building work may be 1/20th while the money spent may be as high as 1/3rd. Materials at site, advances, other expenditure may explain the position. But it is a help to the management to review the position by going over the Accountant's figures.

- (3) Thirdly I must come to the role of a Cost Accountant and the part he can play in the correct estimation and evaluation of expenditure. We are still backward in this respect and somewhat hesitant in adopting modern techniques of cost control though we are adopting modern methods of industrialisation which involve handling of modern plant and machinery.

Supposing the cost relating to a particular operation in a particular project showed in the accounts an unconscionably high figure, naturally any Accountant should be worried as to why this should be so. It is sometimes found that the idle time and ineffective working of the machinery are responsible for this and if there were a proper Cost Accounting and the Unit Rate had been evaluated in time, the Management could have taken effective steps and prevented waste and ensured economy. In this connection I feel that there should be a standard cost code for various utilities. I was recently in USA and I found that all power-concerns adopt the same code. Whenever any one ventures into a big industrial enterprise there is not only to be a plant organisation, production planning and control but also a time study, operation analysis, quality control, job estimating and job evaluation so that ultimately manufacturing costs can be brought out and any element of waste be eliminated. Production cost represents the sum-total of expenditure incurred in converting, say raw materials into a further product. Such costs according to experts who know may be computed in a variety of ways:

1. By conventional financial accounting methods.
2. By use of cost accounting technique.
3. By various estimating procedures.

Financial accounting is concerned mainly with overall results. So it lacks internal data of how the various processes cost and at different stages. It is not possible to keep inventories and time statements at each stage. Cost accounting works as an extension of the double entry system and records an analysis of expenditure by functional activities, by plant divisions, by cost elements and for each component part.

So the ultimate aim is to control (1) expenditure by elimination of waste, (2) to price products, (3) to provide a basis for operating policies and (4) to supply data for future planning, *e.g.*, we know distribution of primary costs and secondary distribution, overheads, normal burden, unit costs based on effective production. A financial accountant is primarily interested in the compilation of the balance-sheet, and the profit and loss statement, the forecast of the cash position and such other matters as are of importance in revealing the status of the business as affected by external conditions. The cost accountant supplies the details of operations particularly those for the cost of production which reflect the forces at work internally, *e.g.*, by evaluating purchase prices, idle time of labour, machinery, etc., or man hours, the tempo and the rate of utilisation of raw materials.

These are some of the roles which an Accountant has to play in the growing economy of the country. Let us not forget that administration in the past had hardly any collectivised social objectives and were not involved too much in business either following a *laissez faire* policy. The administrative and accounting machinery was geared to a primary object. This inherited machinery today is neither adequate nor appropriate to meet our growing demand to plan for prosperity but no form of administration can remain static. We have to introduce new ideas even in our accounting and financial system. But there is one basic differ-

ence which we cannot forget; while in private business managers and promoters have a definite financial stake which controls them from committing financial harikari, in the case of State undertakings that incentive is not absent but impersonal and it is all the more necessary that we should evolve a proper financial and accounting control which should safeguard the interests of the common taxpayer and the man in the street. The checks and balances over which the new managers of public undertakings seem to chafe about in comparison to those of private undertakings are therefore fundamental. That is why the accounting and audit authorities question even the propriety of a particular expenditure even when there is proper sanction behind it, which a company accountant would never do.

The adoption of a socialist pattern of society as well as the need for a planned and rapid development which the Parliament and Government of the country have accepted make large demands on the country's resources of not only technical and managerial personnel but of trained accountants also. To quote an apt phrase: "We are making the first breach in the barrier of poverty" which had long held back India's economy and every one of us has to play a part in this mounting drama in writing this great saga of Fate and Faith and Accountants have definitely an honourable part to play. I recall the great words of our Prime Minister: "We are concerned with the shaping of future India. It is, therefore, with a sense of the burden of history upon me, upon us, that I face this problem. It is also with a great sense of humility because however great, however competent we may consider ourselves, we are small in relation to this mighty theme that is the building up of India." In that faith let us live and work.*

* A summary of a speech delivered at the annual meeting of the Chartered Accountants' Student Society, Calcutta.



EXPORTS AND THE THIRD PLAN

By L. D. JOSHI, M.COM., D.P.A.,

Lucknow University

SHRI Kanungo in his opening speech at the first meeting of the Standing Committee of the Export Promotion Advisory Council held recently at New Delhi, emphasized the importance and urgency of stepping up exports not only for balancing the current trade but for strengthening the economy from the long-term point of view. An attempt will be made to examine how far such emphasis is soundly based.

As is well-known the present foreign-exchange crisis is the result of an inadequately controlled import policy, and with the shake-up brought about by this situation and the heart-searching that it followed, it looks that such a situation will not recur. But to think that the solution of the current crisis lies in the stepping up of exports is to be oblivious of the facts for as everybody knows, our exports are not so elastic, more so in a short period of time. The solution of the current foreign exchange deficit lies in exercising a greater selective control over the imports with a view that no addition henceforth is made to the deficit. This calls for a greater degree of control over the import policy—its framing and execution, and the planning of foreign trade.

It is also fallacious to assume that 'the strengthening of the economy from the long-term point of view' also rests on 'stepping up exports'. Foreign market is the least dependable and it is a wonder how even responsible people refuse to learn from the experience both of ours and of other countries that one cannot count upon the foreign market. The foreign market itself is shrinking and the days are gone when anything could find a market at any price. Almost every country of the world is on the threshold of industrialisation with the result that foreign markets now are limited. In fact, looking at the tariff restrictions in various countries, it seems there is a difference of degree only in the conditions of world trade obtaining at present and those during the thirties of the present century. Whatever foreign markets there are, the buyers therein are very discerning and only a product of sufficiently good quality and cheaper in price can

find a support. Unfortunate as it is, our wares have earned a bad reputation in the foreign market (for which both the business community and the government is responsible, the former for resorting to malpractices and the latter for failing to take steps to check them) and whatever foreign markets we had have been lost and are still being lost. Our textile industry has a sorry tale to narrate.* Under such conditions it would be unwise to place reliance on the foreign markets. If at all we wish to enter the world market with a view to earning substantial foreign exchange, we shall have seriously to think about problems such as those of reducing costs and the promotion and ensuring integrity in business dealings.

Looking at the emphasis which is being placed upon the encouragement of exports, it seems as if we are planning solely for export. It has been said that we are producing more steel for exporting it and we learn that trade enquiries are already being made in anticipation of production. The same seems to be the purpose behind the higher targets of production of cement, coal, textiles, sugar, cashew-nuts, tea, fans and so on. It almost looks as if the mythical 'common man' for the benefit of

* Japan had been our traditional rival in the textile market. Lately however, China is emerging as another tough competitor in this market. China is reported to be selling a cheap perfumed cloth of gay design in the East Asian markets, which retain its perfume for at least five cold washings, and this cloth is finding a ready market. Ceylon a very good market for our South Indian handloom 'lungies' has been recently closed and import of such material has been banned by the Government. Our tea exports are meeting with competition from the Ceylonese and Indonesian tea.

Probably, Manganese and Mica are the two raw-materials in which we can still claim our supremacy. But in view of the fact that these are minerals of which we do not have unlimited reserves and also that our strength would lie only in the development of industries where these can be utilized, export of these minerals is hardly beneficial for us in the long run.

which all the planning was being done either has in his possession all these and other things in plenty or that he does not need them at all. Actually, however, the conditions are different. We do not know the 'common man' but we do know the consumer, and we also know that the consumer wants these commodities but he is unable to get them at the price which he can afford. The Indian consumer has suffered for almost a quarter of a century by paying higher prices for the production of the industries. He has been suffering for about a decade now by paying a lot through higher prices and higher taxes for the sake of development. When at last the undertakings for which the consumer has suffered start bearing fruits he is deprived of their use. Either he is not allowed to have them or he is asked to pay so much that he cannot utilise them. The tragedy is heightened when he is further asked to pay a little more for his consumption in order that exports may be subsidized *e.g.*, in the case of sugar. This only shows how little is our planning sensitive to the needs of our own consumer.

Unfortunately our planning is dependent so much on things foreign that it looks as if we have nothing of our own to spare for our development. All through the Plan we hear about foreign exchange, foreign loans, foreign markets, foreign tourists, foreign machinery, foreign experts and even foreign ideas. Such an excessive dependence on foreign sources is bad for us and it is essential that our people should feel that the planning is by them and for them. This can happen only when, firstly, instead of depending upon things foreign we depend upon our own and, secondly, we take into consideration the needs of our consumers and plan for them. It may be that our Planning will not be so ambitious statistically speaking, but even in its modesty it will give satisfaction to the consumer who will feel himself identified with it.

It is, of course, true that our resources are inadequate compared to our needs, but it is also true that too much dependence on foreign assistance kills local initiative besides subjecting the borrower to all sorts of restrictive conditions, and that facile credit leads to unproductive expenditure. In Planning proper husband-

ing of resources is of utmost importance but almost everywhere we see the utter disregard of much-needed austerity and the sad spectacle of money being wasted on fancy schemes. (To my mind, the introduction of decimal coinage and metric system of weights and measures are two such schemes among many. Decimal coinage has already confused the system of payment and the metric system will confound further the confused system of weights and measures prevailing in India). There is an urgent need, therefore, of laying down a scheme of priorities, and strictly adhering to it. Defining the 'hard core' of the Second Plan was probably the realisation of this fact.

Certain conclusions, therefore, emerge from the above discussion and a few tentative suggestions can now be given towards the formulation of the Third Plan:

1. Let the Third Plan be a modest Plan with the object of removing the stresses and strains, and consolidating our economy. There is no use starting more and more undertakings in the public sector if the existing units cannot be managed well. Similarly, there is little use in imposing newer and newer taxes unless the existing ones can be gathered successfully. It is common knowledge that our administrative structure has not been able to cope with the vastly enlarged functions of administration—in many cases it has proved to be a virtual bottleneck. Steps must be taken to rectify this state of affairs.
2. Targets should be framed keeping in mind the requirements of the people. However much we may claim to have progressed, food, clothing and shelter still remain the basic problems for the large mass of people. In the light of these requirements policies pursued so far may be critically examined and modified, if necessary.
3. We should not run after the mirage of foreign markets at the expense of our own people. We must seriously examine the possibilities of reduction of costs of our products and discouragement of imports. A certain amount of imports will, of course, be inevitable to maintain our

economy, and, to pay for them attempt should be made to enlarge our foreign exchange earnings from sources other than the export of commodities, *e.g.*, development of shipping. It shall not be out of place to mention that tourism as an industry has failed to be an economic proposition considering the vast sums of money spent on its development and the meagre earnings acquired.

4. Our planning should be tackled on a war-level, that is to say, austerity measures should be imposed and effectively implemented. This will require a greater degree of administrative vigilance on the part of the government and self-restraint on the part of the people.
5. Finally, let us make an attempt to depend on our own resources. Self-sufficiency in food will contribute a great deal towards this. India has always been an agricultural country and it is still a truism that her prosperity even to-day lies in the development of her agriculture. I have just one humble suggestion to offer for achieving higher production of food-grains, which, if implemented, would be a bold step in the right direction. Let

the water and power of the river valley projects be made free or nominally charged for a period of five years. It has been stated both by Government spokesmen and others that there is inadequate utilization of the water and power of the projects, for which a number of reasons have been given, an important reason being the unhelpful rate policy pursued by the authorities. If the rates are lowered or totally done away with for a period of five years, this will not only lead to a greater utilization of these resources but coupled with the propaganda for better farming practices, will also ensure a greater yield of food and non-food crops. We are importing every year food-grains worth a hundred crores on an average. The loss to the Government on account of the reduction of rates will not probably exceed this figure but the loss will be more than compensated by an increased production of food-grains on which our planning rests.

The logic of the situation demands us to be self-sufficient and it is this fact which has to be recognised while drafting the Third Plan.

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SECONDARY EDUCATION IN WEST BENGAL

By SANTOSH KUMAR BANERJEE

AFTER 11 years since independence, our country has not very much progressed in the educational sphere. The percentage of literacy for the whole of India is still 16.61, which is much below the figure of any Western country. The percentage of literacy in West Bengal at 24.02 is, however, comparatively higher than that of many other States except Kerala with 40.88, which is the highest in India. Education is the responsibility of the State Governments, the Union Government confining its activities to the co-ordination of facilities and determination of standards in respect of higher education or research, scientific and technical education.

The problem of Secondary Education in

West Bengal has already drawn the attention of both Government and the educationists of repute. With the object of removing the lacunae, a Statutory Board of Secondary Education with a large elective element was set up by the Government for the State. But instead of improving, the conditions became such that the Government had to supersede it for the time being. The Secondary Education Bill aiming at the improvement of the system and set-up is now before the State Legislative Assembly.

It is not possible for Government alone in any country to carry on the system of education specially secondary education, if ready and wil-

ling co-operation does not come from the people. The Government can set up a Board or a Commission, but if its members, who come from the people in general, are not fully conscious of their tasks and duties, it is sure to end in failure. Any individual member of the public whether he is a member of such a Board or Commission, should have the earnest desire of effecting some improvement in the sphere in the part of the country he belongs to. There should be no politics or party considerations in his suggestions or the help he renders to the cause of education.

TEACHERS' ROLE

In the sphere of Secondary Education the teachers play a great role. It is no doubt a matter of regret that they are not getting adequate emoluments to enable them to enjoy the elemental necessities of life, but if they care to remember the lot of their predecessors in this profession, they will find that they too were not above worries. The difference between present-day teachers and the teachers of old is that the latter were satisfied and content with their simple ways of living if they had worthy students who were devoted to study and obedient and who could bring fame to their teachers by their own success. The present-day teachers do not seem to care so much for the quality of students they teach, but think more of their own sufferings. Indeed the proverb "Plain living and high thinking" specially applicable in the case of teachers of our country is not paid any heed to by the teachers of modern days so far as its underlying principle is concerned.

It is high time when a serious consideration is to be paid by all sections of the people towards the problem of secondary education and its early and easy solution. The people of the country have no less responsibility in this matter than the Government. Until and unless they wholeheartedly co-operate with the Government in effecting an all-round improvement in the standard and method of Secondary Education, no scheme of Government or any statutory board set up by them can achieve the desired results.

It seems that the students in Government schools are subject to better discipline and teaching as these schools are under the direct supervision of Government and manned by better-paid and qualified teaching staff. It does not of course mean that in private schools there is a dearth of qualified and experienced teachers, but due to various influences, including political and economic, most of the teachers are unable to devote their whole energy and time towards the education of the students placed under their charge. It is, therefore, in the interest of the public in general that the private schools should receive 'priority' consideration from Government for meeting their urgent and pressing demands. Along with the provision of better conditions of service, salaries and allowances for the teaching staff engaged in private schools the Government should, I think, consider whether the Head-masters, who are the "main springs" of such institutions, should not be made permanent officers of the State. If these Head-masters are taken in the permanent employment of Government and given adequate pay and allowances and they are subject to transfer from one school to another after specific periods, I think, the atmosphere in a particular school will not be monotonous for them as it is now, and they will be outside any influence of a Managing Committee or a political party or group. A Conference of such Head-masters can be arranged from time to time under the Chairmanship of the Director of Public Instruction and in this way they can have opportunities of mutually discussing and finding out ready solutions of many difficult problems that confront them in the discharge of their day-to-day duties. This will also give an impetus to other private school teachers to do their work more sincerely as they can as well expect to be promoted one day to the ranks of Head-masters and thus be rewarded for their honest labour in the cause of education of the boys reading in their schools, and in this way the joint co-operation of the Head-masters and teachers of private schools with the Government can help a great deal to improve the present condition of Secondary Education in the State of West Bengal.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

INTERPRETER OF BUDDHISM TO THE WEST: SIR EDWIN ARNOLD: *By Brooks Wright. Bookman Associates, Inc. New York. 1957. Pp. 187. Price four dollars.*

This is a very well-written account, from the pen of a discerning critic, of the remarkably varied and eventful career of a great Englishman in the Victorian era. It tells the story of the hero's parentage, birth and education, of his first appointment (1857) in India (as Principal, Deccan College, Poona), which opened to him 'the beauty of the Sanskrit classics and the sublimity of Hinduism' (p. 31), of his forty years' association (1860-1899) with the *Daily Telegraph* (the first penny newspaper in London) when he took part in chronicling and in some measure guiding the course of events during the era of high watermark of Britain's greatness (p. 39), of his world-tours in course of which he undertook very successful lecturing campaigns in America and was received as an honoured guest in India and Ceylon as well as in Japan, of his last years and of his death at the ripe old age of 74 (1904). In between these phases of his career is told the story of his happy domestic life and of his composition of literary works of an astonishingly varied range. As an associate of the *Daily Telegraph* he took a leading part in organizing the archaeological expedition of George Smith in Mesopotamia (1873) and the expedition of geographical discovery in Central Africa by Henry Stanley (1874-1877). A born master of languages, he drew the material of his compositions equally from the ancient Greek and Latin and Sanskrit as well as Persian and Arabic literature and from the literature of mediaeval and modern Japan. In politics he was a liberal at home and an imperialist abroad. It is, however, a tribute to his extraordinary generosity and foresight that he could foresee

a time when the British would have to quit India because of her assimilation of Western ways of thought (and specially science and technology), and he advised his countrymen to work for such a consummation as the only natural and right one (p. 64). Among his poetical compositions inspired by Indian thought the first place belongs to *The Light of Asia* depicting the early life of the Buddha. This famous work commanded a phenomenal sale in England and in America, was translated into German, Dutch, French, Czech, Italian, Swedish and other languages and was reproduced on the stage and on the screen while it inspired a number of imitations by lesser authors. Other works of Indian inspiration were Arnold's translation of the *Bhagavad-Gita* ('*The Song Celestial*') and the *Gita-Govinda* ('*The Indian Song of Songs*'). After 1890 Japan cast the same spell over Arnold that had been cast before by India, and he published 'an impressive series of poems, plays, essays and translations,' reflecting 'his view of Japanese life and character.' It is characteristic of Arnold's versatility that he wrote during these years a long poem on the life and teachings of Jesus entitled *The Light of the World* (reflecting his theological belief in Jesus as 'the most perfect revelation of God's truth to man' but 'not himself a god,' (p. 158), a systematic discussion of the doctrine of immortality of the soul, and a number of poems dealing with the civilization of Ancient Egypt. We can well conclude our notice of this fine work by quoting an extract from the author's concluding estimate of Arnold's life and character. 'He was a man who won recognition as a journalist, lecturer and poet, who was a patron of scholarship and exploration, who mastered a dozen languages and a half dozen religions. . . His permanent achievement was to serve as a bridge between the East and West.'

U. N. GHOSHAL

INDIAN ADMINISTRATION: By Asok Chanda. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London 1958. Pp. 274. Price 25.

In the days when the Indian Administration functioned under the mantle of Imperial guardianship, the curiosity of foreigners was excited less by its hieratic excellence than by the oddities of Nature in India and the eccentricities of her customs. Times have changed. Politically, India claims to be the bastion of democracy in the East; economically, she has become one of the biggest fields for foreign investment. How well the Administration is faring since the departure of the British, is no longer a matter of idle curiosity for the anxious investors in finance and ideology.

This book will not disappoint them. Mr. Chanda is himself a high administrator and writes with a personal knowledge of the major administrative problems. He does for Indian administration what Gunther did for journalism. His book is a triptych—the three main pieces being the Parliament, the Executive and the Financial Administration. He is a modest man; he describes the study as a profile but considering the amount of ground it covers, it could be the physiology, it certainly is the anatomy and to judge by the observations, such as (Public Accounts Committee) "Most of the members have been brought up in the barren wilderness of opposition and have developed a profound distrust of bureaucracy," can even be the endocrinology of the Indian Administration. Each main topic is introduced by a historical survey, each organisation is measured against its British counterpart, often embellished with the fruits of experience garnered from the French or the United States systems and interlarded with much useful criticism.

The criticisms are at times provocative. They suffer in some cases from over-compression and to the unsophisticated some of them may be misleading if not mischievous. Admittedly, the search for precedents exasperates one at times to the point of Jihad. Admittedly, they are often used by the idle to spare the exertions of fresh thought. But their utility, in the context of a democracy, in ensuring fairness, uniformity of treatment and impartiality, is unquestionable. The answer to "Precedents and continuity are not so important

today as they were in the past. . . ." is in the pages of elementary books such as Sautoy's *The Civil Service*.

British analogies have been heavily drawn upon. The efficiency of the British Civil Service today is partly due to the determined absorption in its higher grades of the best intellects that the best schools and the best Universities in the U.K. have to offer and partly due to the existence of public traditions which the civil servants share in common with politicians and public men outside nurtured by the same schools, Universities and institutions. The conditions are different in India.

Lastly, judgment is largely a matter of knowledgeably balancing the pros and the cons of an issue. Herbert Simon in his book *Administrative Behaviour* says: "The task of decision involves three steps (i) the listing of all the alternative strategies; (ii) the determination of all the consequences that follow upon each of these strategies and (iii) the comparative evaluation of these sets of consequences." Efficiency in judgment and decision varies directly with knowledge of the world and maturity but inversely with the need to court popularity. In the present conditions in India, the choice between them may not be easy. The problem is not only how to raise the standard of efficiency and judgment, where necessary, by training on the job as in the U.K. or by professional training as in say France but that also of how to reconcile the claims of efficiency with those of popularity and with those of enthusiasm for things local on which much emphasis is naturally laid in the growing welfare state.

The theories do not appear to be adequately weighed against the practical and the sociological backgrounds. This is not to say that the case made by Mr. Chanda is incapable of standing its own ground or to detract from the considerable merits of the book. The contribution made by Mr. Chanda to the scanty literature today on public administration in India is so timely and valuable that one earnestly hopes that others as literarily gifted as he would take up the challenge of the suggestions with which the book is replete and take them a stage further.

MARGARET BASU

BAL-GANGADHAR TILAK (A narrative and interpretative review of his life, career and contemporary events): By T. V. Parvate. Navajban Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 7.

To celebrate Tilak's birth centenary, the celebration committee, with Shri Morarji Desai as chairman, offered a prize of Rs. 10,000 to the best biography of Tilak in English. Subsequently, either, according to the judges, there was such a neck to neck race in quality, or compromise being the soul of wit exercising its sway on the Congress leaders, three books were adjudged 'the best' and the prize money was divided. The book under review is one of the three. There is a feeling in Maharashtra that the committee's enthusiasm was an 'election propaganda' and a 'hoax' such as to justify even one of the prize-winners to say so in the Preface of his book.

Our author has chalked out a new line to highlight his interpretation of Tilak as absolutely constitutional. He has disinterred some incidents only to explain away that Tilak's deep interest in the Revolutionary movement and resort to arms in compassing the freedom of India is academic. "The Mutiny of 1857," this is how the author begins Tilak—page 8, "must have taught him that the secret of British power lay in its superior civilization and organization and that collection of a few fire-arms and slaughter of a few white men would not shake the well-established British *raj* in India." The sneer at the Revolutionary party is unfortunate and uncalled for. Any way, the author sums up Tilak and we have the following at page 500: "It was, therefore, a practical and deliberate conviction of his, reached by him and his colleagues like Agarkar at the very beginning of their public life that lawful and constitutional action, education of public opinion and organization to follow deliberately-taken resolves were the only means open to them for the services of the people." So strongly the author feels about it that he has fallen foul of those—and with them are clubbed the C.I.D. spies—who believed that Tilak 'was something much more than a mere militant, aggressive, constitutional and lawful agitator,' Tilak was misunderstood because, the author says, 'his criticism of government measures was quite often very strong, he employed violent language, showed temper and sometimes used such condemnatory language as amounted to vilification.' The author would not even stand Tilak being called the Father of Indian Unrest, which is, he says 'a left-handed compliment.'

The picture, given above, is not in accord with the popular notion of Tilak; not in accord with what Gandhiji said of him that 'he considers that everything is fair in politics,' not in accord with what Romain Rolland understood him to be believing and saying that 'in politics everything is justified.' Never mind, the author is to be admired for his courage of conviction. For kindred spirits, according to the author, 'Dada bhai, Gandhiji and Jawaharlalji must remain as outstanding landmarks in India's march towards Swaraj.' We have also from him that "the gold of India's present leadership has been burnt in the Gandhian furnace, melted and made solid in the Gandhian crucible, hammered on the Gandhian anvil and has been polished by the Marxian process of approach to affairs of life." There is a tide in the affairs of man; let that tide be our author's.

JOGES C. BOSE

SANSKRIT

MULAMADHYAMIKA-KARIKA OF NAGARJUNA (Chaps. I—V) Pt. I: *Translated into English and Bengali with notes by Prof. Herambanath Chatterjee. Published by the author, Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Pp. 220 + 39.*

The book under review is the outcome of erudition, precision and a close acquaintance with the Madhyamika school of Philosophy can be traced to the teaching of Buddha. Buddha called his ethical teaching the Middle Path. In fact the Madhyamika philosophy seeks to repudiate all extreme positions—subjectivism of the Yogacharas or realism of the Vaibhasikas. Nagarjuna (1st century A.D.), one of the greatest thinkers of India is admitted to be the earliest exponent of this school of thought. His Mulamadhyamakarikas served as an impetus to the later writers of this school. Nagarjuna's work is pregnant with abstruseness of thought. It is Candrakirti who made a bold attempt in unfolding the deeper subtleties of Nagarjuna's standpoint. The present editor has exhibited his erudition in delineating the formidable logical subtleties in a lucid manner. The book is enriched by introduction which as a whole, compresses within its limited compass the history as well as the philosophical implications of the four Buddhist schools of realism and idealism. The editor has amply brought out the various misconceptions regarding the exact implication of *sunyata*. His dissertation on *sunyata*

abounds in original reflections and reveals an independent and effective thinking. The introduction also contains a summary of the first five chapters. The Bengali translation based on the commentary of Chandrakirti, is quite readable. The reviewer feels no hesitation in asserting that the present publication will be welcomed by all lovers of Sanskrit learning specially by all serious students of Buddhist Philosophy.

GOPIKAMOHAN BHATTACHARYA

BENGALI

SATABDIR SISU-SAHITYA (1818-1918):

By Khagendranath Mitra. Vidyodaya Library Private Ltd., 72, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Calcutta-9. Price Rs. 7.

The author is a well-known writer of children's books. Indeed children's literature and the history of children's literature are not the same thing, for literature is born of imagination and history is the product of research, study and mastery of facts. As regards his books written for children though Khagendranath Mitra is mainly an imaginative writer, he has succeeded to a high degree in bringing out a comprehensive history of children's literature during the period of a hundred and one years (1818-1918). We have a history of Bengali literature enriched by contributions of modern research, but up to now scholars have almost neglected children's literature, and an account of its rise and growth has been long due. The author has done well to remove a long felt want. He is a pioneer in the field. The book is divided into two parts. The first part is concerned with periodicals meant for children, the second part deals with books. The first part is again subdivided into two sections: periodicals of the nineteenth century and those of the twentieth century. It is interesting to note that children's magazines preceded the publication of children's books by several years. *Digantashan*, a monthly published by the Baptist Mission of Serampore, though ostensibly meant for youngmen, is, according to the author, the first children's magazine. The publication of *Sakhi* in 1883, under the editorship of Pramada Chatterjee Sen, is a landmark in the history of children's periodicals. The author divides the second part into three sections: the era of the School-book Society, the era of Vidyasagar, and the post-Vidyasagar era. According to the author, the story of Bhuvan in Vidyasagar's *Baran-parichay*, *Dwitiya-bhag*, is the first real short story in Bengali literature. Though the

earliest, a powerful story of the type is rare in the realm of Bengali short story. Two names, those of Jogindranath Sarkar and Upendrakishore Roy Choudhuri, should ever be remembered as the two great pioneers in the field of children's literature. Sri Mitra has, through oversight, omitted the name of Manomohan Basu. He is the author of *Padyamala*. Jadugopal Chattopadhyay is the compiler of *Padyapath*. Covering 240 pages, demy octavo, *Satabdir Sisu-Sahitya* or Children's Literature of the Century, though research-work, is never dull reading. Khagendranath Mitra knows how to present facts in an attractive form.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

BRISTI YADI ASE (If Rain Comes): By Samir Chowdhury. Charu Sahitya Prakashanee, 68, Bhupendra Basu Avenue, Calcutta-4. 1958. Pp. 56. Price Rs. 2.00.

Samir Chowdhury, the author of this collection of poems, is one of the talented Bengali poets of the younger generation whose life is threatened by the moral tuberculosis. When I first came into contact with his poems on the pages of the now defunct *Nutaner Sandhane*, which was spiritual offspring of Shri Sisir Ray, I was at once struck by the beauty and force of his language and the depth of his emotion. No reader of this volume can fail to be impressed by the poems. Shri Subhash Mukhopadhyaya, one of the foremost poets of Bengal, truly says in his foreword to the book: "The poems are all written with death at the door. Yet there is no whimpering or complaint. He is always faced towards life. There is no surrender, but the will to fight it out—an acute consciousness of the present permeating all through."

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

SRI CHAITANYA VIJAYA BA NAMA-MAHIMA: By Bhavani Bhattacharya. To be had of Sarasvata Mandir, 1, Ramesh Mitra Road, Bhowanipur, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

A drama based on incidents connected with the lives of Sri Chaitanya and his great disciple Haridasa. Sri Chaitanya's spiritual attainments and courage and Haridasa's devotion to him have been particularly stressed. Materials have been gathered from the important biographies of Chaitanya. The theme here is more important than literary craftsmanship.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

BANGLA AUR USKA SAHITYA: By Hansa Kumar Tiwari. Rajakamal Prakashan, New Delhi. Pp. 146. Price Rs. 2.

Sometime back Saraswati Sahakar, Delhi, under the general editorship of Shri Kshema-chandra "Suman," embarked on the commendable project of acquainting the Hindi-knowing public with short histories of the various regional literatures, which constitute the corpus of Indian literature. The present volume pertains to Bengali literature. In a brief compass the author has covered a very wide ground, indeed, from the early beginnings of the Bengali language to the age of Rabindranath. His treatment of the subject is objective and assessments and evaluations fair.

G. M.

GUJARATI

GANDHI-NASTIK-SAMVADA (Translation from 'An atheist with Gandhi'): Nava-

jiban Prakasan Mandir, Ahmedabad. July, 1956. Price ten annas.

G. Ramchandra Rao, a professed atheist but philanthropist, had exchanged letters with Gandhiji and had also met him and naturally on the topic of atheism. But even Gandhiji with his 'One step enough for me' and Ramchandraraji Goraji with his strong atheistic convictions could meet on some common ground—the good of the people.

The detached soul of Gandhiji comes out very clear in these pages, and it is seen how his approach was scientific rather than dogmatic. Gandhiji's letters in original recall a number of associations which bring into relief his character and stand. The book should find its way to every library where Gandhi literature is favourite reading.

P. R. SEN

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Indian Periodicals

Towards Harmony

Prabuddha Bharata observes editorially:

It is easy to see that religions agree on some of the most vital factors that are calculated to sustain and advance co-operative activities in various fields and make individual lives richer and more harmonious. But it is not quite a simple matter to reconcile the religious people; for here we have to reckon not with religion as such, but the readings of it by the faithful. For this difficult task we have to discover ways and means.

The Hindus found long ago the real key to the resolution of such individual differences in the Vedic declaration 'Truth is one but the sages call it by various names'. And Vedanta enunciated the universal basis of a spiritual life on which all can take their stand. The result has been that in India different philosophies, sometimes standing poles apart, flourish side by side without generating any intolerance or conflict beyond verbal wrangle or literary debate. And yet the adherents of these philosophies are not mere intellectuals, but staunch religious believers! This approach, then, can serve as a very good starting point. Fortunately, again for us, a mighty spiritual genius like Sri Ramakrishna realized in our own time the truth of that Vedic saying and declared that all religions are true. This augurs well for the future of mankind. And yet we must be cautious in our dealings with other groups so as not to antagonize them in our zeal to tell them of this patent truth. For prejudices die hard; and if the new outlook is identified and claimed exclusively for India or the Vedas, or even the great prophets like Rama, Krishna, or Ramakrishna, the chances are that we shall defeat our purpose to a very great extent. A warning to this effect was sounded by Romain Rolland: 'In accord-

ance with the Vedantists I do not need to enclose God within the bounds of a privileged man in order to admit that the Divine dwells within the soul and that the soul dwells in everything—that Atman is Brahman; for that, although it knows it not, is a form of nationalism of spirit . . .' (*The Life of Ramakrishna*). At the same time, we are not prepared to discard religious personalities altogether, for with them comes and goes religious inspiration itself. If we leave out Rama, Krishna, Buddha, Jesus, and Muhammed, religion will be reduced to a mere cultural expression or a bundle of moral precepts without any life-giving impulse. We must accept all the prophets of all ages and all climes at the same time that we refrain from advancing any exclusive claim in any one's name. Our approach will be impersonal in the sense that the basic facts of their teachings will be emphasized rather than the theological dogmas centering round them. When speaking of their lives, we shall deal with facts that illumine their original thoughts, rather than the communal interpretations of later days. This does not, however, mean that in personal beliefs also we shall strip ourselves of inborn convictions. There is a Hindi saying that one can say 'yea, yea' to everybody at the same time that one sticks firmly to one's own faith. This is the method followed all along in India. As a result the Hindus as a whole venerate and accept all the saints and prophets of all ages and climes, though they do not become Buddhists, Christians, or Muhammedans.

Realism in Krishnagore Modellers

Dr. Sudhir Kumar Nandi observes in *The Aryan Path*:

Krishnagore is the district headquarters of Nadia in West Bengal. It is the home of modellers best known for

their excellence in clay modelling. It is proposed to discuss in this paper the sense of realism of these modellers, who for over a century earned great distinction. It was no mean achievement for them to have earned praises from a foreign dignitary such as Napoleon III of France when there was little knowledge of Indian art and architecture abroad. The genius of Germany found its full expression in Hegel; yet even he shows a regrettable lack of appreciation of Indian art when he characterizes the whole of Indian art as "grotesque." It is surprising also to find Max Muller apparently completely ignorant of the vast wealth of Indian aesthetics when he writes: "It is strange nevertheless that a people so fond of the highest abstractions as the Hindus, should never have summarized their perceptions of the Beautiful." The recognition that Krishnagore modellers won at foreign exhibitions for over a century may well be judged against the background of such apathy and ignorance of Indian art and architecture among the 'elite' abroad. We can well imagine the tremendous ovation that would have been accorded to these art traditions had there been adequate knowledge and a correct appreciation of them.

These modellers have been noted for the verisimilitude of their work, for their true presentation of life in all its roughness and grandeur. A studio of a Krishnagore modeller will take you to the very heart of Bengal. There you find a ploughman plodding his weary way, a wood-cutter setting out for his day's work, a damsel with a pitcher looking through her characteristic veil, a typical village schoolmaster, a fight between two street urchins, a Jantric, a mendicant, a beggar with a bowl, a priest with wooden sandals and a tuft of hair upon his head, and a love-lorn couple exchanging furtive glances in imitation of Lord Krishna and his eternal love Radha. All these are there brought to life in clay and colour. The note that strikes the observer is that of a realism which is indigenous. The native genius finds its full

expression in presenting life in its diverse forms. Our art tradition, a heritage from the epic age, recognises realism as a potent factor in giving art its character. This realism is in the very soul of Indian art and literature. We may trace this poignant sense of realism to our epic poets, such as Valmiki, and it percolated through the ages to reach us unstained. We have imbibed the spirit for presenting the concrete and the individual from our old masters and it worked up in various forms and description. The late Dr. Dasgupta, the eminent scholar and critic, writes of this sense of realism and of our realistic traditions:

"But apart from such human analogies the general tendency of Valmiki's description is realism—description of fruits and flowers, of birds and beasts, of muddy roads and moist winds and so on. Bhavabhuti seems to have followed this realistic tendency of Valmiki in his description of nature, which is sometimes sublime and sombre. Such a realistic tendency can be found in other poets also."—*History of Sanskrit Literature* by S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De, p. cxxviii.

We believe that the Indian mind has a taste for the definite and the concrete and it has characterized our outlook on life and literature in infinite ways. In spite of all the abstract thinking we did in the realm of metaphysics, "with regard to mundane affairs, the Indians have always been absolutely definite, concrete and realistic in their conceptions." In ancient sculpture the Indian artists showed a type of verisimilitude that is still found and appreciated in the caves of Ajanta and Ellora, at Bhuvaneshwar and Konarka, at Tanjore and Sri Rangam. Without being inaccurate in the least we could say that the Indian artists' sense of realism was displayed not only in mundane affairs but also in making gods and goddesses and other celestial figures. We could adduce evidence in our support from the celebrated Dr. Ananda-Coomaraswamy:

"In Indian images, great significance is to be attached to gestures; a part of this

is very obvious, as appears if we contrast the stillness of a Buddha with the fluidity of Nataraja. This gesture symbolism derives directly from life The gods are of human imaging."

The human and divine figures carved on the walls of Indian temples are noted for their artistic excellence. Herein we find the profound sense of realism of Indian artists. Coomaraswamy notes this realistic trend: "Such hands and limbs of Indian images reflect the Indian physical type in their smoothness and flexibility and the nervousness of their vitality." This was due to our profound love for the individual and the concrete. We loved the individual in aesthetics and worshipped the abstract in metaphysics.

It is no wonder that the Krishnagore modellers should be true to such an aesthetic tradition and should show a wonderful skill in the representation of real life. Rabindranath Tagore testified to their matchless portrait-making in plaster and clay, and it is no exaggeration when he says that nowhere in the West had he seen such power of swift portrait-making so refreshingly true to the original. Shri K. C. Paul, the noted sculptor, made Tagore's portrait in about ten minutes' time.

This legacy of realism has not, however, been altogether advantageous, as it was responsible for the slow growth of diversified art movements in India. The faithful copying of life in art made art somewhat static. It must be admitted that faith in true presentation of life in clay and plaster was responsible not only for the good name the Krishnagore modellers enjoyed but also for whatever criticism they deserved. Till recently the majority of these artists could hardly rise above mere imitation in their works of art, though they earned great fame as mimics of life. When discerning people looked beyond imitation, for something other than a copy of life, in art, they decried these realistic art-patterns of Krishnagore. It is of great significance that the sympathetic Havell, the senior contemporary of Avanindranath Tagore,

could not appreciate this abject surrender of the artist to his sense of realism. It was Havell's studied opinion that these works lacked a robust display of imagination and were lop-sided. Havell advised Shri Jadunath Pal, the doyen of Krishnagore modellers, to put more imagination into his work. The business of art was not to copy life but to recreate it. Havell's pointer does reveal the innate weakness of this old art tradition of Bengal. What was a virtue in portrait-making became a sin in the larger context of general art.

It is heartening to note that the present generation of artists in Krishnagore realizes that they will have to transcend these categories of reality and unreality in art because art has nothing to do with reality in the ordinary sense of the term. Art creates its own reality and it has its own standard. It is futile to refer the excellence of artistic beauty to beauty in nature; for they are judged differently. A visit to the studios at Krishnagore on the banks of the Jalangi would reveal beyond doubt that these artists are no more confining themselves to copying reality in minute detail. The dancing damsels representing the various schools of Indian dancing, the brooding maid in a hut, the Three Musketeers, the searching heron and other specimens done by Shri Vishnu Pal, Shri K. C. Paul and Shri Mukti Pal will amply bear out that they follow life, but transcend it as well. They implicitly and unknowingly follow the old maxim enunciated anew by Avanindranath Tagore, that art must follow nature and at the same time transcend it. Thus their art must not today be considered in terms of "real and unreal." If it is real, its reality is different from the reality of life. The rigidity of nature gives place to a flexible contour in art. The artist rejects much of nature and selects his "content." The Krishnagore modellers of today do not present life but represent it—in the Aristotelian sense of "recreate." A new shape or form is presented by the artist, and thus the light that never was on sea or land illuminates his work. The subtle expression of the love-lorn damsel made of clay certainly does not represent life, but speaks of the artist's ever-moving imagination at work. This imagination created concrete individuals without presenting in them a true picture of life. Thus new

trends are discernible in the art of Krishnagore; they create new characters and new situations which are far superior to the "real" in life. They create an order of reality which far surpasses the ordinarily "real" in dignity and grandeur. Their realism has taken a new turn, which is quite in keeping with the ever-changing concept of art and its content.

Thailand

The Land and its People

Chandradhar Sharma writes in *Careers and Courses*:

"Thailand—the land of the white elephant"—it may sound very strange but there is no cause for being perplexed about it. It in no way stands for the proverbial meaning of the term "White Elephant." Thais are undisputably intelligent and industrious people. They are famous for their honesty and forwardness throughout the world. It is known as the land of white elephant, because it actually happens to be the home of this monstrous species. Its forests abound in white elephants. Tigers, leopards, bears, lions, deer are the other important denizens of the Thai forests. The forests cover 65 per cent of the total area of the country.

Land and Landscape

Thailand is a beautiful country where gilded, horned, and red-roofed temples rise out of green gardens, where giant trees and bamboos grow and where on moonlit nights canoes sail calmly on the shimmering waters of Mekong. Comprising an area of 198,247 sq. miles this land of the free people (Thai meaning free) offers opportunities to tourists of all tastes and temperaments. Its dancing dales, running brooks, towering cliffs, extensive meadows, and vast forests are things which none can afford to miss. The large number of spas and springs and wats and pagodas dotting the teak-clad shores are an added attraction.

Sandwiched between Burma in the West and Indo-China in the East, the country is noted for its bracing climate. The summer (March to May), rainy season (June to October) and winter (Nov. to Feb.) are the three distinct seasons. In the Southern Thailand, there are only two seasons; the summer and the rainy season.

People and Professions

The population of Thailand is 23,29,387 and is made up of Thais, Chinese, Indians and Malaysians. Thais account for ninety per cent of the population. The remainder consists of the immigrants from India, China, Malaya and Burma.

Thais are sturdy and short-statured people and belong to the Indo-Mongolian stock. Their figures are soft and rounded with prominent cheek bones and slanting eyes. Fishing and agriculture are the major occupations of the people. They are mainly engaged in lumbering and transporting the teak wood. Rice is the major crop and is also the main item of export. The country is also rich in mineral resources. Tin, silver, gold, wolfram, lead, copper, manganese, zinc, rubies and sapphires are the chief mineral deposits. However, only tin is extracted in commercial quantities and that also is restricted to the southern province of the country.

History

The history of Thailand begins with the colonisation of the country by the immigrants from India during the early centuries of the Christian era. Nothing exactly is known about the people inhabiting this area in the pre-Christian era. The Indians who mostly came from South India first settled in the Menam Valley lying beyond the River Chao Phya. It will be interesting to note that Indian settlers like the early European settlers in Africa and Australia did not embark upon a policy of repression of the local inhabitants. On the contrary they employed their traditional power of assimilation to absorb the local inhabitants. With the aid of their rich culture and cosmopolitan religion they were very successful in civilising the aboriginal Lawas. The Lawas were savages and belonged to the Mon-Khmer family of lower Burma. According to one account the Lawas were not the original settlers: they were rather preceded by Negritos who are now found only in the interiors of Malayan Peninsula.

Hindu Influence

Indian settlers cleared the jungles and established colonies, the remains of which can still be seen in the entire length and breadth of the country. Lopburi, Dvaravati, Rajbouri, and Chandaburi are a few of the many cities built by them. It was

through Thailand that Brahminical culture made inroads into the neighbouring countries of Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia and Malaya. A number of temples dedicated to Hindu Gods were erected during this era of Hindu glory. The magnificent remains of Angkor Wat in Cambodia and Borobudur in Java are reminiscent of the highly artistic talent and architectural superbness of the Hindu settlers. Thai culture, as a matter of fact, is nothing short of a variation of Hindu culture adjusted to local needs. The Indian imprint on Thai language and customs can still be traced with great ease. The names of the local people invariably have a Sanskrit suffix or prefix. Moreover, the ceremonies pertaining to birth, marriage and death, though Buddhist, are still Hindu in character. Thais like Hindus bathe their dead before cremation. Like Hindus libations of water are still made to the dead elders on the Songkran day.

Buddhism

Buddhism which is now the religion of the overwhelming majority of the Thais was also introduced by the missionaries

from India. Phra Uttra and Phra Sona were the first two Buddhist envoys from India to land in Thailand. Buddhism of Hinayana school was the first to enter Thailand. Hinayana continues to be the predominant religion of the area extending from Ceylon to Cambodia. In Japan, however, Hinayana school of Buddhism is not so popular.

Original Home of the Thais

The present-day Thai people were originally the inhabitants of the Yangtse Valley in South China. They were as a matter of fact masters of the areas extending from Yunan to Kwangtung. The famous Non-Chao Empire the occasional references to which are found in the history of South China was established by none else but an ancestor of the modern Thai nation. In time they descended to the plains of fertile valley of river Chao Phya. This process of immigration necessitated by the economic and political reasons was even and gradual. It was only towards the close of the 13th century that this mass of immigrants took the form of the nation in the modern sense of the word.

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Indraditya was the first Thai to conceive the idea of independence from the Khmers of Burma. He subsequently manoeuvred a revolt against the Khmer overlords and was ultimately successful in expelling the Khmers from Prades Thai. He established a dynasty which continued to rule till the middle of the 14th century. His illustrious son Rama Khamheng till today is considered to be the foremost hero of Thailand. Sukhodai was the seat of authority of this first Thai empire which extended from Menam Valley to Palembang in Indonesia. In 1350 Sukhodai dynasty was replaced by a new dynasty founded by Phra Chaou-Dong. The now ruined town of Ayudhya was the capital of this new empire which ruled the country for more than four centuries.

Golden Period

This era can be rightly called the Golden period of the Thai history. Art and architecture attained new heights. Large number of wats, temples and monasteries were raised at Nakon Pathom, Nakorn Shri thamaraj, Songkla, Sukhothai, Lampoon, Chiangmai, Pitsamiloke and Ayudhya. The Phra Budha Jinaraj temple at Pitsamiloke is probably the oldest in the country. The image is said to be over six centuries old and is famous for the exquisite craftsmanship embellishing it. The Emerald Buddha carved out of solid emerald-like translucent Jasper, enshrined in the Grand palace at Bangkok is another proof of the Thai craftsmanship.

Destruction of Ayudhya

In April 1767 the beautiful town of Ayudhya was completely sacked by the invading Burmese army. This invasion did great loss to the country in the way of destruction of the entire written records and literature. The invaders, however, had soon to retreat in the face of the valiant fight put up by Phra Chao Tak Sin, an undaunted soldier of the Chinese origin. Having driven away the invaders he established his capital at Thonburi on the Western bank of the Chao Phya River, opposite the present Bangkok.

Present Dynasty

He was succeeded by one of his generals, Chao Phya Chkra who founded the present ruling Chakri Dynasty. The kings of this dynasty are precisely known as Rama. He shifted the capital to the

eastern side of the river Menam, i.e., at Bangkok.

The first important king of this dynasty was Phra Chom Klao (1851-1860). Great progress in the fields of trade and commerce was registered during his regime. He reformed the administration pattern and evolved ways and means to develop a sense of national unity.

Visit to India

However, it was left to his son Chulalongkorn (Rama V) to establish a firm authority at home and cordial relations with the countries abroad.

The regular diplomatic contacts were for the first time established with the neighbouring countries and emissaries were sent to the West. Rama V visited India, the Land of Lord Rama, as well. He also went on a good will mission to Europe on two occasions (1897 and 1907).

By the close of the first decade of the present century Bangkok had become so important a point on the diplomatic map of the world that on the occasion of the coronation of King Vajiravudh (Rama VI) in December, 1911, the gathering of European representatives at Bangkok was the greatest ever before seen in Asia. The new king launched upon a number of schemes aiming at the economic and social uplift of the country. As a matter of fact the Thai nation in the present form is more a creation of this era (1910-1925) rather than that of any other.

King Vajiravudh was succeeded by his brother Prajadhipok (Rama VII). Prajadhipok had a great admiration for the western thought and ideas especially those pertaining to economic and social justice. Soon after his accession to the throne he ordered the formation of a Supreme Council of State. The Council was instituted mainly to act as a permanent advisory body to the sovereign. The king in all matters pertaining to the State consulted the members of the Council and respected their advice. He revised the earlier trade pacts which on the whole were not favourable to the country. As a result of these modified treaties Thailand succeeded in obtaining full fiscal autonomy.

The End of Absolute Monarchy

While going through the modern history of Thailand one fact must always be remembered that Armed Forces play a

dominant part in deciding the political issues of this country. As in the countries of South America, the coups here are also very frequent and common. They have, however, always been bloodless. The first coup d'état was staged on 24th June, 1932; the aim being the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. The king, however, readily agreed to it and on the 10th December, 1932 he signed the new constitution guaranteeing constitutional monarchy to the country. This constitution has since been repealed, reinstituted and revised on occasions more than one. This constitution was replaced by a new constitution on 10th May, 1946 which in turn was superseded by a revised constitution on the assumption of power by Field-Marshal Pibul Songgram following the coup d'état of 8th November, 1947. In 1951, the constitution of 1932 was restored following the coup d'état of 30th November 1951. Under the 1932 constitution the Upper House was abolished and the People's Assembly constituted. The Assembly consisted of equal number of elected and nominated members. The term of the elected members was to be four years.

Rama VI abdicated in 1935 and was succeeded by his nephew King Ananda (Fama VII). On the untimely demise of King Ananda, his brother Prince Phum-bul Aduldej succeeded to the throne on 5th May, 1950. He was born on 5th December 1927 and is the reigning King.

The era of coups heralded in 1932 still continues. Marshal Pibul Songgram was replaced by Pote Sarasin who in turn was replaced by General Kritti Kachora. The recent coup d'état has put Marshal Sarit Thanarat at the helm of affairs.

Art and Architecture

Thais as we know are a gay people. They love music, songs and graceful movements, rather art in every form. Its proof is found in their colourful festivals, beautiful gardens and the artistic wealth enriching various pagodas and wats (temples). Both art and architecture and the language and customs bear a marked Hindu influence. The classical form of Thai drama for instance very much resembles the ancient Sanskrit drama. Like the form the theme too is so often Indian. Fables and incidents from Ramayana, Mahabharata and other Puranic scriptures are popular

themes with the exponents of classical form of Thai drama.

Khon, Rabam, and Lakon are the three major subdivisions of the Thai theatre. Khon is a masked play whereas Rabam is mainly a character dance. On the other hand Lakon is an operatic ballet. However, the common point about the three forms is their symbolic character, i.e., signs and gestures are employed to express different ideas and emotions.

Thai architecture, as already stated, very much resembles the temple architecture of ancient India. The Wat, Viharn, Stupa, Sala and Mondope are the major architectural patterns. The wat consists of a temple (Bote) flanked by a congested colony of attendant monks. Viharn on the other hand is a huge assembly hall wherein Buddhist sermons are delivered. Around the viharn are sala and stupa. Sala is like the Indian *Dharm Shala* and is likewise utilised as a resting place. Mondope is used either as a library or to enshrine the sacred relics. It is very much like the Mandapam in South India.

Politics

Politics in Thailand is not a politics of the people and the parties. It is rather of the Marshals and the princes. Unlike the Greeks, the politics is not a popular subject with the Thais. They have more than enough rice to eat and a large number of rivers to fish in spare moments.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Rice Cultivation in China Observed by a Japanese Expert

Mr. Terada, Leader of the Japanese Agricultural Technician Group who had been engaged in technical guidance of rice cultivation in China for six months at the invitation of the Chinese Agricultural Association, commented as follows on his return to Tokyo at the Press Conference on agricultural condition in China:

Rice cultivation in China has been making a remarkable progress for the last two years; however, the general standard seems to fall far short of that in Japan. The best record of rice crop in Japan being 17 Pyoo per 1 Tan in 1955. According what we were informed of at a collec-

tive farm, the crop was at best approximately 10 Pyoo per 1 Tan. The planting of rice plants is conducted in such a jumbled-up way that proper weeding is sometimes made difficult.

The aim of the Japanese Technician Group was to apply the Japanese method of rice cultivation in such a way as to best fitted for the climatic condition in China and to show in practice every process of rice cultivation from seeding to harvest. We could achieve a very good success with the yield of 12 Pyoo per 1 Tan, to a great surprise of the people in the state farm. We took with us from Japan about 40 varieties of seedrice and many of them were found suitable for the climatic condition in China. Much remains still to

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be done for the improvement of rice plant breeding in China and the Chinese people expressed the hope to make use of every seedrice we took there.

In China, they adopted *warm seed bed method* with covering this year, to which our technique made a very useful contribution. Their manuring method is also left far behind and artificial fertilizer such as Potash fertilizer was scarcely used at sowing time. Such being the case, we put much stress on the improvement of manuring method and, I believe, our effort produced an effective result.

The Marxian Concept of Democracy

Julius Smulkstys observes in *Lithuanus*, a college quarterly published by the Lithuanian Student Association :

In orthodox Marxist philosophy, democracy occupies an important position in the evolution and goal of social dialectics.

The history of more recent times is marked by three modes of production, which are responsible for the existence of the feudal, bourgeois and proletarian societies. Each society has a roughly corresponding form of political system: monarchic, liberal-democratic and the proletarian dictatorship.

This interpretation of the bourgeois and proletarian states forms the basis of the Marxists' contention that a proletarian dictatorship is far more democratic than the typical bourgeois democracy. The dictatorship operates only against the bourgeoisie, which constitutes a small fraction of the total population.

Marx mentioned democracy as the idea, goal of social dialectics: "Democracy is the solution of the riddle of all constitutions. Here the constitution is . . . constantly reduced to the real men, the real people, and posited as their own work." With the abolition of classes under the proletarian dictatorship, the state ceases to serve class interests.

The realization of communism is accompanied by a simultaneous change in nature, which with the disappearance of classes becomes depoliticized.

There is sharp disagreement among Marxists themselves as to whether Marx rejected the possibility of the realization of communism through democratic method. For instance, Marx argued for the revolutionary method and held such democratic reforms as universal suffrage, direct legislation, etc., to be "a mere echo of the middle-class People's Party."

(After the unsuccessful experience of the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels seem to have concluded that in countries where a liberal democracy was firmly established, there was a possibility of the 'proletariat coming to power through nonviolent means.'))

At times Lenin called democracy the most convenient arena for the class struggle, a test of the proletarian consciousness, a factor in sharpening class antagonisms. On other occasions he regarded democracy merely as a bourgeois instrument for deceiving the working class, a device employed for the purpose of corrupting the proletariat.

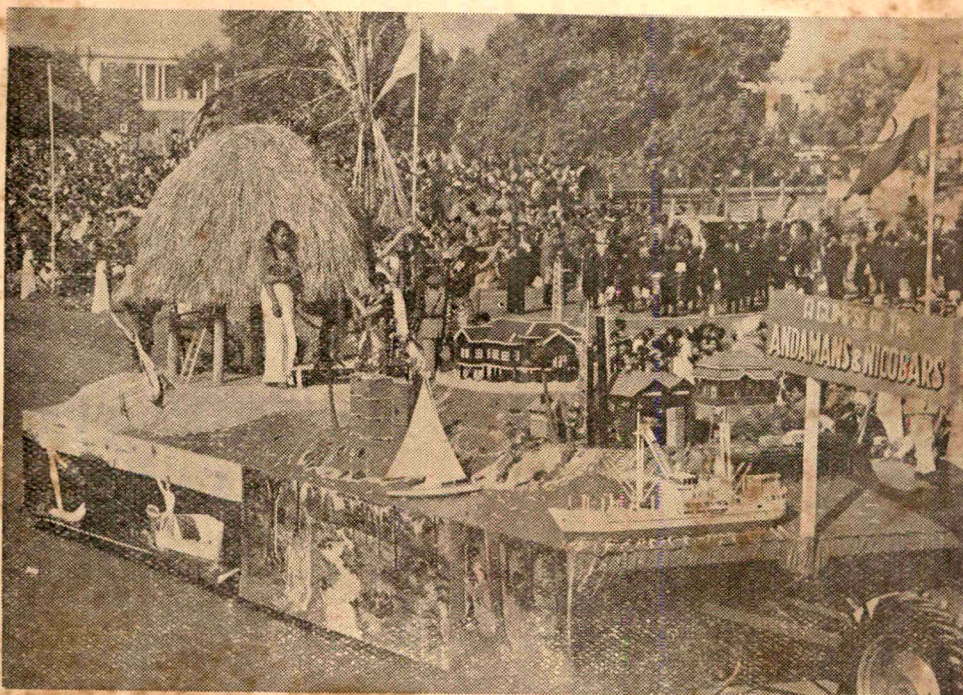
This constant ambivalence toward democracy can best be explained by the fact that Lenin did not consider ideology an important factor in social processes. For him, ideology was at once cause and effect.

After the October Revolution, Lenin and his collaborators showed that once they had acquired power and were faced with the necessity of putting their former declarations to the test of practical politics, all their earlier notions about the democratic method had completely disappeared.

It is interesting to note that today Communists do not hesitate to proclaim themselves to be the only true democrats and the countries in which they are in power to be democracies. This insistence on a monopoly of perfect democracy is congenial to the present institutions and practices—aimed at the creation of the "new" man and the "new" society—of the Communist-controlled states.



The Santhals of Bihar whose *Shikar* dance won for them the trophy in the Folk Dance festival held in New Delhi



The tableau showing important features of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Republic Day, 1959



ON THEIR WAY TO THE MARKET

By Satindra Nath Law

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NOTES

THE MORAL BUDGET ✓

Many years ago, about three decades back to be exact, the ancient State of Persia got a new King of Kings, a new royal lineage and a new name. The king was Reza Shah Pahlevi, the new dynasty—which continues today—was the Pahlavi Dynasty and the new name was Iran.

The new ruler found that although the whole imperial set-up and the entire administrative set-up had been changed from top to bottom, to the extent of abolishing the time-honoured system of feudal rule and exactions, the ancient system of corruption continued. Reza Shah was an iron-gloved autocrat and his will was the law, even to the extent of abolishing the picturesque head gear of the Iranians, modification of the *purdah* system and curbing the power of the *mullahs*. But even so, he found that corruption flourished everywhere, only like the equally ancient system of Persian irrigation by *Qanats*, it had gone underground and spread far and wide in a subterranean way.

The Shah decided on stern measures. The few—very few—persons who were totally and absolutely in his control and confidence, were formed into an exclusive Corruption Investigation Bureau, under the guidance of a "Ministry of Corruption," and he himself took charge. Steel containers, shaped like letter boxes, were placed all over the country, of which the locks were sealed with the dreaded Imperial Seal, which were only opened in his presence. Any person was at liberty, without let or hindrance, to put in any complaints

whatsoever in them, and the prevention or questioning of any one posting a complaint was a crime. At the end of definite periods the containers were replaced by fresh ones and the old ones were taken to Teheran, opened and the contents sifted.

The system seemed ridiculous but it worked. Even the Prime Minister was caught and severely punished and the psychological effect was tremendous. The fear of God—and the Shah—descended on the corrupt and at last the tide of corruption began to ebb. World War II stopped this measure of Reza Shah from attaining its logical conclusion and so the tale stops here.

We are not suggesting any such Draconian measure for our country. For one thing we have the Party System here, which means all-powerful political corruption. Even the secret ballot boxes in elections are not free from tampering, so what is the use of sealed containers? Then again, on whom the final decision in a Democracy?

Otherwise the times are ripe for a Ministry of Corruption on the Reza Shah model. Corruption has reached an all-time high and *paper is scarce*, so normal-sized containers might contain the letters! We would reiterate that paper is all-nigh unprocurable in the open market and scarce and of poor quality in the black market, as evidenced by this issue of our journal.

In all sincerity, however, we would emphasise on the necessity of a moral census of the people and their titular heads of state of this shibboleth-ridden nation.

The Union Budget

The Union budget for the year 1959-60 while casting no immediate gloom on the economy of the country, still does not brighten up the prospects of the future. The economy of the country is already much too darkened by the sad tales of poverty and unemployment, falling production and larger imports, rising costs of living and chronic deficits in the balance of payments position. While the larger doses of deficit financing have tended to widen the disparity between different income groups, the mounting public debt has further encouraged the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few. The so-called picture of prosperity drawn by the Finance Minister is more a matter of economic fiction than a matter of economic reality. It is said that the national income has gone up by 18.4 per cent during the First Five-Year Plan and by 5.1 per cent during the first year of the Second Plan. The per capita income has also increased by about 11 per cent during the period 1951-56. But such things signify nothing and the rise in monetary prosperity is unreal because it has not raised the national prosperity in terms of reality. The authorities point out that the boosting up of the stock exchange shares indicates the national prosperity. But the stock exchanges today do not represent the nation, they are the handiwork of a few powerful monopolists in the country who play foul and fair on such exchanges.

The imports are restricted resulting in the shortage of consumer goods. People in consequence turn towards stock exchanges to employ their excess money and thus the speculative rise in prices of stock exchange securities by several times cannot be regarded as a true index of the rise in national prosperity. The excess income of the rich today is finding its way into gold holdings and hoardings and to that extent the country is deprived of the benefit of capital formation in terms of net addition to the productive capital of the country. The revenue income of the Union as well as of the States is progressively increasing, mostly through new taxation measures, but a large portion of this increased budgetary resources goes into waste being spent on unproductive projects. The new budget for the

year 1959-60 is to be appraised in these contexts.

For the financial year 1958-59, against the budgeted revenue of Rs. 767.99 crores, the actuals thus are likely to amount to Rs. 728.20 crores. The expenditure met from the revenue is placed at Rs. 788.15 crores against the original estimate of Rs. 796.01 crores. In the result, the deficit of Rs. 28.02 crores provided in the Budget is likely to rise to Rs. 59.95 crores. The increase of Rs. 31.93 crores in the revenue deficit for the year, states the Finance Minister, is entirely due to a fall in the anticipated revenue, mostly in the revenue from Customs. But the overall deficit for the current year is now estimated at Rs. 255 crores against Rs. 200 crores assumed in the budget.

The new budget for the financial year 1959-60 is geared to the implementation of the Plan and this consideration necessarily conditions the budget. The Union Finance Minister is mainly concerned with the creation and mobilisation of resources for the Plan and the budget may now be taken to have a purpose, the purpose of mobilising resources for the economic development of the country. But from that viewpoint, the budget has not gone far and seems to be more concerned with the consolidation of steps taken in previous years. It aims at simplifying some of the undesirable elements in budgetary scheme. While there will be an appreciation for the endeavour at simplification of the tax structure, there will also be general regret in so far as the budget failed to tackle boldly the problem of mobilising resources.

The budget for the year 1959-60 estimates a total revenue of Rs. 757.51 crores and an expenditure of Rs. 839.18 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 81.67 crores in the revenue account. The Finance Minister has summarised the overall budgetary position next year in these words: "At the existing level of taxation and expenditure, there will be a revenue deficit of Rs. 82 crores. Capital outlay will amount to Rs. 420 crores, loans to State Government and others to Rs. 525 crores and debt payments to Rs. 130 crores. This total outgo of Rs. 1,157 crores will be met to the extent of Rs. 111 crores by repayments of loans to Government, Rs. 240 crores from

public borrowing in India, Rs. 85 crores from small savings, Rs. 337 crores from foreign assistance, Rs. 95 crores from the issue of special securities to meet the payment of additional subscription to the International Monetary Fund and Rs. 44 crores from miscellaneous receipts under debt and deposit heads, leaving a deficit of Rs. 245 crores which will be met by the issue of treasury bills.

With the continuing restrictions on imports, the downward trend in the revenue from Customs is likely to continue. For the coming year, the budget has taken credit for a sum of Rs. 130 crores from Customs against the current year's revised estimate of Rs. 136 crores. Union excise duties next year are likely to show an improvement of Rs. 5.85 crores. The receipts from corporation tax and income tax would be higher by Rs. 6.50 crores. Under the other principal heads of revenue the receipts next year would remain almost the same.

The summary of final estimates is given below in lakhs of rupees:

	REVENUE		
	Budget 1958-59	Revised 1958-59	Budget 1959-60
Customs	170.00	136.00	130.00
			+2.77 *
Union Excise Duties	304.76	301.15	307.00
			+18.08 *
Corporation Tax	55.50	56.00	58.75
Taxes on income other than Corporation Tax	84.53	86.70	87.63
Estate Duty	12	12	14
Tax on Wealth	12.50	10.00	10.50
			+2.50 *
Tax on Railway Fares	7	11	11
Tax on Expenditure	3.00	1.00	1.00
Tax on Gift	2.00	1.20	1.20
Opium	2.87	3.31	3.92
Interest	6.60	8.36	10.75
Civil Administration	44.24	45.63	35.80
Currency and Mint	36.62	34.76	55.60
Civil Works	2.87	2.87	3.00
Other sources of Revenue	32.93	29.21	41.93

Posts and Telegraphs—

Net contribution to general Revenues	2.34	5.38	4.20
Railways—Net contribution to general Revenues	7.04	6.40	5.98

Total Revenue 767.99 728.20 757.51
+23.35 *

EXPENDITURE

	Budget 1958-59	Revised 1958-59	Budget 1959-60
Direct Demands on Revenue	94.45	99.63	101.65
Irrigation	13	16	16
Debt Services	40.00	42.06	57.88
Civil Administration	200.44	197.72	222.73
Currency and Mint	8.50	9.14	9.83
Civil Works and Miscellaneous Public Improvements	18.71	18.32	19.35
Pensions	9.40	9.53	9.63
Miscellaneous:			
Expenditure on Displaced Persons	20.48	24.75	19.69
Other Expenditure	50.33	57.81	71.30
Grants to States etc.	47.03	46.95	49.02
Extraordinary Items	28.40	15.21	35.26
Defence Services (Net)	278.14	266.87	242.68
Total Expenditure	796.01	788.15	839.18
Deficit (—)	—28.02	—59.95	—58.32

* Effect of budget proposals.

Since the year 1957-58, the budget deficits have been larger. This is owing to significant contraction of revenue coinciding with an increase in the quantum of development expenditure met from revenue. In the past the comfortable revenue surpluses were partly due to the resilience of revenue and partly to shortfalls in expenditure. Both these factors are now ceasing to operate. The larger revenue income in the past was mainly under Customs. But because of the drastic cuts in imports and the progressive reduction or withdrawal of export duties, Customs revenue has suddenly contracted and is likely to remain static for some years to come.

The Union budget is now Plan-conscious,

and the needs of the Plan determine the shape of the budget. It is no longer a simple account of Government house-keeping. In the words of the Finance Minister, "Each budget marks a stage in the country's continuous development and has to be judged by the contribution it makes to this development. In a sense, therefore, the stage that has been reached in the implementation of the Plan conditions this budget." India has to go forward with the Plan and this is the major factor round which the budget has to be built. India's problem today is a crisis of development, a crisis of resources. The country has, however, passed through the most difficult phase, the Finance Minister believes, in its economic development. He thinks that these difficulties are purely transitional and should act as a spur to greater effort on the part of the community.

Taxation Measures: The yield of additional taxation undertaken over the last three years at the Centre and in the States is estimated to aggregate to about Rs. 900 crores over the five-year period. The tax proposals made by the Finance Minister in the budget for the year 1959-60 will yield a total revenue of about Rs. 26 crores and this amount will cover only one-fourth of the revenue deficit of Rs. 81.67 crores. The direct taxation measures have reached the maximum point and it is time some relief is granted to the low and middle income group who are hit hard by the spate of both direct and indirect taxes of the Union as well as of the States. The progressively rising inflationary spiral, strengthened by mounting deficit financing, further acts as a taxation measure depriving the fixed income groups of surplus. The exemption limit in their case should have been raised to give them some relief in the ordeal of development. The tax structure of the country deserves to be broad-based so as to distribute the incidence equitably among all the different income groups as far as practicable. India's agricultural income constitutes about 50 per cent of the country's national income and still this sector does not have to pay at all any direct tax. The big landholders today are better off than the ordinary clerks in the cities and towns. The more prosperous land-owners are grossly undertaxed, although they reap the benefit of

betterment outlays and higher prices for agricultural commodities. The income from taxation measures constitutes only 10 per cent of the country's national income and of this nearly two-thirds are in the form of indirect taxes. Of the tax proposals for the coming year, the indirect tax changes are estimated to yield the major portion of the additional revenue and the proposed changes in the indirect tax are primarily aimed at simplifying the direct tax system.

The abolition of the Wealth Tax on companies and also the tax on excess dividends will be welcomed by the corporate sector. The wealth tax on companies has been subjected to severe criticisms. Companies making no profits are even required to pay this tax. The wealth tax has been regarded as a disincentive to investment and capital formation. The wealth tax on companies together with the wealth tax on shareholdings resulted in double taxation and the abolition of wealth tax on companies will eliminate this anomaly. The tax on excess dividends was first introduced by Sri Chintaman Desmukh. Following the withdrawal of the income tax rebate on undistributed profits, the tax on excess dividends was imposed so as to provide a measure by which a differential tax in favour of undistributed profits could still be maintained, although the rebate on undistributed profits had been abolished. The tax on bonus shares was another measure of integrating the taxation structure of the country and this was also introduced by Shri Desmukh. While ordinary bonus issues are subject to tax, bonus issues which are made out of share premium account are not now taxed. With effect from 1960-61 these issues will also be subject to taxation like other bonus issues.

Taxation of Company Profits and Dividends: The practice of grossing has undergone some changes. At present an Indian company is generally required to pay income tax at 30 per cent plus a surcharge of 1.5 per cent and super-tax at 20 per cent of its total income. When dividends are declared out of the balance after payment of these taxes, a portion of the income tax paid by the company is deemed to have been paid by the shareholders. In the assessments of the shareholders, the dividends received by them are included in their income

after being "grossed" and they are credited with the amounts deemed to have been paid by the company on their behalf. This process of grossing is somewhat complicated. The dividends themselves might have been paid out of reserves accumulated over some years, which again complicates the determination of the effective rate at which the profits have been taxed. The legal fiction of deeming the income tax paid by the company as having been paid by the shareholders and the complicated process of grossing the dividends received by the latter will be abolished. The present scheme of grossing of dividends will cease to operate from 1st April, 1960, in respect of dividends declared for the accounting year relevant to the assessment year 1960-61 and subsequent years.

The wealth-tax payable by individuals and Hindu undivided families will be increased by half a per cent at each slab with effect from 1959-60. The new rates of wealth-tax on individuals will be 1 per cent on wealth in excess of Rs. 2 lakhs but up to Rs. 12 lakhs; $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the excess between Rs. 12 lakhs and Rs. 22 lakhs and 2 per cent on any excess above that. For Hindu undivided families, corresponding changes will be made. The extra revenue on this account will amount to Rs. 2.5 crores.

The revenue yield from the Expenditure tax has been quite disappointing. Prof. Kaldor has pointed out some loopholes of this tax. There are too many exemptions which defeat the purpose of the tax. The budget proposes to withdraw some of the exemptions which are now allowed in the case of Expenditure tax. Henceforth the husband, wife and minor children shall be regarded as one unit for the exemption limit of Rs. 30,000 in the matter of non-taxable expenditure and not as separate assesseees if they have incomes in their individual rights.

In the field of indirect taxation, the budget proposals are mostly by way of re-adjustments of rates and concessions in the existing duties of excise. There will be an increase in the duty on vegetable product from Rs. 7 per cwt. to Rs. 8.75 per cwt., with a corresponding adjustment in the exemptions in favour of the small

producers. The additional revenue will be Rs. 95 lakhs. Khandsari sugar is now exempt from excise duty but pays the usual sales taxes. The Finance Minister states that there has always been fiscal preference in favour of this sugar but, with the recent substantial increase in the duty on crystal sugar, this preference has further widened resulting in the shift of production to this form of sugar. There are strong reasons for reducing the margin and this is being done by the levy of the basic duty of Rs. 5.60 per cwt., with an additional duty of 70 naye paise in replacement of the sales taxes. The basic duty will yield Rs. 1.82 crores and the additional duty, which will accrue in its entirety to the States, Rs. 25 lakhs. In order to raise the competitive strength of Indian tea in the overseas markets, certain relief has been granted to the tea industry. There will be a readjustment in the rate of excise duties on the teas grown in certain areas of the country and to reduce, at the same time, the effective rate of export duties from 26 naye paise per lb., to 24 naye paise per lb.

Plan Outlay and Resources

The *Economic Survey*, 1958-59, sums up the latest position of the Plan outlay and resources. The National Development Council has decided, on the basis of the Planning Commission's estimates, that the total outlay for the five-year period should be limited to Rs. 4,500 crores as compared to the outlay of Rs. 4,800 crores that was originally envisaged. Outlays in the first three years of the Plan are estimated as follows:

	In crores of rupees		
	Centre	States	Total
1956-57 (actuals)	342	297	639
1957-58 (expected)	500	346	846
1958-59 (expected)	582	399	981
Total	1,424	1,042	2,466

This leaves a balance of Rs. 2,034 crores of outlay to be incurred in the next two years. There has been in each of the

three years a shortfall in actual outlay as compared to the budgetary provision. The total of the Plan allocations for the Centre and the States for 1959-60 has been placed at Rs. 1,092 crores. This estimate takes into account the expenditure on the steel projects in the public sector. In the memorandum submitted to the Development Council in November last, the Planning Commission estimated the total available resources for the five-year period at Rs. 4,220 crores as against the earlier estimate of Rs. 4,260 crores. The estimate of Rs. 4,220 crores was made up of domestic resources at Rs. 2,028 crores, external assistance at Rs. 1,100 crores and deficit financing of Rs. 1,092 crores. Excluding deficit financing, the total resources of the Centre were estimated by the Planning Commission at Rs. 2,354 crores and for the States at Rs. 774 crores.

To finance a plan outlay of Rs. 4,500 crores would require an expenditure during the next two years of Rs. 1,088 crores at the Centre and Rs. 946 crores in the States. The total gap in resources was estimated by the Planning Commission at Rs. 280 crores, of which Rs. 198 crores was expected to be at the Centre and Rs. 82 crores in the States.

The *Economic Survey* states that a substantial tax effort has been made over the last three years. The yield of additional taxation undertaken over the three years at the Centre and in the States as expected to aggregate to about Rs. 900 crores over the five-year period. Market borrowings which suffered a setback in 1957-58 registered a striking improvement in 1958-59. Small savings have also improved. The net collections up to January 1959 were Rs. 47.1 crores, that is, Rs. 9.3 crores more than for the same period in 1957-58. The amount of external assistance coming into the budget has also gone up year by year. But still the budgetary deficit over the first three years is estimated at about Rs. 950 crores. The deficit in 1957-58 was exceptionally heavy. The position of resources in 1958-59 was difficult. The *Survey* points out that the size of the budgetary deficit in any particular

year is not necessarily a measure of the inflationary impact of all governmental operations on the economy in that year, especially as there is a time lag between the contractionist effect on the economy of the sales of the commodities thus obtained and the budgetary accounting of the receipts. But the creation of money incomes ahead of increases in production has to be kept down to the unavoidable minimum, especially as the foreign reserves have fallen to a low level.

Public revenues have been higher significantly over the last three years, partly as a result of the tax measures adopted and partly in consequence of the rise in money incomes. The proportion of public revenues to national income has gone up from 9.1 per cent in 1956-58 to about 10.1 per cent in 1958-59. But this increase has been absorbed more or less by the increase in non-development expenditures. As a result, the reliance on borrowings from the public, from the banking system and from foreign countries and institutions for financing the Plan has tended to increase.

The *Economic Survey* shows that the sterling balances held by the Reserve Bank declined by Rs. 540 crores over the first three years of the Second Plan, despite the accommodation of Rs. 95 crores received from the International Monetary Fund and an acceleration of the pension payments by the U.K. which brought in Rs. 35 crores. The total external assistance authorised up to the end of January 1959 comes to Rs. 1,018 crores. This includes the assistance made available as result of the August Conference in Washington. There was, in addition, a carry-over of Rs. 193 crores of assistance authorised during the first Plan period. Of this total of Rs. 1,211 crores, Rs. 479 crores were utilised between April 1956 and September 1958. The implementation of the second Plan will, on present estimates, have involved external assistance of the order of Rs. 1,500 crores, despite the large draft on foreign exchange reserves. In other words of the total investment, public and private, which may turn out to be about the level

of Rs. 6,200 crores envisaged in the Plan over the Plan period, as much as one-third would be accounted for by external assistance and the utilisation of past savings in the form of foreign exchange reserves.

In 1958-59, the deficit financing amounted to Rs. 255 crores and in the coming year it would be about Rs. 245 crores. Recently, the five Creditor Nations have agreed to give India further loan assistance of Rs. 166 crores (or \$300 million). This amount is estimated to meet India's outstanding external commitments of foreign exchange requirements. The November estimate of the Planning Commission placed the total deficit financing at Rs. 1,092 crores. But up to the fourth year of the second Plan, the total amount of deficit financing would come to about Rs. 1,195 crores and in the last year there will be a further dose of deficit financing. And thus the expenditure exceeds even the latest revised estimates. Again, the foreign exchange spending has also exceeded the revised estimates. The November estimate placed the need of external assistance at Rs. 1,100 crores. The *Economic Survey* places it at Rs. 1,500 crores. Taking into account the latest grant of \$300 million and the assistance under P.L. 480, the external assistance received by India would come to nearly Rs. 1600 crores. These indicate that outlays are always overstepping the estimates and as a result inflationary gap between the excess of monetary income of the people and the availability of consumer goods has become a continued feature. There must have been leakages in foreign exchange spendings and that is why notwithstanding large carry-overs and fresh grants, India is handicapped on account of shortage of foreign exchanges.

Rise in Civil Expenditure

The country has just reasons to be anxious about the steep rise in civil expenditure of the Central and State Governments. The fact that the rate of increase of expenditure has always tended to outstrip the rate of increase of revenue goes only to add to such anxiety. The total civil expenditure of the Government of

India went up by nearly Rs. 91 crores in two years up to 1958-59; it is estimated to go up further by Rs. 75.22 crores in the coming year (1959-60). The expenditure on civil administration alone rose from Rs. 35.5 crores in 1948-49 to Rs. 197.22 crores in 1958-59 and is estimated to exceed Rs. 222.73 crores next year. The Finance Minister has defended this increase without being able to explain its justification. His defence of the increase in civil expenditure is based on the argument that nearly Rs. 130 crores out of it account for the Plan expenditure on social services such as education and health and Rs. 82 crores represent the allocation to the States from the Central revenues. But he does not explain the reasons for more than 600 per cent increase in the expenditure on civil administration over the relatively short period of ten years.

There is no reference in the Minister's speech to the excessive increase in the number of officers and employees of the various Ministries to which attention has been drawn by Acharya Kripalani and Shri Feroze Gandhi. "While before independence a department was managed by one Secretary and a joint Secretary," Acharya Kripalani observes, "today, we have Principal Secretaries, Secretaries, Special Secretaries, Additional Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries, Joint Secretaries, etc. In some departments we have over them all a Secretary-General. What is missing is a Secretary Extraordinary! But perhaps all the additional secretaries are extra-ordinary! They have been unearthed after independence." Following Parkinson's Law this numerical rise of officers has been paralleled by a rise in the number of subordinate employees. In course of the past two years, as Shri Gandhi has pointed out, the number of personnel in the Finance Ministry alone increased by 15,000. Maintaining that the staff requirements of the various Union Ministries have gone up out of all proportion with work, he quotes the following figures of personnel employed as on December 31, 1957: Commerce and Industry—9,562; Education and Scientific Research—14,909; Finance—82,000; Auditor-General's Office—30,000; Food and Agriculture—18,258; Health—5,500; Home—14,383; Information and Broadcasting—8,262; Irrigation and Power—10,048; Rehabilitation—

6,705; Transport and Communication—218,000; Works, Housing and Supply—39,471; Defence (civil employees)—270,000. There is extreme disproportion in the wage structure of these Government servants. According to the statistics cited by Shri Gandhi the salaries of the highly-paid Government servants (1.7 per cent of the total number of employees) account for 13.5 per cent of the total wage bill of the Government, while the appropriation on account of the salaries of the remaining 98.3 per cent comes to 86.5 per cent of the total wage bill.

It would be mis-leading to conclude from the above that the rise in civil expenditure has been due solely to the increase in the number of personnel employed in the various Ministries. The love of pomp and grandeur and the luxurious habits of the Ministers have made no mean contribution to this rise. The Ministers and the Senior Civil Servants maintain a fleet of cars which are hardly always necessary for efficient and economical administration. A lot of money is also spent in the installation and maintenance of air-conditioning plants in Government offices and buildings. Incompetence and mismanagement again not infrequently tend to inflate the cost of administration. The basic cause of this persistent tendency for administrative expenditure to rise beyond all reasonable proportions lies in the trends towards extreme centralization of all activities in the country which gives rise to a lot of unnecessary and unproductive paper work. Centralization, bureaucracy and extravagance are inseparable from one another.

Inquest on Steel

The Thirty-third Report of the Estimates Committee of the (Second) Lok Sabha relating to the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel is a document of the greatest public importance. Its detailed analysis of the working of the Ministry and the Public Sector in the all-important steel industry illuminates several aspects of the functioning of Government Departments and the nationalized undertakings which generally remain obscured from the public view. The report would enable Parliament to take stock of the situation and to suggest mea-

sures for improvement in the administration of public industrial undertakings.

The Committee has expressed general dissatisfaction at the manner in which the Ministry has handled the matter of the installation of three steel plants at Durgapur, Rourkela and Bhilai. It has referred to failures both in matters of policy and execution. From the evidence tendered before the Committee it has concluded that if the decision to set up steel plants had been taken in time, they would have cost 40 per cent to 50 per cent less than they would actually do. In the initial stages even the requirements of steel could not be assessed properly with the result that much valuable time was lost in preparing projects and in revising them while the world prices of plants were rising and finished steel was being imported at the sacrifice of much-needed foreign exchange. When ultimately the installation of the steel plants was decided upon in principle there was no uniformity in the approach to the foreign parties so that three different methods were followed in negotiating with German manufacturers, the Soviet Government and the British Consortium leading to a lot of avoidable expenditure. "It is not clear," the Committee says, "why the method of appointing a large Expert Committee to study the Russian offer which yielded good results was not followed in the case of other two negotiations (with the German and the British). Indeed it is regrettable that the other two had undesirable features"

If the Planning of the projects was so much faulty, their execution was not far better. The estimates were extremely defective and the selection of contractors equally unhappy. Within a short time the estimates of the steel projects went up from Rs. 353 crores to Rs. 439 crores, i.e., to the extent of about 25 per cent while the foreign exchange component increased by about 28 per cent excluding Rs. 38 crores, the estimated foreign exchange component of the cost of ancillaries. The Committee is not satisfied with the explanation offered for such an increase in the estimated cost and has called for a reassessment of the estimates to find out the real reasons for the increase. It is strange to note that estimates of important items had not been

indicated to Parliament. The Committee has been "particularly surprised to find that even the fees of consultants were not included in the original estimates," when they had been put up for the approval of Parliament.

The situation was worst in the Rourkela project where some of the contracts had extraordinary provisions. By virtue of one contract, the contractors could claim hire charge for certain equipments which would exceed their cost price by Rs. 15 lakhs. In another instance an additional expenditure of Rs. 2.62 crores had to be incurred due to the shifting of the site; no adequate reply has been given to the Committee's question as to why the site had not been carefully examined before the work of installation had been begun. There was failure even in the actual work of installation. Thus while the extent of plant and machinery received differs from project to project, the percentage of machinery installed out of that is 60 per cent in Durgapur, while at Rourkela and Bhilai it is 30 and 10 per cent respectively.

The Committee has been struck by the fact that "an important aspect of the projects, viz., the association of Indians in the Planning and designing work has not been given the attention it deserved."

The Committee ascribes this failure largely to the organizational set up through which the projects have been sought to be implemented. Referring to the composition of the Hindusthan Steel Private Ltd., it says that it is "strange that the administration of Rs. 560 crore steel projects rests largely with two to four officials or erstwhile officials of the Government who have had no previous experience of steel industry, or of any industry, for that matter." It has called for the termination of the association of Secretariat officials with the Board of Directors which blurs the responsibilities of the company and the Government and thereby vitiate the very purpose of forming a company. It has suggested for a more thorough examination of the various aspects of the three steel projects by a team of experts.

Basis of Corruption ✓

The Union Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, spoke like a candid friend when he was

inaugurating the Third Annual Convention of the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen in Patna. Urging on the railwaymen to discharge their duties and responsibilities honestly and sincerely in their own interests and in the larger interests of the country he told them that the grounds of their complaints would largely disappear if they on their part tried to remove the grounds of public complaint against the railway services in India. The situation in Indian railways, Shri Desai added, had shown little improvement since his student days and corruption was as rampant as ever, not being "confined to any particular part of the country. Every railway station has its own fixed rates. If it was four annas during my student days, it is possibly a rupee now."

The Finance Minister deserves praise for the fact that in pointing out their shortcomings to the railwaymen he did not mince his words but frankly gave out his mind. The railwaymen would do well to consider his suggestions for the improvement of service in the railway with utmost seriousness. The country would certainly expect of them to do all in their powers to root out the evil of corruption in railway services which causes so much suffering to the people.

It would be unwise however to restrict attention upon corruption in the railways only, as if other sectors of public services are free from its corroding effects. Far from it. It would be difficult to mention any branch of public services that is not afflicted by this disease. There is again no room for the belief that the Private Sector either can claim any immunity from it. By the nature of things corruption is being made a national institution and the ultimate responsibility for this sad state of affairs must be borne by the Government and the Party of which it is constituted and of which the Finance Minister himself is a member. The responsibility of the Government and the ruling party cannot end with a mere criticism of existing weakness inasmuch as it is upon them that the task of removing these shortcomings devolves. Along with its criticism the party which constitutes the Government should place before the country its programme for removing the evil. If it considers itself unable to cope with the

task it must make room for others to have a try at it. Not only has there been no serious and concerted effort on the part of the Government, so far, to root out corruption, there are instances on the other hand of grave inaction when definite complaints of corruption were leveled against officials and ministers. Again, so far as punishing corrupt officials is concerned the Government apparently finds the task difficult because it is not seldom that reports appear referring to corruption at levels higher than the permanent services.

Betterment Levy Agitation in Punjab

Disquieting developments are taking place in the Punjab over the movement against the levy of betterment fee on lands falling within the area served by the canals of the Bhakra project. More than six thousand people have already courted arrest as a protest against the Government's decision to realise betterment levy and many more are reported to be prepared to do so. The Government has so far dealt with the situation with a very stern hand though without appreciable success in breaking up the resistance of the people led by the K. Sen-Sabha.

The movement against the betterment levy in the Punjab is being led by the Communist Party with the active assistance of the Jan Sangh and the Akali Dal and the tacit support of a number of Congressmen who do not see eye to eye with the present Chief Minister. The fact that in the existing situation the Communist Party stands to gain as much from the success of the movement as the Congress Party stands to lose has made it more difficult for Congressmen to make an objective assessment of the whole affair.

For the unfortunate predicament in which the State Government now finds itself it has none else to blame than itself. Its record is far from being wholly clean. The reimbursement of the cost of Bhakra project was originally scheduled to be effected in fifteen years from 1954-55. Nothing was, however, realised in the form of betterment fee up to the end of 1953. The Government now proposes to recover the whole cost in ten years. This is manifestly an absurd position to take insofar as it hardly takes into the consideration the farmers' abili-

lity to pay the levy. The manner of the imposition of the present levy is equally questionable. The levy was promulgated through an Ordinance on January 4 just after the meeting of the State Assembly had been adjourned. The administration has not been able to offer a satisfactory reply to the criticism as to why the matter, which vitally affects the life of such large numbers of people connected with a vital sector of the national economy, could not be placed before the Assembly, which was in session only four days before, for decision.

The opponents of the levy have challenged the very principle that the entire capital cost of a development project should be borne by those who benefit by it. If the Government could subsidise exports to earn foreign exchange, why cannot it subsidize agriculture to conserve foreign exchange through the reduction of imports of agricultural goods, they ask. They have further contended that the whole of the Bhakra project is a productive one; and under the Betterment Levy Act the levy can be charged only on unproductive schemes and not on productive ones. The Punjab Government calculates its share of the Rs. 170-crore Bhakra Project at Rs. 87.41 crores. The net income from water rate and water advantage rate, after deduction of the cost of maintenance of canals which comes to Rs. 84 lakhs, is estimated to be Rs. 2.74 crores, which, when capitalized, would pay back only Rs. 32 crores leaving an outstanding balance of Rs. 45 crores which has to be raised through the levy of betterment fee. According to the Opposition calculation the Government's share of the cost of the Project comes to about Rs. 70 crores after the deduction of the allocations for electricity and the share of Rajasthan. The net increase in the income of the Punjab Government after meeting the annual maintenance charges of the new canals, they maintain, would amount to no less than Rs. 3.5 crores a year—on the capital cost of Rs. 70 crores—yielding an annual return of more than 5 per cent as against the payable interest of 3 per cent on capital outlay.

Betterment levy is not new in India and has been realised in the past from owners of lands benefited in consideration of the increase in the value of land following the introduction

of canal irrigation. From the series of agitations in different States it would however appear that there is some inherent short-coming in the procedure through which the levy is sought to be imposed. While charging the levy it is always necessary to remember that the improvements must be of such a magnitude as would allow the assessee to pay the levy and at the same time to achieve a higher standard of living. It is for this consideration that in the United States, from where the inspiration for the multi-purpose irrigation schemes has come to India, no betterment levy is imposed until after ten years of the completion of the project (in the Bhakra project the levy is being imposed right on its completion). In the USA again the levy is spread over a larger number of years (40 to 45) than in India (the cost of Bhakra project is being recovered in ten years). Another generally accepted policy is to discriminate between the richer and poorer sections in the matter of levy. The owners of arid lands in the Punjab are far from rich, yet the Government has imposed upon them the maximum rate.

The implementation of the policy of realising betterment levy in the different States, including the Punjab, betrays a lack of principle and a great degree of confusion in official thinking, which in turn have often led to disturbances and unnecessary hardship for the people, as is at present the case in the Punjab. The matter calls for a thorough enquiry for a dispassionate consideration of all relevant factors with a view to evolving a national policy. Meanwhile, it is to be hoped that the Punjab Chief Minister would in the broader interest of the people be able to overcome his obsession for the assertion of administrative authority and would utilise the overtures for a compromise to bring an end to this intolerable situation to which he has driven more by his own actions than by any other thing.

Individual and Party

The move made in the Congress Legislature Party in Bombay for taking disciplinary action against Shri Brijlal Biyani, a Congress member from Vidarbha, for his speech in State Legislative Assembly criticising the bilingual State of Bombay and pleading for its break-up

into four States—Maharashtra, Gujarat, Vidarbha and Bombay—raises an important question of principle which has an intimate bearing upon the relationship between an individual member and his party. There has been enough in the form of discussion in press, platform and the legislatures about the merits and demerits of the bilingual State in Bombay for all legislators, in the Bombay State at least, to be able to form an intelligent opinion about the matter. Any remark of an individual is therefore not likely to tilt their opinion this way or that way. Moreover the Congress Party has a comfortable majority in the State Legislature and, unless a majority of them had so long been keeping their real views about the bilingual State in their own minds, it had nothing to feel particularly embarrassed at the criticism of an individual member. Notwithstanding these facts the Congress Party has taken a very grave view of the matter which leads to the question: Has a member no right, under any circumstances, to disagree publicly from the party, to which he belongs for the time being, on any given matter of policy? In other words the question is, should membership of a political party necessarily involve the absolute sacrifice of individual conscience at the altar of party solidarity irrespective of any consideration of whether the real need for solidarity does actually call for such absolute conformity or not?

The relative merits or demerits of a bilingual State in Bombay or Shri Biyani's motives in raising the matter at the particular time he did are irrelevant in consideration of this principle, though as a matter of fact Shri Biyani was perhaps doing nothing more than to improve upon the Prime Minister's declared formula of a dividing Bombay into three States. Nor does it involve the renunciation of the rights of political parties to enforce discipline upon their members on questions of fundamental importance from the consensus on which the parties derive their distinct entities. A man feels inclined to join a political party only because he finds himself in general agreement with its policies. Such general agreement cannot, however, exclude disagreement on the time, manner and extent of particular measures. The principle centres upon the question whether a

member, who does not have any disagreement on the majority of the opinions held by other members of the party, can, if he feels himself called upon to do so in the interest of party solidarity and public welfare, openly come out with a criticism of one or the other aspect of a particular policy.

At present this *right* is not conceded by any major political party though some may tolerate a degree of public criticism by individual members on considerations of expediency. The case, in the United Kingdom, of Mr. Nigel Cameron who has been disowned by the local branch of the Conservative Party for his opposition, in Parliament, to the Governments' Suez Policy, is a recent pointer to this fact (though in his case his position was somewhat better by the support openly given to him by several national leaders). National interest, even party interest, would however seem to call for the recognition of this right by all the political parties. Not infrequently, in the past the most significant ideas made their appearances as minority views. The course of even the mighty Russian Revolution, and indirectly that of the history of the Party, might have been different if the Bolshevik Party Central Committee had in 1917 expelled Lenin whose views on the political perspectives the majority did not accept. True, a Leninist sagacity is not to be met in individuals all too often. But then, as the subsequent history of the very same Party reveals, the majority may also persistently continue to repeat mistakes which may inflict grave injuries on large numbers and which might have been avoided with a little more of tolerance. People join parties on some understanding. The objective basis of this understanding is in a process of continuous change. Some are quicker, or slower, than others in gripping with the realities of this change. Therefore, unless there are other overpowering immediate considerations dictating the imposition of the strictest conformity, an excessive insistence on the appearances of unity, when the basis is not there, may ultimately result in grave moral and political injury to the nation as well as to the party in question.

Basically the principle of showing an united front to the outside public cannot be challenged.

But supposing a member is an ardent supporter of the cardinal principles of the Congress, as laid down by long years of precedence, but considers that the majority opinion is dictated by a small group of powerful leaders—who might be misguided or opportunists—in violation of the same principles, then what should he do? What was Mahatma Gandhi's advice to Assam leaders at the time of the Partition of India?

We are no supporters of any faction or party on the question of Bombay. But we believe that further deliberation is needed before a precedent is laid down in support of dumb obedience.

Lok Sabha Proceedings on Mathai

The resignation letter of Mr. M. O. Mathai, Special Assistant to the Prime Minister and its publication through the *Press Information Bureau* was one of the principal subjects debated in the Lok Sabha last month.

The Lok Sabha asked its Privileges Committee to consider whether M. O. Mathai had committed contempt of Parliament by certain remarks he had made in his letter of resignation.

The issue of privilege was first raised by a Jan Sangh Member, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and after the House had granted leave to discuss it, Mr. Hiren Mukherjee moved his motion recommending that the matter be referred to the Privileges Committee.

Commending his motion to the House Mr. Hiren Mukherjee said that in one of the passages of Mr. Mathai's letter there was "an indirect but considerably effective reflection on the Speaker and a very direct reflection on the conduct of the Members of the Parliament." Mr. Mathai had referred to an "ever-mounting tendency in our Parliament and our Press to attack public servants without caring to verify facts." Prof. Mukherjee contended that that was a very serious reflection on the way the proceedings of the House conducted. "It is very clear that Mr. Mathai implies that the proceedings of this House are not regulated as they ought to be. This I submit is a very clear reflection on the conduct of the Chair." Mr. Mukherjee said that he was not suggesting that the House should go into

this matter straightway. It would be better if the whole thing was discussed by the Committee of Privileges. The Committee should give a report to this House so that it may make up its mind as to what it should do in this matter.

Raja Mahendra Pratap, the distinguished independent member of the Lok Sabha, opposing the motion said that the members should not get "puffed up with pride and always talk of privileges." He urged that the matter should be dropped.

The Prime Minister in course of discussion referred to Raja Mahendra Pratap's suggestion that the matter should be dropped and said, "since the suggestion of Raja Mahendra Pratap had not taken the form of a definite proposal, I need not say anything about it. At this stage any suggestion to drop this matter would," he said, "not be a right one, because it would almost appear that an attempt was made somehow, to hush matters or hide matters." It would not be a good thing for any such impression to be created. Therefore, I would have opposed the Raja's proposal to drop this matter (if it had been formerly proposed)," said Pandit Nehru in continuation. The House then passed by a voice vote Mr. Mukherjee's motion.

One thing deserves mention here without going into the question of Mr. Mathai's case which is under consideration of the Parliament. The other aspect of the question is no less grave. Mr. A. D. Gorwala writes in *Bombay Chronicle*: "Mr. Nehru comes very badly out of the Mathai incident. All the facts are not known as yet, but on his own admission he is shown up as a person with very little judgment." In a newly-born State like India it is not impossible that the progress of Democracy may be obstructed by such handicaps. The executive, the legislature, the press—all parts of the State organism should remain vigorous. In case, the latter fails to be so, the former two if properly active may provide the balance required. In the light of this text every true lover of democracy will be glad that due attention has been given by the Parliament to the Mathai episode which was admitted there for free discussion and referring to the Committee of Privileges for further report.

Co-operative Farming

To begin with we give here some extract from the text of the resolution on Agrarian Organization Pattern adopted by the 64th Session of the Indian National Congress:

"The future agrarian pattern should be that of co-operative joint Farming, in which the land will be pooled for joint cultivation, the farmers continuing to retain their property rights, and getting a share from the net product from the proportion to their land. Those who actually work on the land, whether they own the land or not, will get a share in proportion to the work put in by them on the joint farm.

"As a first step, prior to the institution of joint farming, service co-operatives should be organised throughout the country. This stage should be completed within a period of three years. Even within this period, however, wherever possible and generally agreed to by the farmers, joint cultivation may be started.

"In order to remove uncertainty regarding land reforms and give stability to the farmers, ceilings should be fixed on existing and future holdings and legislation to this effect, as well as for the abolition of intermediaries, should be completed in all states by the end of 1959. This does not mean any ceiling on income, as it is expected that by intensive cultivation as well as by additional occupations, rural incomes will rise. Such surplus lands should vest in the panchayats and should be managed through co-operatives consisting of landless labourers."

The Prime Minister addressing a mammoth rally of villagers at Baoli in interior of Meerut District on February 10, 1959 likened the system of Co-operative Farming to an army, which he said, was so effective because it worked as a team. "If each soldier decides to go alone, he will not be able to do anything, however strong and experienced he may be."

"Co-operative Farming," said the Prime Minister, "do not mean that the land belonging to the cultivator would cease to

be his property. Those who tell you that Co-operative Farming amounts to some sort of confiscation of land are trying to cheat you. It is just a question of joining hands to raise the yield." Sri Nehru added that the Government did not intend to force Co-operative Farming on anybody. "It will be done with the willingness and consent of the people." "I know," said Sri Nehru, "it is a new thing for you and you will not understand its various benefits straightway. That is why we have decided to allow some time, say two to three years, to lapse before it is introduced. Meanwhile, I would like model co-operatives to be set up at various places so that people can see this system of farming at work." "Before people took to Co-operative Farming," said the Prime Minister, "they shall develop small co-operative societies to help them in procuring good seeds and manures and also marketing their produce. Such co-operatives are good both for the producer and the consumer as they eliminated all changes of hoarding and creating artificial scarcity by the middle-men. Official rules for running these co-operatives shall be reduced and people encouraged to run them mainly by themselves." Turning to the need for putting ceiling on land holdings, Sri Nehru said that that was the second important step that had to be taken in the interest of the cultivation. The number of persons having large holdings, he said, was small. Yet it was necessary to put a ceiling. "If it is not done there is a danger of the Zamindari system coming back to life some day."

President Prasad in his address to the Parliament, February 9, 1959, said: "... my Government will seek to promote agrarian reforms, co-operation and devotion of function to village units."

During the second day's debate, February 16, 1959, on the President's address in the Lok Sabha, Mr. M. R. Masani (Independent), the eminent economist of India, vehemently opposed Co-operative Farming. He said that the new agrarian policy of the Congress was an "insidious attempt to bring in Collective Farming of the Communist pattern by the back-door." He

warned that if an attempt was made to force it on the people, it will lead to class conflict and civil war. Writing in *The Hindu* dated February 5, 1959, Sri Rajagopalachari thought that there would be an element of compulsion in introducing Co-operative Farming. Speaking on 'Despotism Old and New' in Delhi on January 29, Sri K. M. Munshi gave his opinion on the Congress resolution: "If farmers owning economic holdings were kept out of the co-operatives, instead of harmony, there would be class conflict... we would then have set in motion processes which will lead us through hatred and violence to naked totalitarianism." Speaking at Baranasi, on February 11, Sri Jai Prakash Narain, Sarvodaya leader, said that though personally he was in favour of Co-operative movement, it would not be successful in the country unless there was an army of persons who were sincere in the service of the public without any selfish motive.

Mr. Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, told newsmen on February 25, 1959 in New Delhi that the Central executive of the Communist Party, then meeting in a five-day session in Delhi, had approved the approach of the Nagpur Session of the Congress in this matter and was expected to give a call to all democratic parties and the masses to join hands to put the resolutions passed into effect with the utmost speed.

Prime Minister Nehru again on February 19 in replying to Mr. Masani's remark said that Mr. Masani had a tremendous confusion in his mind. As for himself Mr. Nehru said that he did not agree with Collective Farming nor would he encourage it. "But I do believe in co-operation and I do firmly and absolutely believe in the rightness of joint cultivation. Let there be no doubt about it." He added, "I shall go from field to field and from peasant to peasant begging him to agree to it. If the peasants do not agree, I cannot put it into operation, it is for them to do it."

The controversies mentioned above

show that there are differences of opinion on this problem in India to a great extent. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in *Harijan*, in 1942: "I firmly believe that we shall not derive the full benefits of agriculture unless we take to Co-operative Farming." Sriman Narayan in an article in *Yojana*, February 22, 1959, wrote: "It will be useful to know that Gandhiji was in favour of joint Co-operative Farming rather than merely the formation of Service Co-operatives. The Prime Minister is, therefore, following a very cautious approach and there is hardly any element of radicalism in his proposals." Almost all of us possibly know the extreme opinion of Vinobaji on this subject. His favourite maxim is: *Sab bhumi Gapalki ha*. As regards ceilings on land his recent reaction is: "It is a sin to have individual ownership of land. Land belongs to all. The idea of ceiling is obsolete. In this modern era, all the land in all the parts of the world belongs to all mankind."

Our points of view on these controversies regarding land problems will be best stated with the following news:

Nagpur, Feb. 11.—Twelve peasant families of village Keliveli in Akola District who engaged in an experiment in Co-operative Farming on February 2 last year, have succeeded in raising by fifty per cent the agricultural produce on their farm during one year of its working, according to *Samya Yoga* of Wardha, a Marathi weekly devoted to the Sarvodaya Ideal.

The village family has raised during the year produce valued at over Rs. 9,000 as against only Rs. 6,000 when they were cultivating individually.

The experiment is said to be the first of its kind in Vidarbha. All twelve families have given up their individual rights on their land. Every member is bound by a charter not to leave the joint family at least for five years, not to keep or sell his land or cattle and also not to work on any estate or farm other than their joint estate.

The only further qualification that we would put on the Co-operative cultivation plan is that the quality of each holding

and the condition in which it has been maintained, should be given a consideration while allocating shares. Else 10 acres of ill-kept and/or *usar* land will have the same value as 10 acres of weed-free and efficiently tilled land, which is obviously wrong.

Nepal's New Constitution ✓

At last Nepal has had a democratic constitution of its own. Deliberately isolated for centuries by its rulers, Nepal is now emerging into the modern scene. Situated on the southern slope of the Himalayas, bounded on the north by Tibet, on the east by Sikkim and Bengal and on the south and west by the rest of India. There are many fertile valleys lying in the slopes of the lofty mountains, including Mt. Everest, with an area of about 54,000 square miles and an estimated population of 8.3 million. The capital is in a fertile valley, 15 miles long and 20 miles wide, which supports 450,000 inhabitants and is noted for its many shrines, nearly all lavishly decorated examples of Nepalese art. Nepal has rich forests and quartz deposits. The country exports jute, rice, grain, cattle, hides, wheat and drugs, and imports textiles, sugar, salt, hardware, etc.

King Mahendra, in a royal proclamation recently, gave his country a constitution assuming a parliamentary form of government. The country was originally divided into numerous hill clans and petty principalities, the inhabitants of one of which the ruling group, with the aid of Gurkhas, became predominant about 1769. The ruling family until 1951 was that of Ranas—Hindu Rajputs. Maharajadhiraja Tribhubana Bir Bikram (born June 30, 1906), a member of the ruling family, who formerly were figureheads in the Government ended on February 18, 1951 the ancient system of rule by hereditary premiers and established popular government, which was sworn in on November 16, 1951. King Tribhubana died on March 13, 1955, and was succeeded by his son, Mahendra Bir Bikram Dev, who was officially crowned on May 2, 1956.

Reading out his brief proclamation, King Mahendra said that the constitution will come into force on a date to be appointed by him later. The constitution is the "fundamental law" of the land. It establishes a parliament

consisting of two Houses—Pratinidhi Sabha or Lower House and Maha Sabha or Upper House. The Lower House will have 109 members, all elected by as many single-member territorial constituencies on adult franchise. It will have a life of five years. The Maha Sabha or the Upper House will have 36 members—18 elected by the Lower House, the remaining 18 nominated by the King at his discretion. The constitution also provides a Cabinet form of government responsible to the Lower House. Except in the matter of amending the constitution, the Lower House will have larger powers than the Upper House. The constitution amending bills must have a two-thirds majority support of both the Houses and the royal assent to such bills is a matter of the King's discretion. The executive power of the King "is declared to rest in his majority and ordinarily it will be exercised on the recommendations of the Cabinet." Prime Minister to head the Cabinet will be selected by the King. He, in royal opinion, must command a majority of the Lower House. The size of the Cabinet has been limited to Prime Minister and not more than 14 other ministers. Besides, there may be assistant ministers. All ministers are to be appointed by His Majesty on the recommendation of the Prime Minister.

This is briefly the new constitution of Nepal. Great Britain's monarchical constitution, the reader may perceive, has a similarity with the new constitution of Nepal in outer form.

Lincoln's 150th Birth Anniversary ✓

Abraham Lincoln, America's 16th Republican President, was born on February 12, 1809 and so the commemoration of his 150th birth Anniversary has just begun on the same date, February last.

Lincoln's humanity, lofty concept of humanity and generous spirit made him the hero of the common man the world over. In fact he himself came from the lower middle strata of life. He was born in a log cabin. "I was born and have ever remained in the most humble walks of life"—Lincoln wrote in 1832. Later he enlisted in the militia for the Black Hawk War, 1832. In New Salem he ran a store in 1833, surveyed land, 1834-36, was postmaster,

1833-36. In 1837 Lincoln was admitted to the bar and became partner in a spring-field law office. He was elected to the 30th Congress, 1847. He opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act and extension of slavery, 1854. In 1858 Lincoln had Republican support in the Illinois legislature for the Senate, but was defeated by Stephen A. Douglas, Democrat, who sponsored the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Lincoln was nominated for presidentship by the Republican Party over Wm. H. Seward, on an anti-slavery platform, at Chicago, May 18, 1860. Though he attained the highest success in political life Lincoln never forgot his humble beginnings. In 1860 he stated: "I am not ashamed to confess that twenty-five years ago, I was a hired labourer, mauling rails, at work on a flat-boat just what might happen to any man's son."

Lincoln was inaugurated March 4, 1861. He was already familiar with the grim tragedy of human exploitation and about the time he took his seat in Congress, said: "In the early days of the world the Almighty said to the first of our race, 'in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,' and since then, if we except the light and the air of heaven, no good thing has been or can be enjoyed by us without having first cost labour: And inasmuch as most good things of right belong to those whose labour has produced them." In a speech in 1859 Lincoln declared: "Labour is the great source from which nearly all, if not all human comforts and necessities are drawn." In 1860 he remarked: "I am glad to know that there is a system of labour where the labourer can strike if he wants to. I would to God that such a system prevailed all over the world." Lincoln's sympathies for the lowly extended to people of all creeds and colours. He was especially interested in the welfare of the Negro. "I want every man to have the chance—and I believe the black man is entitled to it—in which he can better his condition"—he declared in March, 1860. In a letter of August 24, 1845 to his Kentucky friend, Joshua F. Speed, Lincoln wrote: "In 1841, you and I had together a tedious low water."

trip on a steamboat from Louisville to St. Louis . . . there were on board ten or a dozen slaves shackled together with irons. That sight was a continual torment to me." The end that he hoped for was assured by the Emancipation Proclamation, the Thirteenth Amendment and the triumph of Federal arms. In his address to Congress in 1861 Lincoln commented: "Labour is prior to, and independent of, Capital. Capital is only the fruit of labour and could not have come into existence if labour had not first existed. Labour is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration." "Labour is the true standard of value" he also said in the same year at a Pittsburgh gathering. It will be very much interesting to note here though a bit abrupt to compare Lincoln's this theory of value with that of Karl Marx, the founder of the modern socialist movement. There are many differences between them, especially where Marxian concept lay in the "materialistic interpretation of history" yet when Marx says, "the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labour expended during its production," or "value is determined not only by labour, but belonged wholly to labour," we are instantly reminded of Abraham Lincoln's words about labour and values. Lincoln reached the highest degree of eloquence at Gettysburg National Cemetery, November 19, 1863. His remarks have gone down in history as the classic Gettysburg Address:

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Tibetan Unrest ✓

The *Statesman* gives a background report about the happenings in Tibet which seems to be a likely conjecture. We append extracts below:

Knowledgeable sources believe that the recent incidents in Lhasa were a camouflage to divert the attention of the Chinese while resistance forces spirited the Dalai Lama away. This is still a conjecture, perhaps, wishful thinking, but it must be remembered there was a gap of seven days before the first Tibetan demonstration and the actual fighting in Lhasa. During those seven days the Chinese had allowed Tibetans to surround Norbulinka and demonstrate in front of the Indian and Nepalese Consulates. The Dalai Lama was last seen in public on March 10.

If the Dalai Lama has escaped, where is he? Will he cross over to India? It is difficult to surmise. Another question arises, whether the fighting around the Indian Consulate, which falls in the direct route between Lhasa and Norbulinka, was merely another red herring, drawn by the Tibetan masses to mislead the Chinese forces into thinking that the Dalai Lama had taken refuge there.

To obtain a true perspective about the

significance of the Dalai Lama's escape, it is necessary to reconstruct major events happening inside Tibet since the reluctant departure of the Dalai Lama from Gangtok after his Indian tour of 1956-57. In Lhasa, he had to face increased Chinese pressure to curb this nationalistic spirit while his own countrymen insisted on his using his influence to ask the Chinese to liberalize their dealings with Tibetans and to give them a much broader-based autonomy eventually leading to complete independence. In this growing tension the Dalai Lama fast began losing favour with the Chinese, which resulted in the present cryptic invitation to visit Peking.

Meanwhile, two major episodes occurred in Tibet last year which, though seemingly insignificant at the time, in retrospect seem full of potential possibilities. The first was cancellation of Mr. Nehru's visit to Lhasa on Chinese insistence. This left the populace sullen and dissatisfied, while the monks were openly critical, if not hostile.

Khampas in large numbers began leaving Lhasa and moved towards the South. *En route* they plundered and pillaged, taking booty of firearms and food. Simultaneously the Chinese decided to introduce large-scale settlement of Chinese in the Golok and Amdo areas of North Tibet. This in turn drove the Amdos and other Tibetans, in a migration, towards Central Tibet as far as Jeykundo, between Kham and Lhasa. The migrants then bifurcated, one group moving on to South Tibet, Thago, Knogbo, and (Pemak), while the other went south-east, Serathang and Minavak.

Newspaper Industry

Mr. H. V. Pataskar, Governor of Madhya Pradesh, inaugurating the first convention of Madhya Pradesh Union of Working Journalists in Bhopal last month said that the Newspaper Industry in the country must be regarded as a "joint endeavour of the investors and workers."

Mr. Pataskar said that those who had invested money in the running of the Press could not ignore the trends in the social and economic life of the people which were changing so fast. "Those who look upon press as a means of investment will have

to face the fact that no industry can now be run with the sole objective of maximum return for the money invested nor can it be run as an industry in which the investors and the workers alone are interested" said Mr. Pataskar in continuation.

The Governor said that of far greater concern was the interest and well-being of the common people of this country and so in the final analysis it was the duty of the Government to "co-ordinate the relations of those who have to work on them." It was, therefore, necessary, the Governor said, that the government should intervene and mould the relations between the Financiers and the Workers in a just and equitable way and above all to prevent conflicts between them from doing harm to the interest of the country as a whole. Mr. Pataskar also said that in this context the formation of the Federation of Working Journalists for the country as a whole was but a development in the right direction and it was but a consequential step that the working journalists of this new State should form a unit of the Federation.

Not a Tourist But a Pilgrim

Martin Luther King, U.S. Negro leader, recently came to India for a month-long study of the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence under the auspices of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and the America Friends Service Committee.

It is interesting to note here that this Negro leader is a very young man of only thirty years of age. In occupation, Dr. King is a Baptist Minister. Seeing "that the American Negro has faith, that he can get justice within the frame-work of the American democratic set-up," Dr. King led the successful Negro bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama and won for his community the right to ride integrated buses.

At a press conference in New Delhi, King paid his tribute to Gandhiji and his philosophy of non-violence. He said: "To other countries I may go as a tourist, but to India I come as a pilgrim. This is because India means to me Mahatma Gandhi, a truly great man of the ages. India also means to me Pandit Nehru

and his wise statesmanship and intellectuality that are recognised the world over. Perhaps, above all, India is the land where the techniques of non-violent social change were developed that my people have used in Montgomery, Alabama and elsewhere in the American South. We have found them to be effective and sustaining—they work!”

At Palam Airport, Mr. G. Ramachandran, Secretary of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, greeted Dr. King with a *khadi* garland. We support Mr. Ramachandran's action wholeheartedly. Amidst the chaos and confusion of the world Gandhiji's voice and deeds are the sole hopes of mankind. This is now being realised even by the martial and warlike nations of the world. But the poor and the distressed, the toiling and suffering masses, for whom Gandhiji lived and died, are following it in a more earnest way. The number of Gandhites are growing day by day in India as well as in other parts of the world. The more it grows the better. But these new followers of Gandhiji must be very careful in their actions. Gandhiji once said in his Delhi prayer-gathering that there would be no Gandhite after his death. By this, we think, Gandhiji did not mean that his preached doctrine would have no permanent appeal of its own and so would become obsolete in the future. The exact thing which Gandhiji meant was, perhaps, that his creed did not depend upon a particular austere rule or conduct of life but was based primarily on the broader principles of humanity. This principle is not a static but a dynamic one which with age and experience moves, accumulates, grows and becomes changed sometimes. But the main issues of the principle never change. Thus a clear conception of Gandhiji's ideal must be kept clear in the mind of a Gandhite so that he may avoid perversions of both kinds—austerity and lavishness—and particularly at a time when his ideal has an obvious significance for the world.

The Law Commission and Pandit Pant

The *Statesman* gives the following report on Pandit Pant's repudiation of the Law Commission's "allegations." We append extracts below for all they are worth:

New Delhi, March 20.—In the contro-

versy over the selection of judges, Pandit Pant today presented in the Lok Sabha a well-argued case on behalf of the Government and denied the Law Commission's allegations.

Before the Sabha passed the Home Ministry's demands for grants, Pandit Pant placed before it facts and figures to prove that the Government had in no way interfered with the selection of judges of High Courts and the Supreme Court.

Besides his denial—firm and dignified—of the Commission's charge, he expressed his unhappiness over the fact that certain remarks which did not enhance the dignity of the Supreme Court had been made public by a responsible body like the Law Commission.

According to Pandit Pant there was nothing more "preposterous and unimaginable" than the suggestion that the judges did not act with courage. The large number of Central and State laws which had been declared *ultra vires* recently was convincing evidence of the court's independence.

The factual data that the Home Minister disclosed was convincing. He said that all the 17 Judges appointed to the Supreme Court since 1950 had been selected in accordance with the wishes of the Chief Justice. Of the 176 High Court Judges appointed in this period all except one had the approval of the Chief Justices.

The six persons connected with the selection of a High Court Judge were the Chief Justice of the local High Court, the Chief Minister and the Governor of that State, the Home Minister, the Prime Minister and the Chief Justice of India. In as many as 161 cases all the six had concurred. In 14 other cases there was divergence of opinion but the view of the Chief Justice of India ultimately prevailed.

As to the allegation contained in the Law Commission's report that sometimes the Chief Justice of a High Court did not express his true opinion for fear of being overruled by the Chief Minister, Pandit Pant asked why the Chief Justice of India did not take "corrective steps" if he knew that such a state of affairs existed.

P.T.I. adds: Pandit Pant said recently there were proposals for the appointment of

two Judges to a High Court in a State "where the Ministry does not owe any allegiance to the Congress." Certain proposals were made by the Chief Justice of the High Court which were not quite in accordance with the proposals made by the Government of that State. The appointments were made with the approval of the Chief Justice of India who did not quite agree with the Chief Justice of that State but agreed with the recommendations made by its Government.

Hooliganism by Students ✓

Indiscipline and lawlessness seem to be on the increase amongst students all over India. There was a recent outbreak in Calcutta. We give extracts from the *Statesman's* reports below:

Chaos prevailed at almost all the Intermediate Science examination centres in North Calcutta and at some in Central Calcutta on Wednesday afternoon. About 11,000 students were sitting for their examination in the second paper in Chemistry.

The day's examination at these centres had to be stopped when student demonstrators, in protest against what they described as difficult questions, tore up examination papers, broke furniture and dragged fellow students out of the examination halls.

According to Dr. N. C. Roy, Controller of Examinations, Calcutta University, the trouble started almost simultaneously in the University halls when the question papers were distributed to examinees at about 2 p.m. He had asked for police help during the remainder of the examination which would continue according to programme at all centres, including those affected on Wednesday.

Calcutta saw an orgy of rowdyism at examination centres in North Calcutta at the end of March last year when School Final students were sitting for their history paper. On that occasion also student demonstrators dragged other examinees from out of the halls on the excuse that the questions set were too difficult.

The most obnoxious part of the incident was the raid by student demonstrators on other examination centres. About 300 boys raided Bethune College when the examination had been in progress for over an hour. There

was some commotion when the papers were handed in. Some girls were crying, the Principal later told me, but many were still writing. At about 3 p.m., the demonstrators entered. They broke two window panes and snatched papers away from some students. The police arrested seven demonstrators, all examinees. They were seen later entering the police van with inkpots in their hands.

The authorities of Maharaja Manindra Chandra College on Bhupen Bose Avenue told me the same story. The examinees there were completely peaceful and the examination had been in progress for about an hour when about 200 student demonstrators came to the college gate which was closed. They threw brickbats and damaged many glass panes. One of the iron bars in the gate was twisted and the demonstrators entered the college by scaling a wall. When I reached the college I found the Principal's office and other rooms strewn with glass and stones. The police arrived and order was restored but not before the demonstrators had torn up some of the examinees' papers.

A Professor of Sanskrit College complained that the police arrived late. For about half an hour, he said, the authorities tried to pacify the demonstrators who came from outside. But then the demonstrators had got the upper hand and were crowding the examination halls. The police later made three arrests from the centre. The number of arrests totalled 16, ten in North Calcutta and six in Central Calcutta.

Condemning the rowdyism, the general secretaries of the Calcutta University Students' Union, said that it might be a fact that the questions appeared difficult to the average students but no rational student could indulge in acts of rowdyism. If the questions were too difficult there were other methods of protest than quitting examination halls, breaking furniture and dragging willing examinees out of the halls. The Union categorically condemned such acts and appealed to the authorities to look into the grievances of the examinees.

The West Bengal Chhatra Parishad's general secretary, Mr. Ramen Mukherjee, in a statement urges students to unite to prevent "acts of hooliganism" and see that the remaining examinations are held peacefully.

THE PROBLEM OF UNITY VERSUS GROUP ISOLATION IN INDIA

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INTRODUCTION

IN the present seminar it is being asked how national unity can be encouraged especially through education at the University level. It may be stated at the outset that education by itself can do comparatively little to promote national unity unless the forces that promote such unity are otherwise strengthened, and the factors that encourage isolation or fissiparous tendencies are neutralised. In this article an attempt will be made to analyse what are the factors that have promoted unity and what forces tend to disrupt it, illustrating the same with factual examples from past experience. This will be the main topic here dealt with. At the end an attempt will be made also to indicate the lines on which the forces in favour of unity can be strengthened and the role of the University education in relation to it.

I

A nation is held together by the political authority that operates in it, by the cohesion engendered by economic forces, and by the homogeneity of culture that promotes community feeling. There has also to be a unified geographical entity. In simple primitive societies the unit known as a tribe is the counterpart to the nation. It is usual to define it as a group knit together by possession of a common language, and common territory, and capable of uniting for common action. Common culture for the unit is taken for granted in the definition. A unified political authority is, therefore, a fundamental condition of nationhood; so also is common economic force to bind the units. While economic structure is not the sole determinant of the direction in which a society shall move, it furnishes the steel frame that supports it, or if a biological simile is preferred it furnishes the skeletal structure which may be covered with somatic features of more than one variant type, within the limits of the frame-

work. Culture and language are almost inseparable. Any one who speaks or writes in a foreign tongue and mixes with such a people realises this, from delicate nuances of difference in terms, apparently the counterpart of the same idea or with the same meaning, in two different languages. As all the perceptions, and the processes based on the same, of an individual, find expression through the verbal symbols that we term language, it is but natural that culture and language should so deeply interpenetrate. It is for this reason that a conquering people desirous of imposing their culture on the subject-population, seeks to suppress the language of the latter by various means. If the rulers are not numerically strong and this numerical disparity is fairly great but cultural difference is not so sharp, and hostility does not persist too long, fusion and assimilation may occur and a language based on that of the larger population but enriched and modified by that of the dominant group, emerge eventually as the national language. In a new colony, on the other hand, the immigrants may restrict fresh in-rush of others to people of their own language, or insist on others who come, to accept this speech as their common language. The United Kingdom and the United States of America furnish illustrations of the two different ways indicated above in which a common language may develop. In the northern, eastern and western areas of our country the first process occurred in hoary antiquity. But as the folk of the different areas were somewhat dissimilar in race as well as culture, the Indo-Aryan language that furnished the common leaven, produced somewhat different kinds of bread and pastry, in the shape of the regional languages, of different areas. Large remnants, however, remained of other speeches, for example, of the tribal folk of Austric speech. People of other language families also came to the northern and north-eastern borderlands,

for example, men of the Tibeto-Chinese family of speech. In the south again, another dominant language family, the Dravidian, held off the expansion of Indo-Aryan. In each of the language areas, the basis of the common speech of that area was a numerically dominant people of a common culture. This difference is noted quite early in the *Natya-sastra* of Bharata in the distinct regional speeches and ways of expression by gestures, of different areas of India. It is also evident in the differences in these areas in social and sex-customs as described in the *Smritis* and in the *Kamasutra*. The different types of production and political structure are mentioned in the *Arthashastra*. The statement by some scholars that such linguistic-cultural groups are of recent importance, in the sense of recognition, is not supported by these facts. This composite group of nations and cultures had, in fact, developed in partial geographic isolation under the combined influence of the earlier culture testified now by Mohenjodaro remains, and of the later Vedic culture. The result was a land of many languages and cultures, with however a common veneer of what is often referred to as Indian culture. It is not suggested that the later movements of population, especially the impact of Islam did not bring about very important changes in the content of language and culture in many areas in North India. But these changes did not basically alter the earlier distribution of people by language and culture in our country. Some scholars have suggested that the ancient common bond of India mentioned above was based on a common religion. The term religion as usually understood involves belief (a) in certain dogmas of faith, (b) in a particular supreme deity, (c) in a particular messiah or group of prophets, (d) that salvation lies only in acceptance of these beliefs. The Christian and Moslem religions satisfy these conditions. Hindu religion for the whole of India does not, however, conform to these requirements. What is common is a philosophy and a way of life. This is what is called Dharma, which is not Religion in the sense it conveys to the ordinary Christian or Muslim. It was this Dharma that enabled people worshipping different deities to tolerate temples of other gods than the one worshipped and to visit *tirthas* or places

of sacred tradition of various cults. In the old days it gave rise to the reconciling philosophy of *Brahmasutra*. In modern politics, it has evolved support of Panchasila.

Political cohesion in a single unit occurred in India only twice prior to British conquest. The Mauryas who were people of the country built up an empire extending from the borders of Assam in the east, to the Hindukush ranges on the west and right down to Mysore in the south. After the Mauryas, this political unity did not persist. Also, the Maurya rule did not, so far as data indicates, impose on the common people, the culture of the Pataliputra area. The writings of Bharata in the *Natya-sastra* and of others referred to earlier, all of whom wrote several centuries after the Mauryas testify to the differences that existed at the later time. The Mughals came as conquerors. By the time of Akbar, they had been partly Indianised, but some of Akbar's successors cannot certainly be held to have followed his policy of tolerance. In any case the political unity ended practically after Aurangzeb. In this rule also, the culture and language of the different areas remained separate as before, with some changes in course of time and under historical forces.

While it is true that the common people on the small States on the Indus rose up under their Brahmanical rural leaders against the invading forces of Alexander, even after their princely rulers had submitted to save their own skin, this kind of popular political consciousness which is the basis of nationhood, did not spread in those early times. The almost self-sufficient village economy, the slow means of early transport and the absence of printing, combined with caste divisions, prevented the normal flowering of this early trend. It required the passage of two millenia and vastly changed economic conditions, not only in India, but in western Europe, to regenerate the trends on an All-India scale. It is true that the rulers of northern India and the local leaders united in a fight against Hunas, in the time of the Guptas and a little later. It is a fact that the village headmen and leaders united in Gauda to elect Gopala as ruler of the larger Bengal of those days. It is also correct that the Maharastra rulers dreamt of a united Hindu India. But neither the Imperial Guptas, nor the Pala

emperors, nor the much later Maharashtra Peshwas held themselves to be one with the people of other speech-culture areas, although on occasions in some areas, national sentiments were aroused. Their behaviour in relation to the other folk makes this abundantly clear. The altered economic conditions arising out of modern means of production, and modern quick transport, brought about changes that are recognised as revolutionary. The villages ceased to be self-sufficient and self-supporting. The clothes worn and tools used, tended to be purchased from outside in place of the acquisition of local goods by a kind of barter. Many people were thrown out of traditional crafts on land and there was economic distress. The people did not however know where to look for remedy, and the former rulers and landlords were not helpful in this respect. It is true that the latter organised a revolt, out of their discontent, for the loss of their power, position and wealth. It is also correct that since they represented the dominant class of the Pre-British period, the armed struggle of 1857 was a national uprising in a limited sense. Nevertheless even here, there were divisions. The rising intelligentsia and middle class did not join it, as their aim of the future of their country was very different from that of the princely rulers. Further, some of the areas did not participate in the struggle. The Sikhs of the Punjab, actually fought side by side with the British against the Sepoys of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar who had revolted. Earlier, some of these sepoys had helped the British to conquer the Punjab. Still earlier sepoys recruited by the British in South India had fought against the troops of the Nawabs of Bengal.

These details have been noted as it is sometimes alleged that the Indian nation and Indian unity has existed from times of old and that it had assumed a unified structure by the middle of the last century. The facts reveal that this is an illusion. The rising intelligentsia as well as the middle class all over India had felt the need of political power as well as social and economic reform. Their organisation to express these aspirations took shape only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The basis of their unity was their common interest,

which required common action against the British rulers. The need of rousing the mass of the people to awareness of these needs for the welfare of the country, was also felt quite early by the organisers. It is true that much earlier there had been isolated peasant uprisings in Bengal, Chhotanagpore and elsewhere. But actual large-scale organisation to ensure mass-consciousness began only towards the end of the first quarter of the present century. The four-anna fee or its equivalent in labour for membership of the Indian National Congress came into existence after the first two decades of the present century. Even so, industrial labour did not secure acknowledgement of its rights in the charter of the Congress until much later. Again, the discontent felt by linguistic minorities in different provinces where they had been thrust, often deliberately, by the British in their policy of Divide and Rule, threatened to create rifts in the Congress. This was met by the pledge given to set up separate states on the basis of common language and culture, on attainment of independence. Any attempt to impose a single regional language as the dominant language of India now will again bring to the surface the sharp discontent against this type of linguistic imperialism. There was also a much later pledge given by the Congress in 1942 in the famous resolution asking the British to quit India, and calling upon the people to help to form a national government. It is that the National Government so formed—I am now quoting the actual words—"shall devote themselves to the welfare of workers in fields, factories and elsewhere, to whom all power must essentially belong." In the course of the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-33 it had become increasingly clear that the fight against British rule was being carried on by different groups with different objectives. Thus when the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee sought to impose economic pressure by organised boycott of British goods, those groups inside the Congress which were financed by businessmen having large commercial interests in British cotton goods sought to direct picketting to British Banks especially after the boycott had been effective in 1931 in Burrabazar areas. A member of the council of four persons who were in charge of the movement in the province of

Bengal at this time pointed out the futility of Bank picketting but failed to persuade the particular groups. Again, prior to the movement of 1942, it was evident that organisation of peasantry through local struggles against landholders (zemindars and big jotedars) was not favoured by the Congress organisation, although such struggles would have helped to unite the peasantry, Hindu as well as Muslim. In the field of industrial labour, the industrialists and financiers did not in general (even when they supported the Congress with funds) believe in Gandhiji's trusteeship theory. They were also not prepared to give up profitable war contracts to support the national struggle. This was revealed again and again. After the attainment of independence, it has been found necessary to abolish zemindari rights in the interest of the peasantry and to introduce various labour legislations to protect the interest of workers. There is however a strong feeling among the poor peasantry and the industrial workers that they have not yet obtained the rights as promised in the 1942 pledge of the Indian National Congress. Only a complete redemption of the pledge given can remove these sharp feelings of class, and secure adequate integration of our people.

II

Reference will be made to another factor which had stood in the way of Indian unity in the past. It was the apprehension felt by Muslims that they would not get a fair deal at the hand of Hindus who would form a majority in free India. The British rulers had naturally encouraged communal differences. But during the period following the First World War, the Congress under the leadership of Gandhiji had made common cause with the Khilafatists and temporarily united the two communities through common political interests although based on different forces. In a limited sphere, in Bengal, and notably in Calcutta, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das had inspired confidence in the Muslims of Bengal by giving practical proof of his intention to arrange for them the desired facilities in the field of education and of employment, on their population basis. As one of those who in the Calcutta Corporation helped to carry out his programme, in one particular field

the present writer can speak with authority on the friendliness and support of the Muslim community such work engendered. Later, with the death of this great leader and the failure of the Congress group to appreciate the real needs of the common Muslims in Bengal, there was alienation. As an example of the kind of mistake made, may be noted the ignoring of the very genuine grievance of cultivators with regard to security of tenure and other rights in land. Later when Janab Fazlal Huq came into power with his Krisak-Praja party, and formed a coalition ministry with the Muslim League party, and passed the laws regarding agricultural debtors and about moneylenders, which safeguarded among others the common village peasant against mahajans and zemindars, mainly Hindus, the impression was strengthened among Muslim peasants that the Congress would not safeguard their interest, and that they must have their own government for it. Naturally, the Muslim intelligentsia and ruling class in power encouraged such belief by vigorous and misleading propaganda in their own political and economic interest. Nevertheless, when partition of Bengal to separate Eastern Pakistan was mooted by the All-India Muslim League, a large section of the Bengalee Muslims did not support it in the beginning. They approached some Congressmen, and Leftists inside and out of the Congress, to discuss under what circumstances it might be avoided. The Muslim Leaguers wanted autonomy for the State of Bengal as a condition of remaining within the Indian Union. The Hindu feeling was that the Muslim League Ministry in power had kept out qualified Hindus from all kinds of jobs, paid less attention to Hindu areas in Bengal in the matter of education and sanitation, and given heavy weightage to Muslims in the matter of contracts. The Muslims wanted internal autonomy to make sure that their economic, educational and other interests will not suffer. A compromise was effected, that the Bengali-speaking areas of Chhotanagpur side would be added to Bengal (so long not pressed by the Bengal Congress to placate Muslim opposition) and an equal number of seats allotted in Legislature to Hindus and Muslims. This decision, to remain within the future Indian Union as an autonomous unit with these safeguards, was

accepted by the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, in spite of the known opposition of Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah. Muslim feeling in Eastern Bengal was also in favour of it, and expressed in large meetings held and addressed by Hindus jointly with Muslim supporters of this formula, in Noakhali, Mymensingh and other districts in 1944-45. Unfortunately this did not prove acceptable to most of the Congressmen in Bengal, who were under the delusion that partition would not come. This view was expressed at a special Congress workers' conference held about this time. At an informal group discussion, just before the elections of 1945, where Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was present, the head of the Bengal Congress Executive and also a well-known nationalist Muslim leader, assured the future Prime Minister of India, that the nationalist Muslims supporting the Congress would win at least one-third of the seats in Legislature. This forecast proved to be hopelessly incorrect, only three seats coming to nationalist Moslems. The results indicated what factors sway the polls. Nevertheless, the same Muslim League Ministry which rode to power in 1945 and again East Pakistan after partition, was swept out of the East Pakistan Legislature almost to a man, when they tried to impose a speech alien to Bengal and ways alien to the area, on the Bengali-speaking Muslims of East Pakistan.

These details have been noted at some length, as furnishing factual evidence of what generates fissiparous forces and why people try to break away from a particular State, and form a separate political unit. Whether the agreed formula would have worked, now belongs to the realm of speculation. But the facts show that the feeling of being a Bengali was in the case of East Bengal Muslims stronger than that of being an Indian. That this is not an isolated phenomenon is proved by the intense agitation for linguistic States and the incidents that accompanied the same. The admitted and proved oppression of linguistic minorities in several States fully support this view. The desire for one's own State based mainly on a single language, was apparent even when the movements for Indian independence were slowly taking shape. This has been indicated earlier. After independence, with the need for the type

of united action required for securing political freedom gone, the question of what freedom meant came more to the fore. The desire to agitate for other objectives had been so long suppressed or held in check to focus all the fighting forces of the country against foreign rule. With the removal of this barrier, there was an upsurge of the partially suppressed regional national feeling as against Indian unity feeling. The century-old Madras Presidency fell apart, and Andhra Desha was formed. There was readjustment of the Tamil areas also in relation to the Malayali-speaking States. The old Central Provinces, renamed Madhya Pradesh, was broken up, and the Maratha-speaking areas went to Bombay. It had been intended to separate Gujarat from the State of Bombay but the difficulty was about Bombay city. The tremendous pressure exerted by wealthy Gujarati businessmen to retain this within Gujarat was met by the enormous forces of the Sanjuktā Maharashtra group to take it away. The result was a deadlock, and a debacle of the Congress in elections in Maharashtra. These facts illustrate the powerful impetus generated in the language-culture groups to secure for themselves distinct political entities.

In the sphere of the much simpler folk, our tribals, there has been similar opposition to the attempt to obliterate their languages and culture. Although anthropologists and educationists have emphasised the need of imparting primary education to tribals through the medium of their own language and utilising the content of their culture for the earlier lessons, and the President as well as the Prime Minister of India have reaffirmed these principles as directives, there has been almost complete abandonment of these directions in practice. At least as late as a few years ago, in Chhotanagpore Hindi was used as the medium in tribal schools; this was also the language of instruction of Korkus of Melghat in Berar. The content of teaching had no relation to their culture. In Koraput, the Bondo Porojas and others were being taught through the medium of Oriya and with content unrelated to their culture. In Assam, except in Khasi Hills, Assamese was the usual medium of instruction; in Bengal, the Santals learnt through Bengali. The excuse offered in Orissa was that Oriya was almost the mother tongue

of these tribals, although it was known that Oriya was not spoken at home by them. In Assam it was alleged that it was difficult for the Assamese teacher to learn the tribal language as if little tribal children had less difficulty in following lessons in Assamese. In Bengal, it was stated that teaching through Santaï would lead to group isolation. In Bihar, Hindi being *Rastrabhasa*, no excuse was offered. But the elections to Legislature in Chhotanagpore tribal areas resulted in a sweeping victory of the Jharkhand party as against the Congress. In Assam, the discontent among tribals is too well known to need comment. The fissiparous tendency here has been maximum as the Nagas are well-organised and there has been foreign encouragement to a good extent. Elsewhere matters have not come to a head because of lack of organisation among tribals in some places, such as the south-western part of Orissa, or due to receipt of certain economic amenities, as in Bengal.

III

So far those forces have had no repercussions on University Education in the State of West Bengal due to the fact that there is no group isolation in the University stage of education either in affiliated, constituent or professional colleges or in the Post-Graduate departments of our University. But as stated in the introduction, the forces to promote Indian unity do not essentially come from the University education. They arise from other sources. The content of education in the University certainly does not and should not promote disruption or weakening of this feeling. The present writer pointed out elsewhere (in his Presidential Address in December 1957, to the West Bengal College and University Teachers' Conference), that a study of the characteristics of the educational systems in simpler (what are termed primitive) societies, and also in the more advanced cultures indicates certain fundamental principles underlying education which is but another name for training for life. Progress in culture is shown to be correlated to wider co-operation of social groups at all levels of culture. This conclusion is of importance in our complex society

as much as elsewhere. In fact its importance is greater now that our country is in the initial stages of vast socio-economic changes following our political liberation. In its application to education, the principle enunciated means that education should impart a bias in the mind and activities of youth towards co-operation for a common welfare, on a local, national and international level. It is not necessary to point out that in the international sphere the foreign policy of our country does promote healthy co-operation and seeks to secure it for others. Emphasis may naturally be laid on this aspect, in the teaching of political and social science in our Universities. At the Indian level, however, mere teaching, will not be useful, as facts speak much more forcefully than theories and preachings. If a young man finds that in the matter of employment, the language-culture area or to put it bluntly, the narrower nationality counts for more than other qualifications; if in seeking admission to professional colleges, the same considerations apply, he will realise that India is not one in these vital matters which concern his training for life and employment thereafter. Since such discrimination extends not merely in the employment of educated youth, but of unskilled labour, as a matter of policy on the part of employees, the Indian national unity feeling is bound to be weakened as against the national feeling based on common speech and culture. It is not evident what University education can do in this respect, except by stressing that for the real welfare of the Indian people all the citizens irrespective of States have to co-operate in the common interest. The decrease of the individual or group gain and prestige motive which impels such discrimination can, however, be secured not so much through work in colleges, as in the economic fields and by organising public opinion. It is only when the actual gain in industry and commerce is spent mainly for national welfare, when the businessmen as well as Government executives really work for such an end, in co-operation with the workers at all levels, that the discrimination practised between men of one state and another can die down. At present, the different nations in our multinational state are engaged in keen

rivalry, on the lines of commercial cut-throat competition, at the expense of Indian unity and Indian welfare. This group competition, inside states, is now well on the way to spread on lines of caste, mainly due to organised political attempts to consolidate votes on caste basis. The consciousness of caste has been present from old times, and there have been caste *panchayats* to lay down the law for their own caste-men in local areas. But this phenomenon of wider integration for political purposes is a new emergence. Prof. Ghurye and Prof. Srinivasan have in their writings given ample examples of how political organisations, not excluding the Congress have used this anti-national-unity force. Similar examples can be given from our State as well but are not noted as superfluous. The problem has become acute where one caste is of landowners and other castes are of labourers. In this sphere education may render some useful service. But as primary education is not compulsory and universal, and post-primary education has not come anywhere near the 80 per cent level envisaged in the decade-old scheme approved by the Central Ministry, effective work in rural areas, which are affected more by casteism, cannot be done by merely reporting these events and evaluating their present and future consequences by teachers in their college classes. This centrifugal force can only be countered by economic organisation that will cut across caste boundaries. Inter-caste co-operation has been observed where common economic interests obviously require it. This was noted again and again in the course of the relief work and Rehabilitation Survey (after the Famine of 1943) carried out by the present writer.

As stated in the introduction, one of the objectives of this seminar, being to ascertain what role University education can play in the

matter of Indian Unity and how group isolation can be broken down, it requires a study in the first instance of the basic factors that promote or disrupt Indian unity. This is what has been attempted to do in this note, rather than concentrate on University education alone, as it appears to be more fruitful by helping to clear the ground for more detailed discussion. Reference has of necessity been made to political trends and movements. But in an objective discussion of factors affecting national unity this is essential.

One special type of work, the Universities can do. It is to encourage study of other Indian languages. Those less-developed can at first enrich their content by translation of recognised masterpieces from the more-developed languages. Emphasis laid on University education through regional languages will be helpful in development of such languages through translation of standard texts and some work of reference. Technical terms should, however, in the interest of research, be as far as possible those internationally recognised. The isolation feared to be the result of such adoption of regional languages in Universities may largely be minimised by adoption of some common script for the whole of India. The people of England, France or Germany are not isolated from each other because their Universities teach through their respective national languages. Our students when they go to countries which are not English-speaking, certainly are able to study in the Universities teaching through other media. It is, therefore, not logical to have such apprehensions about isolation in India resulting from use of local national languages in Universities.*

* Based on a talk given at the U.G.C. Seminar on the subject at New Delhi in April, 1958.



A DECADE OF ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENT

By P. R. DUBHASHI, M.A., I.A.S.

II

The Planning machinery was symbolic of yet another new feature of Administration—Administration in Democracy emerged as a coalition between the official and the non-official elements; i.e., Members of Parliament, Members of Legislative Assemblies and Village Panchayats, Members of Co-operative Societies, Members of Academic Institutions, etc re-inforced the ranks of Administrators at all levels.

Enormous expansion in the scope of State activity, brought about an enormous expansion of Administrative machinery. New Ministries and Departments were born and old Ministries and Departments had considerable proliferations. At the Centre, to the traditional Ministries of Home Affairs, with its new wing of States Ministry, Defence, Finance, Commerce and Industry, Railway and Transport, Food and Agriculture were added the Ministries for Education, National Resources and Scientific Research, Communications, Health, Law and Minority Affairs, Works, Housing and Supply, Labour Production, Rehabilitation, Information and Broadcasting and External Affairs. With the formation of the new Central Cabinet on April 17, 1957, after the second General Elections, the various Ministries of the Government of India were reorganised. Two existing Ministries were abolished—the Ministry of Production and the Ministry of National Resources and Scientific Research. A new Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel was set up reflecting the vital importance of steel in national economy. Ministry of Community Development was yet another distinct and significant addition. The sphere of Ministry of Education was enlarged to cover Scientific Research. The Ministries of Communication and Transport were combined into one and so also were the Ministries of Food and Agriculture. The Ministry of Labour was significantly redesignated as the Ministry of Labour and Employment. The work relating to Oil and Petroleum products was transferred from Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply to the new Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel.

As in the Centre, so in the States, was there an expansion of the Ministries. Specific Ministries for Planning and Development came into existence and other nation-building departments like Agriculture, Industries, Co-operation, Local Self-Government, Education, Health, Medical, Prohibition and Backward Classes, assumed pride of place with other erstwhile Ministries of Revenue and Home.

With the expansion of the scope of State activity and increase in the number of Ministries and expansion of old Ministries both at the Centre and the States, came *pari-passu* the expansion of the All India Services. Mention has already been made of the void in Administrative Services created by partition. To that was added the problem of replacing the Indian Civil Service and Indian Police Service with new All-India Services to administer the expanded State-activities. This was a constitutional requirement, because Article 312 of the Constitution recognised the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service as All India Services. Parliament was empowered to regulate by law the recruitment and the conditions of services of persons appointed to these services. Accordingly, the All India Service Act was passed by Parliament in October 1951, and subsequently Rules and Regulations under the Act were also framed. These services were extended to integrated States also. Thus was laid the foundation of the most important part of the administrative structure. The principle of recruitment by open competitive examination was continued in respect of these services. The Constitution of India provided for the establishment of a Union Public Service Commission charged with the function of recruiting candidates to the All India and Central Services. Combined competitive examination was arranged to be held every year by the Union Public Service Commission for recruitment to the All India and Central Services, viz., the Indian Administrative Service, the Indian Foreign Service, Indian Police Service, Indian Audit and Account Service, Military Accounts Service, Indian Railway Accounts Service, Indian Revenue Service, Income-tax

Service, Indian Postal Service; and several others. For each of these Services, training courses were evolved. The system of training the Indian Civil Service probationers for a period of one to two years was replaced after transfer of power by a permanent arrangement for training the Indian Administrative Service probationers at the Indian Administrative Service Training School set up in 1947 in Delhi. The curriculum prescribed for the school included Criminal Law, Elements of Civil Law and Indian Languages, the Theory and Practice of Public Administration with reference to the changing constitutional structure, history with special reference to social, cultural and administrative developments in the country and the Basic Principles of Economics in relation to current economic problems.

The principle of recruitment by open competitive examination was, however, sacrificed in order to meet the growing requirements. During the course of the Second Five-Year Plan, in addition to the recruitment of 225 persons in the Junior scale by open competition, 386 officers are to be nominated from amongst persons of previous experience. This must, however, be considered as a retrograde step; because the replacement of open competition by nomination is bound to bring down the standard of recruitment.

The participation of the Public Administration in Industrial Development was rare prior to Independence; but participation of Public Administration in Rural Development had a fairly long tradition even during the British regime. But then the rural development had only a second place, pride of place being given to the maintenance of law and order and revenue collection. The advent of freedom altered the priorities and erstwhile Law and Order Administration blossomed into a Welfare Administration. The most remarkable development in the rural development administration was undoubtedly the National Extension Service and Community Development Administration, which was born on 2nd October, 1952. Community Development was conceived as a method and National Extension Service the agency through which it was intended to create a new pattern of society in the country-side, organising itself into Co-operative

Societies covering various phases of rural life. A richer and fuller social life was to be built up for the villages. The National Extension Service created a new drive in the Development Administration. It gave a new message not only to the people, but also to the Administration. It took administration out of the ruts into which it had fallen and turned the administrative machine into a live force. Amongst the administrators it created a new spirit. Administration assumed a new outlook. On the organisational side, the great achievement of the National Extension Service was that it took the Development Administration right to the village. It put the village definitely on the administrative map. The aim of the National Extension Service was to extend supplies, services, finance and technical know-how to the very door of the ryot. It created a hierarchy of co-ordinations—the Village Level Worker at the village level, the Block Development Officer at the Block level, the Collector or the Deputy Commissioner at the District level and the Development Commissioner at the State level. It achieved at the Block or Tahsil level the integration of all Development Departments. The Taluk officials of the Departments of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Co-operation and Industry became the Extension Officers of the Block. It prevented the parallel approach of the several Development Departments to the villagers—the sort of an organisational pluralism which led to the confusion. It created an integrated Development Administration at the Block level. At the District and at State and Central levels it created a degree of co-ordination unattained before. It also brought about delegation and decentralisation of powers, unequalled before. It thus removed the greatest bottle-neck to quick progress, *viz.*, the concentration of powers at the top. By provision of non-lapsable funds for a period of three years, the National Extension Service enabled Planning in Development which was not possible before. It avoided all difficulties arising out of late sanction and communication of grants, sometimes at the fag-end of the year and hurried execution of projects by year end.

But its administrative achievements created some administrative difficulties also. It brought into existence a new unit of adminis-

tration—the Block. Its fixed coverage was 100 villages and 66,000 population. But the inconsistencies between the three tests of area, population and number of villages created Units which varied from each other in area and population and number of villages. And it created at the same level two Units—the Block and the Tahsil. Which of the two is basic? This problem was sought to be settled by the device of definition of Blocks to cover the Taluk or Tahsil area. As a result of this development, there is little doubt that the new administrative Unit smaller than the Taluk which was sought to be evolved in some States, e.g., the Anechals in Orissa and Bihar and the Janapads in Madhya Pradesh will have to fall in line with the Units called Blocks which have come to stay not in one particular State but all over India.

Another administrative difficulty arose out of the initial claims of the National Extension Service that it was born to create a revolution in the country-side. In the initial years, it developed on lines independent of its own and isolated from other great Development Departments. It did not take, however, much time to realise that isolated from other Departments it could not hope to register any achievements in the field of Development. Quick administrative changes were effected and there is no doubt that today all Development Departments have found in National Extension Service a most potent instrument of carrying their Development activities to every village. The phenomenal increase in the distribution of short-term credit, seeds and fertilisers are but indications of the potency of this new administrative instrument.

Yet another administrative achievement of this movement is the concrete shape and place it has given to the principle of people's participation in the rural development administration. People's participation was called forth both in thought and action. The doctrine of "felt needs" became decisive in determination of priorities. The participation of the people in cash kind and labour in all development projects became a rule. In Block Advisory Committee deliberations the voice of the people's representatives gave the benefit of their intimate local knowledge to the expert decision of

the administrators. This very achievement, however, has given birth to a difficulty. The doctrine of administration impartiality and freedom from day to day interferences has come into conflict with another doctrine that administration should be responsive to the public opinion. A harmonious and healthy reconciliation of these two principles would require an appreciation on the part of the popular representatives of the role of Administrator in Democracy and on the part of the Administrator of the role of Democracy in Administration.

Integration of the activities of the rural local self-government institutions with the Development programme of Government was another significant achievement of National Extension Service. Article 40 of the Constitution definitely laid down that "the State shall take steps to organise Village Panchayats to function as units of self government." That was also the avowed objective of the Five-Year Plans and the National Extension Service. Several of the National Extension Schemes were channelised through the Village Panchayats. But there the achievements must be considered to have ended. In spite of all pronouncements and new legislation in actual fact, it must be said that the rural local self-government institutions continued to remain during the first ten years of independence in the same unsatisfactory state as before. Their functioning was not such as to ensure confidence in *Gram-raj*. The Panchayats would not meet regularly. They would not prepare their budgets in time. They would be factious and party ridden. They would not raise their financial resources. They would not collect their dues. They were a far cry from the ideal of *Gram-raj*. If the Village Panchayats were in a state of anaemic existence, the Taluk and District Local Boards were in a state of animated suspension. The elected Boards in most of the States were wound up and their administration given to the Collectors as Special Officers.

The rejuvenation of rural local self-government institution is certainly one of the greatest administrative problems today. There are of course several reasons for this unsatisfactory state of affairs. Politically, these institutions have suffered from neglect from the major political parties who concentrated their

attention on National Government. Sociologically, the trend towards urbanisation took away from the villages, all advanced elements leaving the Village Institutions to be managed by lesser elements. Constitutionally, these were kept isolated from one another and from the higher organisations at the State level. Financially, they were left with meagre resources which would not permit any inspiring development programme. Administratively, they were left without proper audit, supervision and guidance being the concern of the Revenue Officers, who could devote only a small fraction of their energies to the supervision of local self-government institutions. Only a concerted effort on behalf of the politicians, sociologists, Constitutional experts, economists and Administrators would help to give the local self-government institutions their rightful place in national life.

The National Extension Service programme is comprehensive both in content and coverage. At the end of the First Five-Year Plan it covered 1/5th of the country-side. At the end of the Second Five-Year Plan it would cover the entire country-side. Such a gigantic programme obviously created the problem of recruitment and training of the enormous Development personnel. Thus it requires 5,000 Block Development Officers, 5,000 Agricultural Extension officers; 5,000 Animal Husbandry Extension officers; 5,000 Industrial Extension officers; 5,000 Co-operation Extension officers; 5,000 Male Social Education Organisers; 5,000 Female Social Education Organisers; 5,000 Progress Assistants; 50,000 Village Level workers; 3,250 Gram Sevikas; 1,760 Medical Officers; 1,760 Compounders; 1,760 Sanitary Inspectors, 1,760 Lady Health Visitors; 6,000 Midwives and 5,000 Overseers. For training this army of Development Workers, 55 Extension Training Centres, 77 Basic Training Centres and 24 integrated Course Training Centres have been started for the Village Level Workers, 27 Centres for the Gram Sevikas, 17 for Group Level Workers; 8 for Social Education Organisers; 3 for Block Development Officers, 3 for Health Personnel, 8 for Co-operation Extension Officers and 8 for Industries Extension Officers.

The administrative achievements of the

National Extension Scheme in the field of rural development have been stated at length above. They led to the establishment of the reformed District Administration envisaged in the Plan. National Extension Service principles of integration and co-ordination, delegation and decentralisation, area planning and popular association powerfully influenced and activated other Development Departments. Through camps, seminars and literature National Extension Scheme gave stimulus to thinking and action of administrators in the field of rural reconstruction.

The Revenue Administration continued to do its valuable work in the country-side. Above the Tahsil level, there was a combination of Development and Revenue functions. But even within the fold of Revenue Administration, several activities of a welfare nature went ahead with an accelerated pace. Growing pressure on land was reflected in grants of even submarginal Government lands in large number. Revenue Administration was called upon to handle a large number of Acquisition cases arising out of the necessity to get lands for irrigation projects, factories, new offices, housing schemes, etc. But these were only the traditional activities of the Revenue Administration.

It was in the erstwhile Zamindari areas that special problems of Revenue Administration arose. The Zamindars were persons who were directly responsible for payment of land revenue. Hence, in villages in the Zamindari tract Village Officers did not function. As a result, the abolition of Zamindari created a void in Revenue Administration at the village level and had to be filled in by the appointment of stipendiary Village Officials.

The burden of the Revenue Administration considerably increased in the wake of Land Reform Legislation. The Tenancy Acts created for Revenue Administration considerable judicial work for fixing fair rent and tenure as between the tenant and the landlord. The abolition of the intermediaries raised compensation claims on their behalf and had to be settled by the Revenue Administration. The consolidation of land-holding legislation put on Revenue Administration responsibilities which called for tact and patience. The equali-

taran Agricultural Income-tax legislation called for detailed knowledge of productivity and income from lands. But even with this increased work load, Revenue Offices continued to be old-fashioned and in several States, Committees were appointed and enquiries held for modernising the Revenue Offices. The ultimate goal of land reform in India has been the promotion of Co-operative Farming. The Second Five-Year Plan envisages the establishment of 100 such Co-operative Farms in India. In several places Revenue Officers were required to guide the management of these Farms.

The welfare activities carried on by the Revenue Administration in its own realm are themselves so varied and important and involve such vital contacts with the villagers that it is idle to expect that at any time in future the Revenue and Development Administration could be put into separate water-tight compartments or even kept distinctly apart. Notwithstanding the coercive methods associated with Revenue Administration and extension methods associated with Development Administration, intimate association between Revenue and Development Administrations is bound to be the condition for the success of the Welfare State.

The problem of Development Administration in the industrial field was altogether different. The problem in the field of rural development was to give a new shape to an old administration already in the field. The problem in the field of industrial development was to create a new Administration altogether. Beyond exercise of certain regulatory powers, the State had never participated actively in industrial development. The doctrine of Socialistic Pattern of Society embodied in the Constitution required an active participation of State in industrial field not only by way of Regulation, Direction and Control, but also by actual ownership of industrial concerns. "In order to realise the objective of Socialistic Pattern of Society it is essential to accelerate the rate of economic growth and to speed up industrialisation and in particular to develop heavy industries and machine-making industries to expand the Public Sector and to build up a large and growing Co-operative Sector.

These provide the economic foundation for increasing opportunities for gainful employment. Equally it is urgent to reduce disparities in income and wealth, to prevent private monopolies and the concentration of economic power in different fields in the hands of small number of individuals. Accordingly, the State will progressively assume a predominant and direct responsibility for setting up new industrial undertakings, for developing transport facilities and for State trading." These principles were embodied in the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948. In 1956, another Industrial Policy Resolution, to some extent modifying the previous resolution, was adopted. The latter classified industries into three categories. In the first category were included industries the future development of which will be the exclusive State responsibility. These included among others, arms and ammunition, atomic energy, iron and steel, heavy plant and machinery, coal and lignite, mining and minerals, air-craft, air transport, railway transport, ship-building, telephones and telephone cables, telegraph and wireless apparatus, generation and distribution of electricity. The second category consisted of industries, which will be progressively State-owned and in which the State takes the initiative in establishing new industries but in which private effort will be expected to supplement Government effort. Machine tools, aluminium, fertilisers, road transport, etc., were included in this category. The third category included all the remaining industries and their future development was left to the initiative and enterprise of the Private Sector.

Several State enterprises in pursuance of this policy sprang up. From the administrative view-point the form of organisation became an important issue. The choice was between a Departmental Organisation, a Corporation or a Joint Stock Company. In the case of older concerns, the Departmental management continued as in the case of Post and Telegraph Departments, Railways, Ordnance Factories, Government Presses and Mints. The Corporation form was adopted in cases like the Industrial Finance Corporation, Indian Airlines Corporation, etc.

The Joint Stock Companies form was

adopted as in Sindri Fertiliser Ltd., the Hindusthan Machine Tool Ltd., the Hindusthan Shipyard Ltd., the Bharat Electronics Ltd., the Indian Telephone Industries Ltd., etc. The Corporation form was adopted in respect of River Valley Corporations also. The theoretical discussions regarding the comparative efficiency of these forms are many but experience will determine the choice regarding organisation of Public enterprise.

The direct participation of State was not only in Industry, but also in Transport, Trade, Banking and Insurance. Several States nationalised Road Transport. State Trading Corporation came into existence. Nationalised Life Insurance Corporation took over the insurance business. The Imperial Bank also was nationalised. All this added an enormous number of technical personnel to the ranks of Government service.

The formation of specialised services emerged as an important problem of administration. It was, therefore, decided to establish an Industrial Management Service for staffing State enterprises, personnel for general management, finance and accounts, sales purchases stores, transportation, personnel management and welfare. Town Administration, etc., courses were also initiated in Business Administration. An Administrative Staff College was established at Hyderabad and its first set of courses have already begun. Besides, personnel of various types like Engineers, Craftsmen and personnel for Agriculture and Cottage Industry were trained.

The Companies Act of 1956, with its 654 Clauses and 12 Schedules was an outstanding development in State regulation of private enterprise. It incorporated measures calculated to dissipate concentration of economic power, reduce irregularities of income and wealth, and democratise Company Management. The Administration of this Act would have to administer "not a set of static provisions but rather a dynamic policy towards the Private Sector."

There cannot be said to have taken place any outstanding Administrative Development in the Co-operative Sector. But the report of

the Direction Committee of the Reserve Bank called for massive State participation in the Co-operative Sector and there is no doubt that Co-operative Administration will assume growing importance in the future set-up.

Notable changes took place in Judicial Administration. Article 50 of the Constitution required the State to take steps to separate Judiciary from the Executive in public services of the State. State Governments passed legislation to give effect to this long-agitated judicial reform. At the same time to adjudicate Administrative Law Administrative Tribunals were also set up.

But the most significant reform in the administration of justice was the amendment of Criminal Procedure Code to make justice cheap and expeditious. Quickening of judicial administration would continue for several years to come the main desideratum of social policy.

Yet another important development in this field was the formation of Central Legal Service for creating a team of Specialists in drafting legislation.

This then is the brief survey of some important administrative developments in the last decade. Socialistic Pattern invariably carries with it as an essential adjunct the "administrative elephantiasis." The importance of administration and administrators is bound to grow notwithstanding the technical and scientific advances. There is however no doubt that with a developed, diversified administration the era of a generalist Administrator, the know-all, do-all Administrator has come to a close and that of the Specialist Administrator has begun. One can well foresee the reorganisation of All India Services on specialised lines.

There is certainly a historic opportunity for social service to the administrator with the advent of Socialist Democracy in the country. The future requires not only a competent but also an inspired administrative service. It would be a pity indeed if democracy brings misguided elements at the helm of affairs and pushes administration out of its legitimate position in Democracy, only to serve their short-sighted aspirations.

✓ PLANNING FOR PROGRESS

By J. N. MAHALANOBIS, M.A., B.L.

It is now more or less accepted that one of the major functions of a modern state is to ensure full-employment within the country by controlling, promoting or regulating the entire economic life of the community, and any measure which seeks to promote the above objective is justified on grounds of economic welfare. Classical economists, however, did not envisage any state control of the economic activity except in times of national crisis or war, as they believed that a policy of non-interference was the golden rule which Governments should follow to promote economic growth and development but these ideas had long been discarded as obsolete and unsuitable to meet the demands of a modern welfare State. As a logical sequence, economic Planning is now largely accepted as a technique of promoting quick growth. But Planning for rapid growth in mature economies of the West is entirely different from the Planning for quick industrialisation of the backward economies. In mature economies, even now, private enterprise is accepted as the pattern of society; State enterprises are only restricted to some very essential or strategic industries which are few, and the entire field of business or industrial activity is left to the private trade. In some cases, the State regulates the flow of income distribution among various social groups by enacting suitable wage laws, by taxation and other statutory measures. In the post-war years, almost all Governments regulate the inflow or outflow of foreign funds with a view to maintain an equilibrium in the balance of payment account. This is inevitable now in view of the break-down of the international gold standard. Now that almost all currencies have ceased to have any fixed gold parity, so far the internal note issue is concerned, there is no impediment to expand national currencies up to any amount irrespective of currency reserve, provided adequate measures can be enforced through banking and monetary techni-

que to protest disequilibrium in balance of payment. Economic Planning however, does not mean such partial control, but means a total control of the entire economic life of the community to attain a definite objective within a given period. The Western model of controlled or regulated economy is quite suitable for mature economies, where Private Sector is developed, the level of employment is high, savings adequate and the technological progress in different industries sufficiently advanced. In such a state of economic advancement, Governments do not consider it necessary to enter in trade or industries to promote quick development. There is no necessity also of such State participation as these economies have already attained a high-level of growth. In such economies, the problem is to secure a reasonable parity among prices, production and income distribution and to curb any inflationary or deflationary pressure which may lead to undesirable consequences. The Government can even go to the extent of regulating flow of investment in different sectors according to certain determined priorities, but this again is done mostly by indirect methods and not by any statutory regulations.

Such a policy of economic regulation and control cannot be regarded as economic Planning in the strict sense, and neither does it seem suitable for backward economies which have to strive hard within a short period to promote economic growth. In backward economies, not only the level of industrialisation is low, but savings and technical know-how are inadequate to take up a quick programme of development. There are many industries which require to be established in a country purely from long-term economic consideration and not for profit. The function of such investment is social gain and not private profit. There is no dispute now that in backward economies, State should take a dominant role in investment by rapidly extending Public Sector and in fact,

the Public Sector should be more important than the Private Sector—but the real problem arises not in regard to such allocation of economic field between Private and Public Sector, but it arises in regard to the implementation of the economic Plan. As stated earlier economic Planning means full control of the economic life of the community, *i.e.*, production, consumption and distribution must be fully under the control of the State. The State should not only define what should be produced, but prescribe what should be consumed and what amount should be set apart for future investment. Under such a scheme of Planning, the choice of individual to consume or spend is very much limited. But this is often considered against the basic principles of democracy and may not be acceptable to the people except in times of national crisis. The great experiment of economic Planning has been done only in a few countries of the world. Russia is the first country which after Communist Revolution accepted economic Planning as a national policy to promote quick progress. She has already passed several Plan periods and achieved remarkable progress in industrialising the country, and the growth of her heavy industries is extra-ordinary. But in Russia the political system is entirely different—the economic life of the community is fully under the control of the State. During the initial Plan periods, the production of consumer goods suffered, the prices soared high, but the Russian consumers had no choice but to submit to hardship and privations, besides essential goods were strictly rationed and the prices regulated by the State among different income groups. In Russia, Government not only controls production but controls the retail distribution of almost all commodities. In such a scheme of national Planning the state can determine the level of production and consumption by statutory orders and regulations and there is not much scope for economic imbalance.

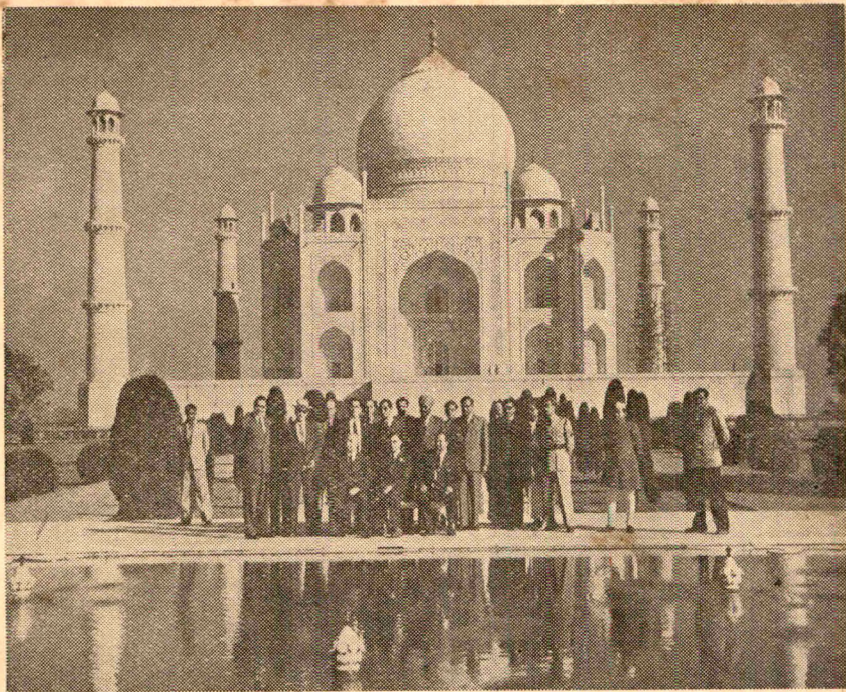
Planning in a democracy poses an entirely different set of problems especially in under-developed countries which do not produce enough to pay for the cost of rapid economic growth. The current surplus is inadequate to keep the stock of capital intact to maintain

the existing level of production not to speak of building new capital stock to accelerate economic growth. Yet some of these economies have adopted the technique of economic Planning as a national policy to promote quick development. The acute unemployment and under-employment, the low level of living and the rapid growth of population make it imperative for these countries to quickly promote the level of economic activity. This is a big task. Economic Planning in a democracy is a great experiment, which has hardly any analogy in the economic history of the world except in times of national crisis. Only in U.S.A. the late President Roosevelt attempted it in a limited scale during the last great depression and within a short period he achieved remarkable success. The classical economists did not devote themselves to the peculiar economic problems of the under-developed countries and no wonder, therefore, that in their writings one will search in vain to find any model to adopt; even in modern economists like the late Prof. Keynes, who devoted a good deal of his writings on the problems of economic development of the mature economies and prescribed some definite measures of economic growth one will not find any analysis of the problem of under-developed countries. Prof. Keynes never bothered about savings or foreign exchange in the economy. He assumed that these things would be readily available to promote economic growth, but it is exactly these two things which are in short supply in most of the backward economies. The major problem for a Planner in the under-developed country is to step up the level of savings within the country as the current level of savings is hardly adequate to meet the cost of an economic Plan. Such savings can be increased either by taxation or loans, but loans may be available if the community has required volume of savable surplus and on the other hand direct taxation may not cover a very large category of persons, whose income level is too low to permit such taxation and tax imposts on essential commodities may lead to strong resistance and may be difficult to achieve. It is not possible to cut down the level of consumption of essential goods nor is it possible to curtail its production and force up the prices. By ration-

ing and control it is admitted that there is some scope for restricted consumption but the level of consumption is already low. Where millions live in thousands of villages with hardly any administrative machinery to administer such a national scheme of rationing and control, one is likely to be faced with a stupendous task. The mal-distribution and bottle-necks which may periodically arise in the distribution of essential commodities may create a great deal of social unrest and no Democratic Government can take such a grave risk of creating popular disaffection. As a last resort deficit financing is recommended to supplement the national savings to meet the cost of development, but deficit financing has its limitations and can only be applied in moderate doses. It is difficult to lay down the permissible limit of deficit financing to meet the development expenditure as conditions are likely to vary from country to country requiring factual study of the prevailing economic factors. That is, the approach to the problem should be empirical and no definite formula can be laid down in this respect. We are often carried away by the abstract economic theories, based on the highly industrialised countries of the West, not realising that all these do not apply to the under-developed countries where problems are entirely different from mature economies. In mature economies, a small monetary incentive is likely to boost up the production to a sufficiently high level to absorb the extra purchasing power but in under-developed countries there are peculiar rigidities in the economy and any extra supply of money may only help to create an inflationary spiral, as production does not always depend on monetary incentives. A good deal of the excess money supply may go to the hoarders who may apply the funds for hoarding and other anti-social activities. It is commonly overlooked that the major regulator of the prices in almost all backward countries is the volume of agricultural production—or to be more precise, volume of food production. The volume of production depend not so much on price factors or monetary incentive but on the vagaries of monsoon. For example, in India during the last two years of the first Plan period, weather was very favourable leading

to an exceptionally good production of food. The position was so favourable that for a time the Government had to enter the market as a buyer to regulate prices. As a result of the favourable food position, the price level in almost all sectors of the economy remained more or less stable. The theory is sought to be advocated that deficit financing of Rs. 400 crores in the first Plan period was a safe figure as it did not create any spiral of high prices. This line of thinking is not scientific. There is always a time lag between cause and effect and this is especially true of economic measures which work in a complex human society. The period that had elapsed was too short to judge the net effect of the volume of deficit financing made in the first plan period. In all probability the economy is now feeling the full impact of the additional created money put into circulation during the first plan period. The conclusion seems inevitable that in under-developed countries the technique of deficit financing can only be applied with great caution. Any tendency to overstep this limit is fraught with great danger as our economic knowledge is yet imperfect and inadequate to fully enunciate the basic principles of such financing. ✓

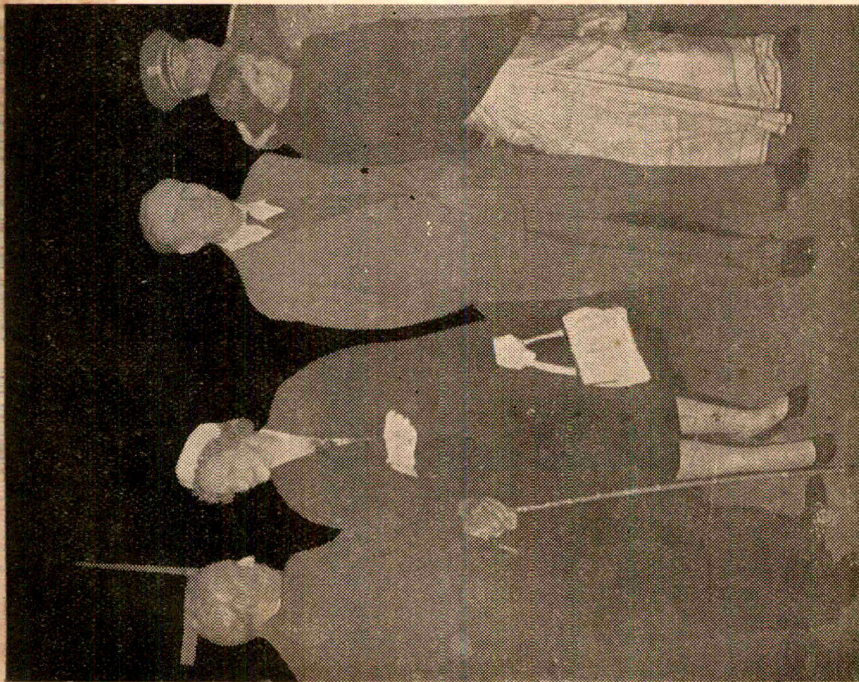
Apart from the problem of securing finance by artificial means, it seems one of the major problems in under-developed countries is to obtain an increasing volume of savings. In a planned economy the basic assumption is that with the increase in the volume of production the community would be able to set apart a larger volume of savings to meet the cost of a progressive scheme of development, as the objective of economic Plan is to continuously increase the volume of investment by increasing the national income. This poses a peculiar problem in backward countries. In these economies the level of consumption is so low that any extra income and additional employment would sharply increase the propensity of consumption, and additional production to be available by planned measures may be wholly consumed by the community without leaving a surplus for investment. Any attempt to step up the volume of investment may be difficult to achieve as the community may increase the level of consumption and the savings may not



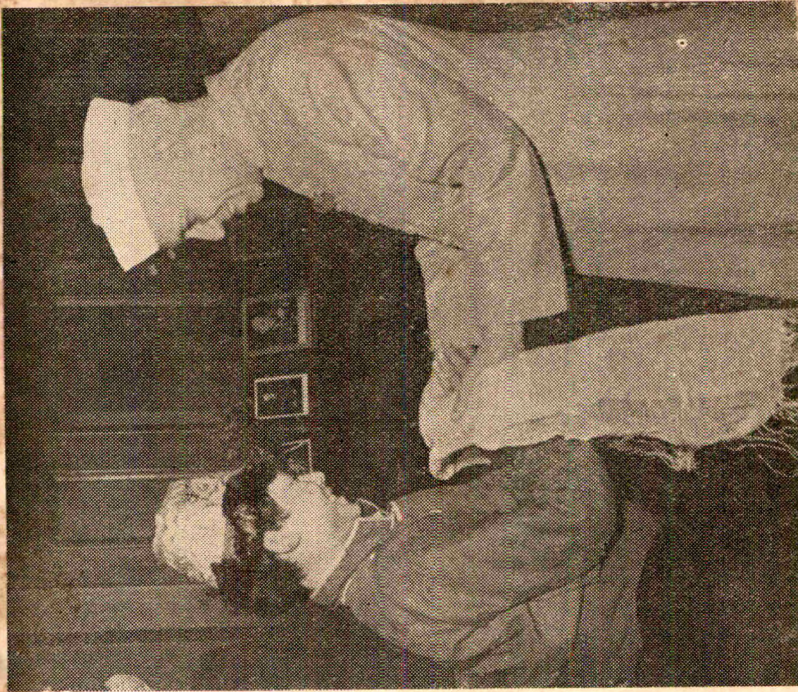
The Prime Minister of Afghanistan and party at the Taj



The Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru in conversation with Limer Ali Sardar Mohammad Daud, Prime Minister of Afghanistan, in New Delhi



The Earl of Home and the Countess of Home arrived in New Delhi on a three-day visit. Sri V. K. Krishna Menon and Shrimati Lakshmi Menon are also seen in the photo



A member of the party of NEFA students who arrived in the capital in connection with the Republic Day celebrations presenting a scarf to the Prime Minister

record an increase at all. Prof. Nurkse, in his book *Capital Formation in Under-developed Countries* says that in under-developed countries there is some scope of capital formation by diverting excess population from agriculture to capital projects, such as construction of roads or irrigation projects. Such a transfer of population would not lead to a decrease in the volume of food production; at the same time, the transfer of the surplus population engaged in agricultural operation will not create an additional demand for food. Thus, according to him, in backward countries where majority of the population is engaged in agricultural operation, there is large potential source of capital formation without straining the demand for food; on the other hand, it is probable, that such a transfer of population may help more efficient management of farms and lead to an increase of food production. This assumption of Prof. Nurkse is probably correct, i.e., transfer of some population will not affect the efficiency of agricultural farms in backward economies as the number of people engaged in agricultural production is generally far in excess of the optimum number of people required. But the other assumption of Prof. Nurkse, i.e., the demand for food will not increase as the people drawn away from agriculture to capital works, who would have also consumed the same volume of food if they would have remained in agriculture, is not entirely correct. At least, to us, this seems to be a bold assumption. On the contrary, there is reason to believe that with the increase in the money income of the people as a result of gainful employment, demand for food and also other essential commodities will sharply increase. For, the existing level of consumption of a vast section of the population engaged in agricultural production is so low that any increase in their money income will at once react on the demand for food. As stated earlier, one of the major drawbacks of the economic planning in democracies where consumption is not restricted by rationing and control, is that with the growth of money income of the people, the volume of consumption will also sharply increase and such increased consumption may be more than the increase of production achieved by the Economic Planning. If the volume

of such consumption exceeds the volume of additional production, the net capital formation in society may suffer and the economic conditions may remain more or less stagnant and even fall as the volume of future investment in the economy is determined by the current volume of savings.

Even without deficit financing the price level of essential consumption goods is likely to increase rather quickly in a developing economy due to acceleration of economic activity. It is a common phenomenon that during the period of rising level of business activity, the velocity of money increases rapidly and causes a sharp rise in prices, even though the total volume of money supply may remain constant. A part of the rise may also be caused by increased creation of bank credit, a very natural sequence in a rising trend of business expansion. There is nothing wrong if the price rises, provided such rise is accompanied by proportionate increase in the money income of all categories of wage-earners in society—or at least if the prices of essential articles are kept within a limit to avoid hardship of the people, but such is hardly the case in an uncontrolled economy. Economic Planning will mean an inevitable expansion of activity in all sectors of the industries, but not all may be engaged in production of consumption goods whereas a very large part of the money income of the people, especially in backward countries, is likely to be spent on consumption goods leading to a sharp rise in prices. It is true that in a developing economy, some price rise is inevitable and has to be tolerated but such rise of prices must be kept within reasonable limit and cannot be allowed to go up to undetermined levels. (The conclusion seems inescapable that even in a democracy, control and rationing of essential commodities must be undertaken if quick progress is sought to be achieved by economic planning.) Rationing and control in a backward country is a big problem and may be extremely difficult to execute but we cannot let loose the forces of inflation in the economy for the sake of quick economic progress and create an intolerable condition of a continuously rising level of prices which may ultimately lead to great social and economic imbalance.)

UNEMPLOYMENT—THE THIRD IMPENDING CRISIS

By PROF. DR. V. D. NAGAR, M.A., Ph.D.

The conspicuous problems of Foreign Exchange and Food Shortage have, for the last two and a half years, relegated the problem of unemployment in the background. An irony awaits us at the end of the Second Plan, when instead of "more employment opportunities" our planners will have to face the common sight of jobless millions looking woebegone and dragging their feet on empty stomachs. The need for solving the problem will tend to be felt more intensely than before, when this stealthily-creeping problem assumes enormous proportion and the problem becomes a matter of public discontent rather than public grievance. The growth of population at the rate of 1.125 per cent per annum, the consequent growth of potential work force at 1½ to 2 million per year and the provision of additional employment to about 2.5 million people so far as against the revised target of 6.5 million (brought down from 8 million) for the Plan-period have revealed the growing disequilibrium between the rate of growth of new activities and the rate of growth of work-force.

Besides this, we have to make arrangements of alternative employment in advance for the "Plan-workers" who will be re-rented after most of our projects, specially multipurpose projects and medium irrigation works, are completed.

The number of jobless people who have registered themselves with the country's 200 employment exchanges shows no signs of abatement. The employment exchange figures are by no means exhaustive because they do not reflect rural unemployment and give complete correct picture of even urban unemployment. In the existing circumstances, however, they merely serve to show the trends in urban unemployment. The number of the unemployed people in the first week of July was

1,010,573. The following table gives figures of the unemployed in some of the major states :

Andhra	71,170
Assam	20,404
Bihar	55,464
Kerala	68,985
Madras	94,025
Madhya Pradesh	32,650
Mysore	35,794
Punjab	45,025
Rajasthan	26,304

An analysis of registration made in different states during the past few months shows that the number of job-seekers is steadily mounting. During the month of June, 1958 the employment exchanges registered nearly, 195,000 people and secured 18,945 placements. On the one hand the number of the registered jobless people is increasing while on the other, the number of vacancies notified to the Employment Exchanges is declining every month. Such is the sorry tale of unemployment and consequent misery.

The reasons for this discouraging present state of affairs are: (1) Disproportionate employment to expenditure. (2) Negligence towards labour-intensive methods and over-emphasis on Capital-intensive methods. (3) Failure of State Governments to utilize the large sums provided for in the plan for reducing educated unemployment and Non-utilization of equipment supplied to states under the T.C.A. and I.L.O. aid programmes. (4) Big shift in the relative proportion of emphasis between major and minor irrigation works with the result that the progress was accompanied by set-back. (5) Lack of co-operation from private sector. (6) Ineffective small savings drive.

Disproportionate Employment to Expenditure

The Planning Commission, it seems, has considered that during the First Plan, the investment expenditure of about Rs. 3,000 crores led to an increase in additional employment by about 4 million people and therefore, the investment of Rs. 6,100 crores during the Second Plan should provide additional employment to 8 million people excluding agriculture and 10 million people including agriculture. In other words, the volume of employment would increase proportionately to investment expenditure. But these hopes have proved dupes because of the following reasons:

Firstly, substantive proportion of the investment outlay on the core of the Plan is Capital-intensive in that it involved import of plants, machinery and equipment during the first two and a half years. Secondly, the reduced degree of emphasis on the agricultural output in the beginning of the Second Plan and the annual imports of about 2 million tons of food-grains at the cost of about Rs. 100 crores revealed a substantial amount of leakage in regard to addition to employment capacity. On the other hand the expansion of labour-intensive cottage and small-scale industries resulted in higher consumption of food-grains not on account of choice but on account of necessity and thus led to reduction of the marketable surplus in the non-agricultural sector. Thirdly, the imports of component parts, instead of machinery which manufactures them, did not create as much employment as the erection of factories manufacturing component-parts would have done.

Negligence Towards Labour Intensive Methods

During two and a half years of the Second Plan raw materials could not be imported due to restrictions on imports. The existing industries and the new ones could not enlarge their scale of production. In some cases even the existing plants had to be closed due to lack of raw materials and the new machinery had to remain idle. The import policy did not take into account

the shortage of raw materials and its effects on employment.

It is true that smaller industries are after five years' experience of Community Projects, now being established in the Development Blocks, but the progress in this direction has been very slow. The expansion of cottage and small-scale industries has followed the traditional old lines. The step-motherly treatment given to the indigenous charkha after the trial of Ambar-Charkha has caused unemployment among the established spinning centres where the old men and women cannot give the required attention to the Ambar-Charkha.

Then, we have failed to realise and make use of enormous employment-potential resources of our forests and the contrast of what might be and what is should direct our planning towards utilisation of these immense resources. Adequate attention has not been given to the systematic development and marketing of forest industries, like essential oils, dyeing and tanning, gums and resins, lac, beeswax and honey, rubber, turpentine and medicinal herbs. The proper development of these industries could have reduced the pressure on soil and provided employment to the landless labourers.

Non-Utilization of the Large Funds and Equipment

The Planning Commission and Union Labour Ministry are greatly concerned over the failure by and large of the State Governments to utilize the large sums provided in the Plan for reducing unemployment among the educated classes. The study group's recommendation of the establishment of work-cum-production centres, transport and co-operative societies, industrial co-operative and small-scale industries have been treated as mere 'academic' suggestions. For instance, at the Transport Commission's conference held in Mussoorie last year the representatives of most states had agreed that the establishment of transport-co-operatives would provide for a useful outlet for the educated unemployed, but so far the funds allotted

have not been utilized. Other Schemes have also made little or no progress.

The story of the sad state of affairs does not come to an end here only. In spite of the assurances given, major part of the equipment supplied to India under the T.C.A. and I.L.O. aid programmes still remains unutilized. This is attributed to the shortage of power-supply. However, such machinery should have been shifted to other training centres for prompt use. The importance of prompt utilization of such machinery lies in that they involve much-needed foreign exchange. Moreover, non-utilization of these aids for indefinite periods, will adversely affect our efforts to obtain further assistance and consequently the employment opportunities.

Reduced Emphasis on Minor Irrigation Work

The Planning Commission hoped that the substantial programmes of irrigation would diminish under-employment in the rural areas. But the so-called progress reports from the States in respect of irrigated areas in 1956-57 are painfully disappointing. The targets of 6.3 and 2.2 million acres of land during 1957-58 to be brought under irrigation on account of multi-purpose large and medium irrigation projects and minor irrigation works respectively have not been reached. The progress in the minor irrigation work has left behind the trail of set-back. New means of irrigation have been developed but old-wells and tanks are falling into disuse. New wells are being dug up but tanks are lying in a state of disrepair. For instance, in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh no less than 15,000 and 10,000 tanks respectively are lying in disrepair because of the paucity of funds.

We should not forget that minor irrigation works yield quicker results, bring more land under irrigation than the same expenditure on major projects, provide employment to a large number of people and need no experts and very little or no foreign equipment. It is gratifying, however, to note that the Planning Commission has increased the outlay of Rs. 63 crores for minor irrigation works to Rs. 83.5 crores.

Lack of Co-operation from Private Sector

The Private employers prefer to go their own way and recruit men directly to fill vacancies. Frantic appeals for active co-operation made by employment exchange authorities have fallen on deaf ears. In the absence of organised labour market, the skilled and qualified jobless men remain at the waiting lists of employment exchanges while the private employers wait in vain to get the type of man they want and consequently the jobs remain vacant and unfortunate unemployed people suffer. Moreover, the private employers are not very clear in their mind about the nature of the job and the duties that they want to be performed. They sometimes expect the would-be employee to do 'subsidiary' duties also like—giving a little tuition to the employer's little son, typing a little of private correspondence and serving as P.A. to the employer. Besides this, the employment of domestic servants presents special problem of its own. The house-holder wants guarantees of good-conduct and honesty for future which the employment exchange, for obvious reasons, can not give.

Ineffective Small Savings Drive

Employment depends upon the volume of savings and the rate of investment. During the period of the First Plan, the average collections per year were about Rs. 47 crores. The Commissions' targets of Rs. 100 crores per year from small savings assume double performance on this account. But this target has not been achieved in any year. During 1957-58 the total collections had been only about Rs. 38 crores. The failure on this front was due to (1) steady increase of 7 per cent in the price-level every year and (2) lack of confidence in small savers in the yield from their contributions. The targets, therefore, could not be realised and if the inflationary tendencies persist they may never reach the target of Rs. 100 crores per year. In fact in an economy accustomed to low standards of living marginal increments in income usually tend to be utilised for consumption rather than saving in the absence

of attractive and effective measures with the result that the marketable surplus of agricultural products is reduced.

Suggestions

It is highly dangerous either to deny the existence of the problem or adopt the complacent attitude towards it. The following are the measures which if accepted and implemented may save us from the impending crisis :

1. Instead of importing component parts we should import machinery which can manufacture these parts and provide employment to larger number of persons.

2. Restrictions imposed on the import of raw materials should be relaxed. Every industry must try to export at least such quantities of its production as would pay for raw-materials.

3. The traditional and general approach as regards the development of cottage and small-scale industries should be replaced by vigorous drive and technical methods in the Community Development projects and N.E.S. Blocks. The targets of production, employment and marketing should be fixed for every cottage industry. The existing class of intermediaries in village industries should be replaced by Co-operatives or State Trading Corporations in every state so that the state or workers may reap the profit of prevailing higher prices and more people may follow these occupations.

4. The employment potentiality of the forests and forest-industries should be utilized through the agency of labour co-operatives.

5. Creation of Land-Army to reclaim waste land, drain marsh lands, dig canals, wells, compost pits, etc., and construct funds and fences provides an answer to the problem of food shortage besides providing employment to millions of landless labourers.

6. The manpower officers in the States should take up the matter of the establishment of transport co-operatives and other schemes with the departments concerned and prompt action should be taken in this

direction to reduce unemployment among the educated classes.

7. Co-ordination councils in every state and central co-ordination council at the centre should be formed to make available jobs to the labourers of dams and other projects who are being or will be retrenched in the near future.

8. Pending the passage of the much-heard Bill by the Parliament, the States should devise effective ways and means to compel the private employers to notify the vacancies to the employment exchanges and make use of their services. Even Ordinances may be issued.

9. Labour Co-operatives should be formed and preferred to the contractors so far as the construction activities are concerned. The Governments of U.P. and Kerala have made beginning in this direction with successful results.

10. "Save one anna per day" campaign should be started all over India. Mobile postal facilities should be provided to make on the field collection during harvest time. Besides this, the 12-year savings certificates should be replaced by or supplemented by the three to five years certificates at attractive rate of interest and the 10-years Treasury Savings deposits should be allowed to be sold by commission agents at eight annas per cent commission. Moreover the 'Must' percentage should be introduced among the earners earning above Rs. 200 per month. Lastly, to begin with nationalisation of banking for which the time is ripe now, the Government of India should nationalise the Savings Accounts of the Commercial Banks.

We should not forget that the central problem before us is that of obtaining jobs for the existing unemployed and new entrants. Our minds should not be coloured by the pattern of organisational set-up as well as the frame-work of policies followed by other advanced countries. What is really required is an over-all change in our perspective in order to understand the gravity of the problem and affect required changes without any delay.

THE MIDDLE-EAST IN WORLD POLITICS AND GERMANY*

By PROF. DR. TARAKNATH DAS,

Columbia University and New York University, New York

I

THE term "The Middle-East" needs a definition. When the Ottoman Empire was ruling over the Balkans then parts of South-Eastern Europe as well as a part of Western Asia under the Ottoman rule were designated by the British as the Near East while a part of South-West Asia between the west of India, bordering the Persian Gulf towards Egypt was arbitrarily called as the Middle-East. Now-a-days the region which is really a part of the South-West Asia is called at times the Near-East and the Middle-East indiscriminately. In my talk I shall try to discuss certain important problems of the South-West Asia which affected world politics and specially Germany.

At the very outset it should be kept in mind that the geo-political significance of an area is more or less constant. Thus the so-called Middle-East, from the very ancient days, due to its geographical position connecting or adjoining the three continents of Asia, Europe and Africa has played an important part in world affairs. It may not be out of place to point out that long before the rise of Greece and Rome as factors in world civilization or becoming dominant political powers, the peoples residing within the vast area of the Nile Valley and the Indus Valley, i.e., the Babylonians, Sumerians, Egyptians, Persians and Indians, played the dominant role in world affairs. We cannot go into the details of the history of this era but it may be said that whenever any nation dominated over the Middle East in the true sense of the word, it controlled the area adjoining the Persian Gulf and also the Eastern Mediterranean. During the days of Xerxes and Darius Hystaspis, the Persians controlled not only the whole of South-West Asia, but ruled over a part of the western part of India

(the Punjab) and also the eastern part of the Mediterranean, including some of the Greek islands.

Civil-War-imfested petty States of Greece (and in comparison with the Persian Empire of those days, Greek city States were mere villages) were united by Philip of Macedon; and it was under Alexander the Great, the Greeks challenged the Persian might and conquered Persia and marched towards India. When one analyses Alexander's victorious march and later developments, it becomes clear that the regions of Eastern Mediterranean including Egypt form the western flank of the Middle East, and India is the eastern flank and Persia and adjoining lands form the heart. The nation that controls over the Middle East must have dominant position within the whole area. This can be substantiated by histories of Byzantine Empire, Arab Empire, the Ottoman Empire and the Western Imperial Powers interested in controlling the region at different times.

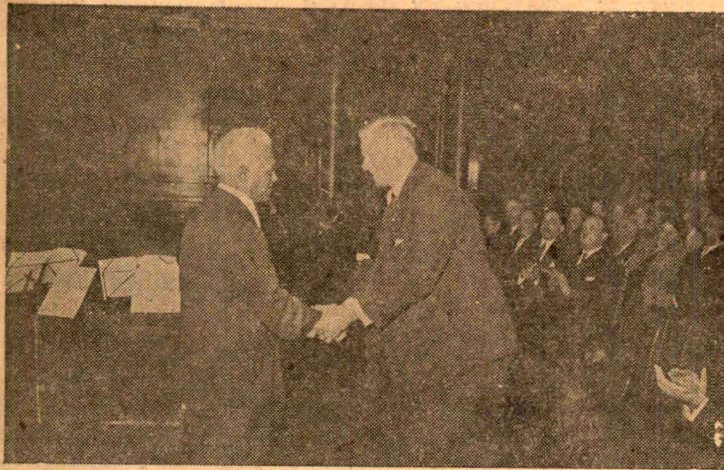
II

During the period of European expansion in Asia specially in India, the Middle East became of special importance; and its control became an object of rivalry among three great Powers of Europe—France, Britain and Russia—Anglo-French rivalry in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century was world-wide. During the Napoleonic war, control of the Near East and the Middle East loomed large in Napoleon's programme of breaking British power which was sustained by the wealth of India. Thus Napoleon tried to get control over Egypt and also Syria. But to prevent Napoleon from controlling the "left flank" of the Middle East, Britain fought Napoleon and supported Turkey and Persia against France and Russia. Thus from the beginning of the nineteenth century the British foreign policies regarding the expanding Western powers took the form of controlling the routes to India through the Middle East.

After the elimination of France as rival of Britain after the Congress of Vienna, Anglo-Russian rivalry was centred on the issues of

*A speech delivered before a Conference of the *Nah-und Mittelost-Verein* at Hamburg Town Hall, on Friday the 5th of December 1952. The text of this speech reached us late for topical publication, but in view of the importance of the subject we publish it in memory of Taraknath Das. Ed.—M.R.

the Middle East . . . Russia was trying to control Turkey and through this, the whole of the Middle East, while Britain was determined to check any such developments. Thus we find that Britain was involved in the Crimean War, and Britain was supported by France and Italy, and also France to prevent Russia from making Turkey her dependency. The most interesting feature of the Treaty of Paris, which was concluded in 1856 to end the Crimean war, was that Russia had to agree to British demands that she would not keep any navy in the Black Sea.



The Lord Mayor, Dr. Brauer* of the Free State of Hamburg welcoming Prof. Taraknath Das before a large audience in the Town Hall of Hamburg

This provision was imperative, because Russia with a great navy at the Black Sea could have easily controlled the North-Eastern part of the Ottoman Empire in Asia penetrating into the Middle East.

In 1854 or 1856, there was no united Germany and Bismarck was seeking Russian support in case of an Austro-Prussian conflict and he did not participate in the Crimean War which led to Russo-Prussian friendship, the foundation-stone of Bismarck's foreign policies of the future, and which helped Prussia in winning her wars against Austria (1866) and France (1871). Although Germany was in no way involved in the Middle East directly, Germany's destiny was tied with the policies of Russia centred in the expansion in the Middle East.

After the Crimean War, the question of the Suez Canal, one of the key points of the Middle East, became a great issue. It is not generally emphasised that Lord Palmerston was opposed to the construction of the Suez Canal to be controlled by Egypt and France, lest such an enterprise might be a menace to the British control of the Middle Eastern routes to India. After the Franco-Prussian War, German policy of Bismarck was to bring about isolation of France in world politics and thus aiding Britain against the French ambitions in

Egypt and at the same time Bismarck was willing to encourage Russian expansion in Asia and thus in the Middle East. After the Russo-Turkish War of 1876 and the conclusion of the Treaty of San Stefano of 1878 by which Turkey was virtually made a dependency of Russia, Great Britain took the leadership to undo this treaty, and this was done at the Congress of Berlin of 1878 when Bismarck sided with Britain interested in checking Russia and encouraged Britain to take control over Egypt which resulted in greater Anglo-French tension as well as Anglo-Russian rivalry, and thus strengthening Germany's diplomatic position in world politics.

Thus it may be safely asserted that Germany, even in Bismarck's days, used the Middle Eastern situation—Anglo-French rivalry in Egypt and Anglo-Russian rivalry in Turkey—to her advantage.

In bringing about German unity, and further strengthening the position of the German Empire in world politics, Bismarck astutely utilised the situation in the Middle East, but carefully kept Germany out of entering into the Middle East. But after the fall of Bismarck and the adoption of new policies of German expansion into the Middle East by Kaiser Wilhelm, German position and policies in the Near East became a factor in the destruction of the German Empire as a result of the World War I.

III

According to the *Memoirs* of Sir Edward Grey, we find such charges that Germans "black-mailed England" and secured the concession for building the Berlin-Baghdad Railway. During the days of Anglo-French control of Egyptian debts and Anglo-French rivalry in Africa, during the latter part of the nineteenth century, Britain needed German support and support of the Triple Alliance (Germany-Austria-Italy), against the Franco-Russian Alliance. Sir Edward Grey held that as a price of German support in Africa, the German Government induced the British Government to use its influence to prevent the British companies in competing with the Germans regarding the concession for the Berlin-Baghdad Railway.

The German entry into the Middle Eastern political field with the idea of securing economic, political and military control over Turkey shattered any possibility of Germany continuing to secure the support of Britain and Russia in world politics. Thus after the Russo-Japanese War although Kaiser Wilhelm thought and discussed with Count Witte about forming a combination of Germany-Russia-France, it did not materialise due to one of the reasons that Russia was opposed to the German policy of strengthening Turkey by building railroads in Asia.

Germany secured concession for building the Berlin-Baghdad Railway, but the British were opposed to have its terminal to any point at the Persian Gulf, lest this may later endanger the British control of the Persian Gulf, while Russians demanded that Germany must not build any extension of Berlin-Baghdad Railway in North-Eastern Asiatic Turkey towards Russian frontiers. Germany was anxious to please the Anglo-Russian Powers and concessions to their demands; but the Triple Entente of Anglo-French-Russian combination was formed, through the Anglo-French understanding at the expense of Egypt and Morocco, while the Anglo-Russian understanding was made at the expense of Persia (Iran) in 1909 and 1910, by which Persia was divided into a British zone of interest in the Persian Gulf region and Russian zone of interest at the North, i.e., at the Caspian Sea region.

It is not necessary and not possible within the time at my disposal to discuss how the World War I came, but it cannot be denied that the German efforts to penetrate into the Middle East through the Berlin-Baghdad Railway and Anglo-Russian opposition to it was one of the causes of the tragedy. It should be noted that Germany after the war lost all her interests in the Berlin-Baghdad Railway.

IV

After the World War I Germany was prostrate, but as a great people they succeeded to recover economically and politically, on the one hand by securing Anglo-American aid and on the other by collaboration with Soviet Russia which began with the Rappalo Agreement. One of the most outstanding features of the consequences of the World War I was the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and the creation of the Arab States under the Mandate system and the laying of the foundation of the establishment of a "Jewish Homeland in Palestine" in accordance with the Balfour Declaration.

Here it should be recorded, that the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East was primarily brought about by the use of Indian man-power and economic aid. In fact, since the days of the Napoleonic War, to be specific the battle of Aboukir, the use of Indian power has been the prime factor in maintaining the British supremacy in the Middle East. Of course, this supremacy, on the other hand, was imperative to maintain the British domination in India.

After the World War I, the main currents of the foreign policies of the Great Powers—France, England and Russia—changed to suit their respective interests. There was Anglo-French rivalry, because the British were interested in eliminating France from Syria by supporting the Arab States, specially Emir Feisal, the British wanted to use the Arabs in the Middle East against Turkey and France. This led to the Franco-Turkish Alliance. Anglo-Russian Alliance of 1909-1910 was denounced by Soviet-Russia and it adopted a policy of supporting the Asian nationalism by giving up the policy of aggrandisement in Asia (the Middle East, Afghanistan and China) which was the policy of the Tsarist Russia and to form non-aggres-

sion pacts with Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan. The dissolution of the Anglo-French-Russian combination in the Middle East and the rise of the rivalry among these powers and also the Italian opposition to British policies in the Middle East gave the Germans an opportunity to make another effort to establish closer relations—economic and political—in the Middle Eastern countries especially in Persia, Turkey, and also in Iraq and Egypt. At the beginning Germany worked for economic foot-holds in the Middle East and were successful, but with the advent of Hitler regime, the programme of political expansion in the Middle East was adopted. The very moment it became evident to Turkey that there might develop a Russo-German co-operation in the Middle East, wise Turkish statesmen adopted the policy of Anglo-French-Turkish co-operation while maintaining neutral attitude towards Germany and Russia. Turkey learnt her lessons from the defeat of World War I, and she did not wish to take chances of being involved in a war among European powers which might endanger her very existence.

V

For a student of history, it is immensely interesting to note the parallels between the Napoleonic war and the Hitlerian war and also the fall of Napoleon and the destruction of Hitler and Hitlerian Germany. For our purpose, we may note that like Napoleon Hitler tried to control Africa and spread German influence in Egypt but like Napoleon, through doggedness and resourcefulness of the British who secured American aid, Hitler had to retire from Africa as did Napoleon. Like Napoleon Hitler tried to get control over Syria, Iraq and Persia through local revolutions, but he also failed there. Hitler's adventure against Russia was one of the causes of his downfall and this can be well compared with what happened to Napoleon. Stalin acted as Alexander I who after the Battle of Friedland and the conclusion of the Treaty of Tilsit (1807) co-operated with Napoleon, but when Napoleon and Alexander disagreed on the issues of the dismemberment of Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire, they parted company. We all know now from the perusal of the documents

concerning Soviet-Russian and Nazi-German relations that Hitler decided to attack Soviet-Russia because the latter was not only insistent upon the controlling of the Balkans but Constantinople and the Straits and thus Asiatic Turkey as well. Here then I may emphasise the fact if the issues of the Berlin-Baghdad Railway was one the causes of the World War I and the destruction of Germany, one may point out that the Russo-German disagreement and rivalry on the issues of the Near-East and the Middle-East was one of the causes of Hitler's attack on Russia and final destruction.



Prof. Taraknath Das addressing the conference on the Middle-East and the Near-East in the Town Hall of Hamburg on Dec. 5, 1952

It may be worthwhile to mention that after the German army penetrated into the heart of Russia, the Anglo-American powers did everything to save Russia by giving "lend-

lease aid", so that Leningrad and specially Stalingrad would not fall, because the fall of Stalingrad might have led to German control of the oils of the Caucasus and eventually a German march into Persia leading to the control of the Anglo-Iranian Oil and German entry into the Persian Gulf (in the same way as the Japanese appeared in Malaya and captured Singapore). Thus the Anglo-Russian Powers took control over Persia and secured American aid to build railroads in Persia so that American aid to Russia to defend Stalingrad may be more safely delivered through the Southern routes, i.e., through Persia. One may say that the control of the Middle-East by Hitler's enemies was one of the causes of his defeat and the destruction of Germany.

VI

Today new forces are operating in the Middle-East and one of the most potent one is the rise of nationalism. From Iran to Egypt and further to the Atlantic, we have various problems and conflicts which are influencing the world politics as a whole.

At the very outset, it should be clearly understood that the rivalry between Soviet-Russia and the Western Powers which is evident all over the world is also operating in the Middle-East. Thus behind the Anglo-Iranian dispute on oil issue, there is the fear on the part of the British that loss of British control over Persian oil would hurt them not only economically and politically, but it might lead to Russian control of oil and Persia. One may compare the British opposition to German influence in the Middle-East before, during the World War I and World War II, with the British opposition against the expansion of Russia in the Middle-East. Today Russia has taken the place of Germany in rivalry of Powers in the Middle-East.

Britain created the Arab League to use the Arabs to her advantage; but today the Arab League Powers are opposed to Britain on many grounds and one of these is that the Anglo-American Powers have been aiding Israel. The Arab League Powers often threaten that they would make a common cause with Soviet-Russia. They also are play-

ing with Germany as Pan-Islamists of Abdul Hamid's days tried to use Germany against both Russia and Britain. Thus there is a new and renewed popularity of Germany in the Arab lands and this also serves the cause of German economic expansion in these countries.

In Egypt there are two problems which have created Anglo-Egyptian hostility in world politics. They are the issues of the Suez Canal and Sudan. Just as during the World War I and World War II, allied powers did not want to give up the control of Egypt and the Canal so that they will not allow Egypt to control the Canal, unless they be absolutely certain that the Canal would not fall in Russian hands. From my point of view Egyptians should co-operate with the Western Powers on the defense of the Suez Canal, with definite understanding that when the lease of the Suez Canal would expire in a few years, the Canal should not only be reverted to her, but there would be no foreign forces at the Canal unless Egypt wanted to have them on her own initiative. But the question of Sudan is altogether different. Britain wants to create a State of Sudan which might be used against Egypt as a strangle-hold. It is the same policy of Britain which she pursued in partitioning India and creating a Pakistan to keep India weak. Sudan must be associated with Egypt as its part or as a part of the Egypto-Sudan Federal Republic.

I may here mention that Anglo-Iranian difficulties on Iranian oil question can only be solved by Britain accepting Iran's legitimate demands for the control of the resources of the country while paying a reasonable compensation for the improvements made by the British Corporation. Without going into details, I suggest to solve this issue by following the path pursued in solving American-Mexican difficulties when Mexico nationalised oil resources of the land which hurt American oil interests.

Regarding the conflict between the Arab League and Israel, I feel that this issue will be solved through negotiation in near-future and Germany must not be involved in it in a political way.

It will be very unwise for Germany today, whose very recovery and survival de-

pend upon the co-operation with America and Western Powers, to be involved *politically* in the issues of the Middle-Eastern problems. Due to rivalry between Soviet-Russia and the West in the Middle-East and due to opposition of the Arab States against the Anglo-American powers specially Britain, Germany has special opportunity in furthering her interests in the Middle-East. But some short-sighted Germans are engaged in activities which might be regarded as supporting the anti-Western forces in Arab lands and Iran politically and militarily. As a friend of Germany I warn that if

such a policy is pursued, it would certainly react adversely against true interests of Germany in world politics, bringing about her isolation and possibly affecting her future security which is dependent upon the co-operation with the West.

[Those who are interested in Indo-German cultural co-operation may communicate with Dr. Franz Thierfelder, President, India Institute, Munchen-Pullach Habenschadenstrasse 71, West Germany].

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MUSIC OF THE PAST

By AMAL SARKAR, M.A., LL.B.

THERE is hardly a tribe in the world which can be said to be indifferent to music. Musical expression is, however, an early phenomenon in the history of life. The history of its origin is still shrouded in mystery. It is probable, and many scholars agree with the view, that music is born of sound, the principal medium by which most of the higher animals both express and excite emotion. According to some the idea of expression through music germinated in the song of a bird: "The bird sent out the merry note and men learnt the art of singing." Darwin's conclusion was that the musical notes and rhythm were acquired by the male or female progenitors of mankind for the sake of charming the opposite sex. But the most probable theory connects the origin of music with man's 'innate love of rhythm, rhythmic action and rhythmic speech.' The Pygmy of the African land is innately musical; the Australian Maori sings war-songs to work himself up to fury in the battle-field; the Turkish shepherd fills the air with sweet music while his shaggy dog watches over the flock; the African labourer sings as he strikes picks into a road, or pulls a cable or tills the soil; and the Rishi Narada of India wanders about on earth and in heaven singing and playing on his *vina* and teaching music to men.

In by-gone ages the musical instruments like whistles and flutes of primitive men were made of human or animal bones; these flutes were pierced with holes at regular intervals or consisted of two bones, which, when joined, could make modulated tunes. Wood, metal, glass, pottery, slabs of sonorous stone, etc., were employed to make 'wind' instruments; the 'string' instruments were usually made of hair of animals; of silk, the runners of creeping plants, the fibrous roots of certain trees, of cane, catgut, etc. At Aquineum, an old settlement of the Romans near Budapest, the discovery was made of the oldest organ in the world, having 52 pipes. The oldest harp in the world made of gold, tortoise-shell and lapis lazuli was found in 1934 in Ur, the capital of the ancient Sumerian Empire.

The earliest legends of Ceylon tell of one Ravana who invented the first stringed instrument 5000 years ago. It is described as a stick, to one end of which was attached a small cylinder of sycamore wood, across which ran two strings fastened to both ends of the stick.

The Jewish Shophar or Shofar must be one of the oldest wind instruments. It is usually made of a carved ram's horn, and is used in synagogues on certain occasions to this day. With its help King Saul announced his victory

over the Philistines. Jubal is referred to in Genesis IV, 21 as "the father of all such as handle the harp and organ."



Dancers and Musicians in procession
(Mediaeval Period, Pabna, Bengal)

It is said that the Chinese possessed a very high idea of the importance and power of music. The discovery of music in China is attributed to the Emperor Fu Hsi (2852 B.C.) who is said to have invented the lute. About 200 years later Huang Ti, the Yellow Emperor, declared music to be 'the key to good government' and commanded one Ling-lun in 2700 B.C. to work out the principles of music. This the philosopher did by listening to the voices of nature as he sat in solitude on the bank of the River Hoang Ho. Hymns had already begun to be composed by these Emperors but it was about 2250 B.C. that one great Shun composed a piece called 'Ta Shao' which, when heard by Confucius 1000 years later exercised

so much influence on the mind of the famous saint of Asia that for three months he lost all tastes of his food. A musical party went direct from India to China in A.D. 581, when Kao-tsu was the ruling Emperor. The Korean music is also very ancient, and music made its mark in Kuchi, a place in Central Asia. Kuchi was strongly influenced by Indian music; it is believed that a Brahmanical family called Ts'ao (Jha) from India, who were here hereditary musicians, had visited Kuchi and carried the Indian mode along with them. Love is a very popular theme in old music in Korea as we find in the popular song 'Arirang' (the name of a mountain pass). The Koreans are musically inclined by nature. "Four Koreans and a bottle of wine will provide music for an entire night."

According to the Ko-ji-Ki tradition of Japan, the offended sun-goddess hid herself in a cave and the world became dark; the goddess Uzume-Amen-no-mikoto (the respectable Uzume in heaven) dressed in a strange fashion, and playing on the cords of six bows, danced to the tune of her singing, so that the gods burst into laughter and the floor of heaven shook. Thereupon, the sun-goddess in wonder opened the door of her cave just a bit, and again there was light in the world. The old indigenous music in Japan is called Outa (*sangit*) which was used at all grave and serious meetings of the court. Sometime in January, the great harvest festival known as Dai Josai takes place in which the old songs Kumemai (homophonous music) and azumamai (beginning of the year) are sung. Japanese music is also deeply influenced by Korea; and during the reigns of Kimmei (A.D. 500) and of Shiko (A.D. 612) the Chinese music Kuregaku (Kure means South and Kara means North while the area of Korea is known 'gaku') was brought to Japan through Korea. According to traditions two principal types of music called Bodhi-sattva and Bhairo were taken from China to Japan by an Indian Brahmana named Bodhi in the T'ang period. In fact Jimmu was the first historical Emperor of Japan who was said to have sung songs of his own composition for the consolation and cheer of his soldiers in the battle-field.

The ancient Indian, i.e., Hindu music was



Heavenly musicians and gods sending Bodhisattva down to earth in the form of an elephant (2nd century A.D., Amaravati, Madras)

based primarily on religion. Various accounts of the origin and beginning of Indian music are related in fanciful legends of gods and goddesses, and such music has never any individual composer. Bharata Rishi is said to have taught the art of music to the heavenly dancers—the Apsaras, who danced before Siva, the Lord of Dance (Nataraja). The Gandharvas were the singers and the Gandharva Veda deals with the art of music. The oldest detailed information about Indian musical theory was to be found in Chapter 25 of the treatise *Natya Sashtra* (the science of dancing), composed by the sage Bharata (4th cent. A.D.), the earliest Hindu writer on music. The musical theory of Bharata had a close affinity and commonness with that of Aristoxenus (350-320 B.C.), and this parallelism between Greek and Indian ideas about music has led some scholars to think that “the Greek and Hindu systems were elaborated on slightly divergent lines from a common source.” But prior to the period of the sage Bharata we can trace out ample references of music in the early indige-

nous literature. The Vedas mention of different kinds of instruments like *dundubhi* (an ordinary drum); *adambara* (another kind of drum); *bhumi-dundubhi* (an earth drum made by digging a hole in the ground and covering it with hide); *vanaspati* (wooden drum); *aghathi* (a cymbal used to accompany dancing); *kanda-vina* (a kind of lute); *karkari* (another lute); *vana* (a lute of 100 strings); *vina* (the present instrument of that name in India); *tunva* (a wooden flute); *nadi* (a reed flute); *bakura* (exact shape is not known). By the time of Yajurveda several kinds of professional musicians appear to have arisen, for “lute players, drummers, flute-players and conch-blowers are mentioned in the list of callings.” The Rig and Samvedic hymns are the earliest examples we have of words set to music. The wife was asked to sing a song in the Simantonayana ceremony and in the marriage ceremony the bridgroom used to sing a *gatha* after the treading on the stone by the bride. Panini was perhaps the earliest to refer to music in about the last quarter of the 4th cen. B.C.

In C. 300 B.C., the Pali Pitaka referred to two disciples of Buddha (C. 480 B.C.) attending a dramatic performance which of course was musical. The Buddhist champion in musical art was the Thera 'Dwarf' Bhaddiya, who, according to tradition, was a former Buddha and born as a 'variegated Cuckoo' (Kokila); Sariputta, the favourite disciple of the Buddha had a voice of 'Salika' and the Buddha's voice was compared to the celestially sweet vocal organ with its eight characteristics. In the Rk pratisakhya, a composition of 5th cent. B.C., we can find the earliest reference to musical theory which mentions 'three voice registers and the seven notes of the gamut'. In the epic period (C. 400 B.C.—200 A.D.), the art of music was considerably developed. Ravana is made to say that 'he will play upon the lute of his terrific bow with the sticks of his arrows.' Instruments like bheri, pataha, ghata, panava and dundima, mudduka (brass trumpet) are mentioned in the *Ramayana* while the *Mahabharata* speaks of the seven svaras and of the Gandhara Grama, the ancient third mode. From Kalidasa's works in the 5th century A.D., we know that 'the temple and the stage were the great schools of music.' The *Natya Sastra* of Bharata contains a detailed exposition of the svaras, srutis, gramas, murcchhanas, jatis. Another great musical authority in India was Sarangadeva (13th century A.D.) living at the court of the Yadava King of Devagiri. Haridas Swami was another great musician during the reign of Akbar the great Moghul, one of whose disciples was Tansen 'like whom there has been no singer for a thousand years.' Music had a very high place in the empirical court of the Muslim Emperors. We are told that during the reign of Shah-jahan (1628-66) two musicians, Jagannatha and Diring Khan, received from the emperor their weight in silver, which amounted to about Rs. 4,500. There were regular institutions of music where students could acquire knowledge in music. Naik was the highest degree conferred on the musician who was a past master in the science. Beyjoo and Gopal were Naiks. Gandharp was the degree given to the efficient performers of Marg and of Darsi. Tansen was a Gandharp.

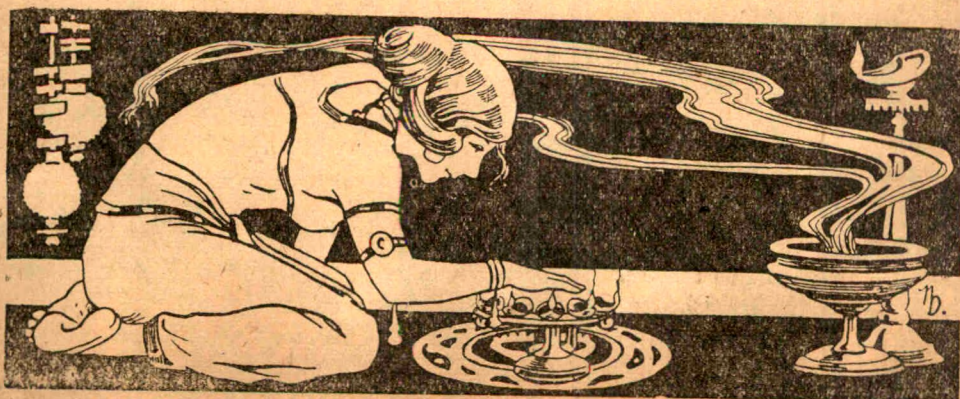
Another very interesting feature of Indian music is the idea of personifying the forces of

Nature in music. These impersonations are known as the Ragas and Raginis, the bricks of the ancient mansion of Indian music, which were believed to be born from a strange bird called "Musikar" or Dipak Lat. Raga means tunes of the bird Dipak Lat which inhabits the regions of the Caucasus mountain. It has its beak with seven openings sending out seven notes and at different seasons of the year it combines those notes in harmony and produce Ragas. There are six Ragas (male tunes in Indian music) and each Raga has got its five or six Raginis (female tunes). In China there is a very good similarity of these 'male' and 'female' tunes of India in the playing of the Lus, invented by the Emperor Hwang ti (c. 2697 B.C.). The Lus is a series of 12 bamboo tubes, each tube representing a semi-tone. These tubes have each a name and they are supposed to be connected with the dualistic system of Chinese philosophy, "half of them being classified under the Yang (male principle) and the rest under the Yin (female principle). The different Chinese months and hours were also assigned to these tunes." From another source we learn that it was Krishna who once perfectly intoxicated by his own music on the flute commenced to sing. His 16,000 gopis (milk-maids) followed him, each producing a Raga (tune). These 16,000 tunes were reduced to 6 Ragas and 30 or 36 Raginis. In fact, the Ragas and the Raginis are the 'whole' of the Indian music. The mysticism in Indian music is also revealed through them. The Ragas are supposed to be possessed of supernatural powers. They are benefactors of humanity curing various bodily ailments. They can charm the elements of nature and can invoke fire and water; in short they can perform miracles. Thus the playing of Asavari tune can enchant the serpents, and hearing the Todi tune the wild deer ventures within the sacred precincts in meek submission and adoration. Mirza Mohammad Bulbul played the Nai in the garden and the nightingales began to hover around him. Bilas Khan, the eldest son of Tansen, sang the Ragini Todi with such pathos and feeling that the coffin of his father actually moved. Tansen himself once sang the Dipak Rag in the presence of Emperor Akbar and the fire was ignited and the place was in flame. This incident proved

fatal to the tune and although the incident happened centuries ago, none dares sing Dipak in India.

The goddess Istar was the Chief Patron of Babylonian music. Ea was another God of music who as singer (Naru) bore the name of Dunga. The bas-reliefs in Babylonia show that the Babylonians used the musical instruments like Sum-ala (drum), Sum-lilis (Kam-banrime) and cymbals. In the British Museum is a piece of Babylonian music written on clay tablets dating from 1800 B.C. This Museum also possesses a document of baked clay giving details of the eight campaigns of Sennacherib, King of Assyria, from 705 to 681 B.C.; following the siege of Jerusalem, the record adds that Hezekiah made submission and 'paid tribute with treasure together with his daughter and the women of his palace and male and female musicians.' Plato ascribed a noble character to the sacred music of the Egyptians. The vocal and instrumental music was usually admitted in the worship of the gods, except in the temple of Osiris, where neither singers nor players on the flute or the lyre were allowed to perform. There is a mention in the Old Empire of Egypt one Ra'henem who was 'the Superintendent of singing.' In the New Empire there was one Neferroupet who was a singer to Pharaoh. Erman states, "We scarcely meet with one lady under the New Empire who was not connected with a temple." The chief duty of these women was to play sistrum before the gods and the goddesses.

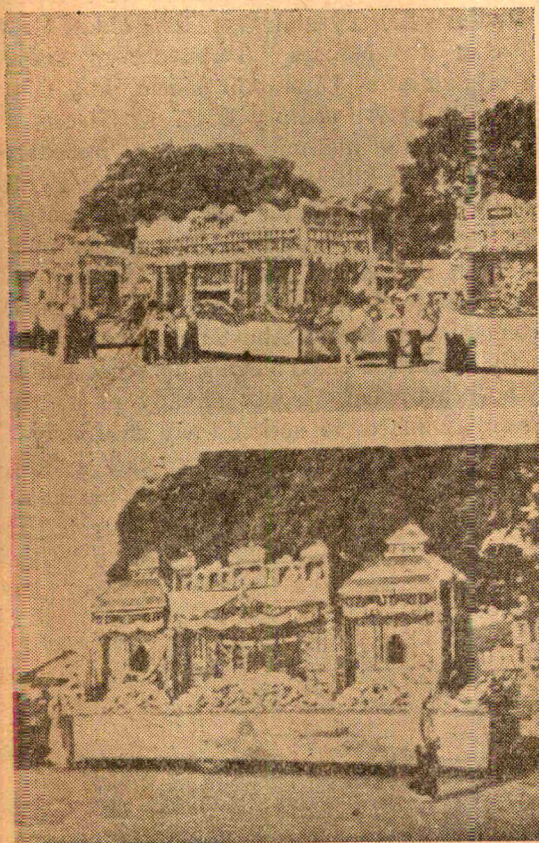
The earliest type of music in the Hebrew land was perhaps the shepherd's calling of the sheep on his pipe. The Bible says that music is the filling channel whereby the voice of man conveys to God his gratitude and devotion. The Jewish women welcomed the conqueror and the long-lost son with music and dancing. "The use of music at funerals among the Hebrews became so firmly established that according to Maimonides, 'the poorest husband was expected to provide at least two flute-players and one mourning woman for the funeral of his wife'." The oldest piece of Greek music which has come down to us is the beginning of a melody to Pindar's first Pythian Ode. The oldest Greek musician was perhaps Terpander of Lesbos, the originator of Citharodic music, who lived in the 6th or 7th century B.C. In Greece, the stability of the diatonic scale was introduced as early as the 8th century B.C. It was Pythagorus who discovered the mathematical proportions of intervals in music. The Arabs' music was born in rhythm and not in melody and thus in the Arabian music there was no fanciful system of tone-beats. Abu Sulaiman most succinctly remarked that 'singing does not put into the heart what is not already in it, but merely stimulates to action what is already in the soul.' The rule is laid down that 'a faithful Muslim must not listen to any music at all, if he finds that it stirs up in him thoughts contrary to moral precepts of the Quran.' Thus music has always been the food of love, grace and devotion.



INDO-VIETNAMESE LINKS

By Z. H. KAZMI

SITUATED in the strife-torn South-East Asia, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, is one of the four independent States—Laos, Cambodia, North Vietnam and South Vietnam—which once constituted France's fabulous Indo-Chinese Empire. With a population of about fifteen million and an area of 60,900 square miles, the country is composed of the rice-rich Tong-king region (bordering China) and the coastal territories of Annam, north of the 17th parallel.



Amid scenes of great pomp and pageantry, a funeral procession passes through a street of Bangkok.

The drama of the occupation of Vietnam by the French is more or less the same that was enacted in India by the British. In the fateful year of 1787, a dynastic feud in the old Annamese Kingdom, comprising the dominions of Tonkin, Annam and Cochin-China—now known

as Vietnam—, provided an opportunity to France for intervention in the internal affairs of the country, and by the year 1887, the whole of the Indo-Chinese peninsula became a part of the French Empire.

With the defeat of France in World War II, Indo-China came under the influence of Japan. In March, 1945, the Japanese restored the independence of the Indo-Chinese States of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. Bao Dai who was the King of Annam under the French tutelage was reinstalled as the Emperor of Vietnam. After the surrender of Japan, the National Resistance Party, commonly known as Viet Minh (meaning "Association of the People"), led by Dr. Ho Chi Minh, proclaimed the independence of the country on September 2, 1945 in the name of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Bao Dai abdicated and Dr. Ho Chi Minh was elected the President of the Republic.

The French, however, refused to recognize the new Republic and reoccupied the Southern Vietnam with the help of the British forces but failed to dislodge the Viet Minh from the North. To end the stalemate a treaty was signed between the two in Hanoi on March 6, 1946 by which the sovereignty of Vietnam was acknowledged. Yet unable to resist the temptation to keep the raw material-rich Vietnam under their control, the French imperialists suddenly ignited the flames of an aggressive war on December 12, 1946 by capturing Hanoi. The Vietnamese patriots rallied to the call of their beloved leader, Dr. Ho Chi Minh, to defend their newly-won freedom. A prolonged and sanguinary war ensued.

With the recognition of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by the People's Republic of China and Soviet Russia in 1950, the fighting in Indo-China did not remain a local affair. Henceforth, it acquired great international significance. On the one hand the weary French, heavily aided by the Western powers, intensified their efforts to strangle the young Republic, while on the other hand the undaunted Vietnamese patriots, helped by China continued to wage the war of independence with greater



vigour. Amid increasing severity of fighting and mounting international tension, Viet Minh forces scored a dramatic victory in the memorable battle of Dienbienphu. It turned the tide of war in favour of the Nationalists and cast a gloom in the French circles. Now there was talk of peace.

A nine-nations' conference including U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and the People's Republic of China was convened at Geneva and the Cease-fire agreement was signed on July 21, 1954. According to the agreement, the independence of all the Indo-Chinese States was recognized and the Viet Minh and the French forces were withdrawn north and south respectively of the 17th parallel in Vietnam. The North Zone was placed under the administration of Dr. Ho Chi Minh's Government and the South under the regime of pro-French Emperor Bao Dai. The provision was also made for a free and fair referendum for the unification of both the zones under one Government. The Geneva Conference unanimously elected India as the Chairman of the International Supervisory Commission of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam.

Thus after decades of trials and tribulations, sufferings and sacrifices, the people of Vietnam, under the dynamic leadership of Dr. Ho Chi Minh, wrested complete independence from the adamant French Government.

Born on May 19, 1890 in a middle-class family, Dr. Ho Chi Minh, the liberator of Indo-China, is a patriot *par excellence*. Nguyen-ai-Quoc meaning "Nguyen the Patriot" is his true name to which he has fully lived up. Ho Chi Minh (in Vietnamese—"Intelligent") is his pseudonym in the Party. He is now universally known by this name. He was also called "Gandhi of Indo-China" in France.

Shocked and distressed at the great misery and poverty to which his people were driven by the French Colonialists, Ho Chi Minh turned a revolutionary at the tender age of eighteen. He imbibed nationalist tendencies in the Indo-Chinese youth and exhorted them to struggle for the emancipation of their motherland. To achieve his goal, he, several times, sponsored non-violent movements which the French always tried to crush by force. Later, he orga-

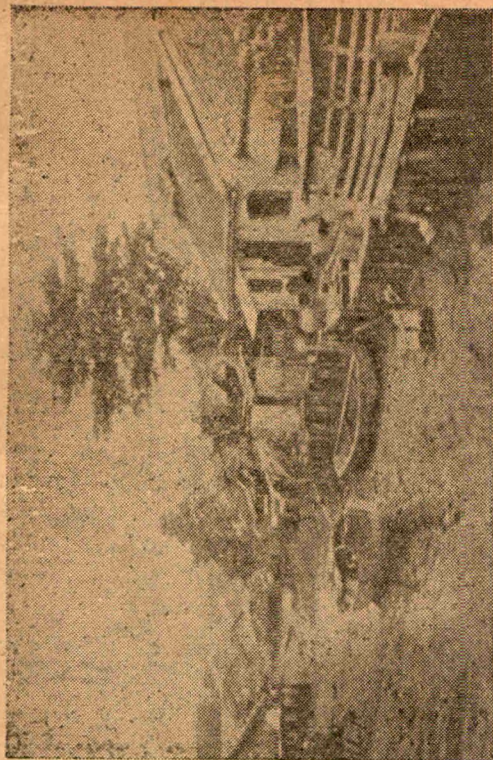
nised the guerilla bands to fight the Japanese fascists during World War II and the French imperialists thereafter, and forced them to quit his country.

A man of iron-will, Dr. Ho Chi Minh led his people to freedom against heavy odds. The resourcefulness, courage and farsightendness shown by him during the war of independence can hardly be surpassed. Despite his apparently weak physique and advancing age, he works most of the day and much of the night to build the completely shattered economy of his war-torn country and make his long exploited people prosperous.

Under the Constitution adopted on November 8, 1946 by the National Constituent Assembly, the legislative powers in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are vested in a Parliament elected every three years by universal adult franchise. The Parliament elects the President and the Vice-President. The executive powers are exercised by the Council of Ministers appointed by the President.

North Vietnam is predominantly an agricultural country. Rice is the chief crop and staple diet of the people. The Red River basin in Tonkin is the richest rice-bowl in the world. Maize, oilseeds, coffee, rubber, cotton and sugarcane are also produced. Rich deposits of coal, tin, zinc and iron, etc., found in the upper Tonkin are helping in the industrial development of the country. Dense forests in the mountainous regions abound in woods of great commercial values such as iron-woods, ebony and sandal-wood. Its palm-fringed coastline and a chain of rivers provide fishing industry. Although the river transport still constitutes the most important means of communication in Vietnam, its towns are also linked up with roads or railways.

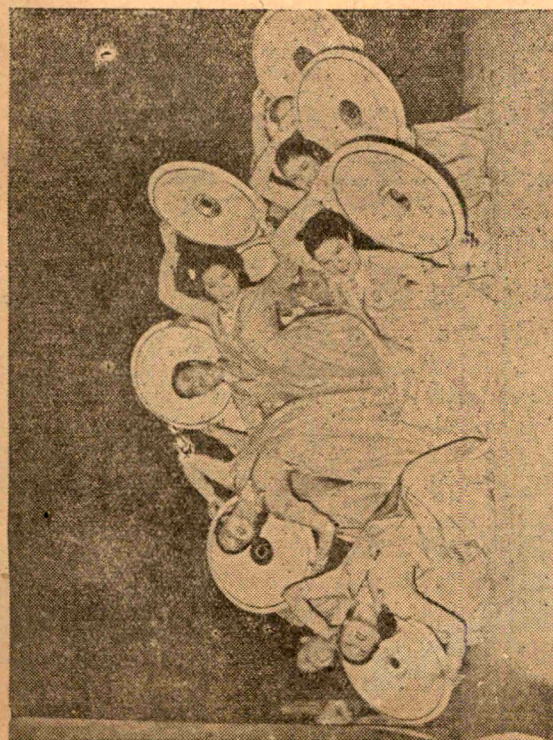
Situated on the bank of Red River, Hanoi, the fastly expanding capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, is divided into the Old and New Quarters. In the Old Quarters the goldsmiths and the potters, the ivory-carvers and the silk-merchants, the medicine-mixers and the lacquer-makers, etc., give the names of their professions to the narrow streets along which their forefathers had set up their shops while the New Quarters have broad roads and avenues flanked by European-style



Heavy rains in Vietnam occasionally inundate the village lanes necessitating the plying of boats



Happy Full-Moon Festival



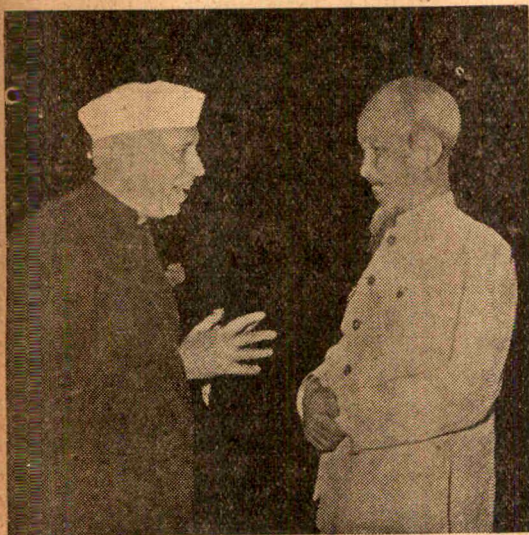
Vietnam's popular Hat Dance



The women of Man-coc tribe in their colorful costume

buildings and decent shops, comfortable hotels and neat and clean restaurants, business mansions and industrial concerns. The picturesque features of the capital are its numerous lakes and well-laid parks, its Great Pagoda with a colossal bronze statue of Lord Buddha and an enormous citadel built a century ago by the French and the Museum containing the relics of Hindu, Malay, Chinese Civilizations unearthed in this land of rich racial heritage. Hard-working and skilful, the artisans of Hanoi are famous for carving, inlaying of mother-of-pearl on ebony, lacquer and other ornamental handicrafts.

Haiphong is the country's commercial centre and main seaport. It has a fine harbour with ship-building yards and extensive repair-shops. Cotton and paper mills, soap and cement factories, tanneries and canneries employ bulk of the population of this thriving city.



President Ho Chi Minh and Prime Minister Nehru

Though in Vietnam, the Chinese influences have won a dominant place, Indo-China as a whole and as its very name suggests, is a mosaic of Indo-Chinese cultures. Almost three-fourths of the Vietnamese are the descendants of the Thais who had their organised Kingdoms in Southern China. They were forced to migrate southward in the 13th Century under the persistent pressure and sweep of Kullai Khan's armies. Man-tiu, Man-Coc

and some other tribes of ancient origin constitute the rest of the population.

A short or long coat, *pyjama* or *dhoti* with an umbrella-like hat or turban form men's common outfit throughout Vietnam. In the plains the women generally wear long jumpers and *pyjamas* (closely resembling those worn by the women of Punjab) with conic-palm-hats but in the hilly regions the costumes of the women vary from place to place. A woman of Man-tien tribe oils her hair and wears a high, elaborate head-dress, well-polished jewellery and fashionable skirt-flare whereas a Man-Coc beauty prefers embroidered trousers, bright red pompons on her blouse and a multi-coloured turban. A sailor collar, short skirt and wide hat (which is built up of layer after layer of braid until it stands out, pancake flat, around the head) constitute the costume of a Meo girl. But all three have a fancy for silver neck rings.

Thrifty and industrious, a Vietnamese woman is a real partner in her husband's life. She works not only at home but also toils in the paddy-fields and does other outdoor work to supplement her husband's income.

Marriage in Vietnam is solemnized in a simple and unostentatious way. When there is a union of hearts, the boy accompanied by his parents repairs to the girl's house with some gifts. If the parents of the prospective bride also agree to the proposal, the marriage ceremony is performed by the Buddhist monks on some auspicious day. Yet in contrast with this simplicity—observed in matrimonial matters—the funeral ceremony in the country is a very expensive affair because the Vietnamese show great honour to the dead. Elaborate preparations are made on the cremation day. The funeral rites start with a grand feast. Then the funeral procession sets out amid scenes of great pomp and pageantry. The dead body is carried in a well-decorated and gaily-coloured catafalque with music playing all the way. The special mourners in snow-white costume and priests in colourful robes walk at the head of the procession. The relatives and the friends of the dead remain behind the catafalque.

Vietnam's long and eventful history has greatly influenced the development of her literature. After the break up of the State of Au-hac which was founded in the year 275 B.C.

in what is now Northern Vietnam, the country passed into the hands of the Chinese feudal lords. Their tyranny and oppression frequently roused the peasants to take up arms against them. And as the Vietnamese literature is deeply rooted in the folklore, songs, legends and poems which are essentially of peasant origin, it reflects the sufferings of the people and their anguish, anger and hope. Besides, it also portrays the life, customs and thoughts of the masses.

Until the beginning of this century when the Vietnamese writers devised a national alphabet known as 'Nom', the Vietnamese language was written in Chinese character. During the 18th and 19th Centuries the Vietnamese literary language began to take a definite shape and it was during this period that country's great classical works appeared. The classical literature rapidly developed with the introduction of Nom.

Nguyen Du, Phan Boichan, Phan Chu Trinh, Han Thuyen, (Mrs.) Doan Thi Diem, (Mrs.) Ho Zuan Huong are among the outstanding poets, poetesses and litterateurs of Vietnam.

Indo-Vietnamese links date from the beginning of the Christian era. By the end of the second century B.C., the Indian migrants had established their colonies in Southern Thailand, Cambodia and Cochin-China. Gradually their culture flowed into other parts of the South-East Asia including North Vietnam. To-day Indian influence may be seen in the Vietnamese religion and philosophy, arts and architecture.

With the advent of the Western powers in Asia, the cultural intercourse between India and the South-East Asian countries came to an abrupt end. Yet it is significant that all through her struggle for independence, India has been mindful of the interests of her suffering neighbours. As soon as India stepped into the realm of freedom, she redoubled her efforts to co-operate and stand by her Asian neighbours. These were in greater evidence during Vietnam's struggle for emancipation from the foreign domination.

President Ho Chi Minh's recent visit to India has strengthened the age-old relations subsisting between the two countries and brought them closer for their cultural growth, economic progress and political stability.

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LINCOLN'S JOURNEY TO GREATNESS

By PHILIP VAN DOREN STERN,

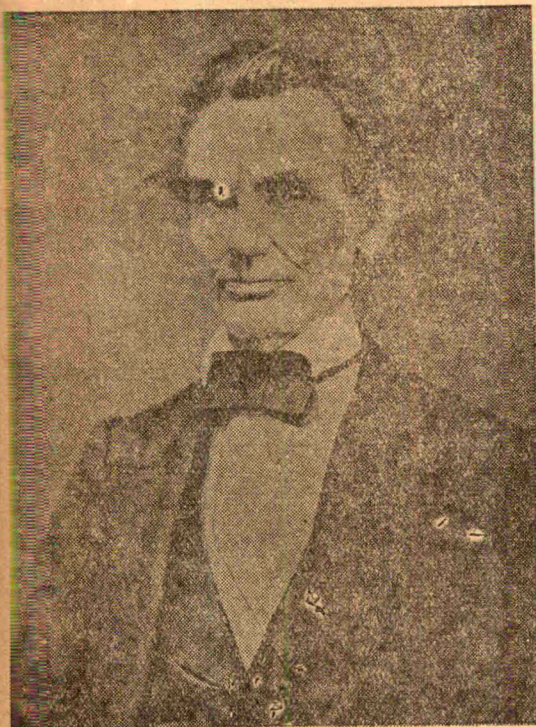
Author of *The Life and Writings of Abraham Lincoln*

DURING the 56 years of his life Abraham Lincoln never travelled farther west than Council Bluffs, Iowa; he visited New England twice, and twice went down the Mississippi River to New Orleans by flatboat. Except for a year and a half in Washington as Congressman, he spent most of the time before he became President in three states: Kentucky, where he was born; Indiana, where he grew up; and Illinois, where he settled in 1830. The area associated with him in those States is so compact that it can easily be covered in one day by automobile. Modern highways now go all the way, but in Lincoln's time there were few roads and even those were bad.

The route Lincoln travelled to greatness begins near Hodgenville, Kentucky, where he was born. There his father had bought a farm of nearly 350 acres of hilly, semi-wild land. On it was an unfailing spring in a small limestone cave. On the hill above this, Thomas Lincoln built the simple one-room cabin in which his son was born. A huge oak tree, used even then as a boundary marker, grew nearby. The young child must have noticed its massive bulk towering against the sky. It still flourishes, the only living thing in all that wilderness area associated with the infant Lincoln.

Today the U.S. Department of the Interior has established a national park on the Lin-

col birth-place farm. Well-tended lawns replace rough fields, and an imposing granite memorial stands on the hill where Thomas Lincoln's cabin once stood. A broad flight of stone stairs leads up to the memorial which houses a little cabin made of squared logs. Despite tradition attaching to it, this is not the building in which the future President came into the world. The cabin, slightly smaller than the original, measures 13 by 17 feet.



Abraham Lincoln
(1809-1865)

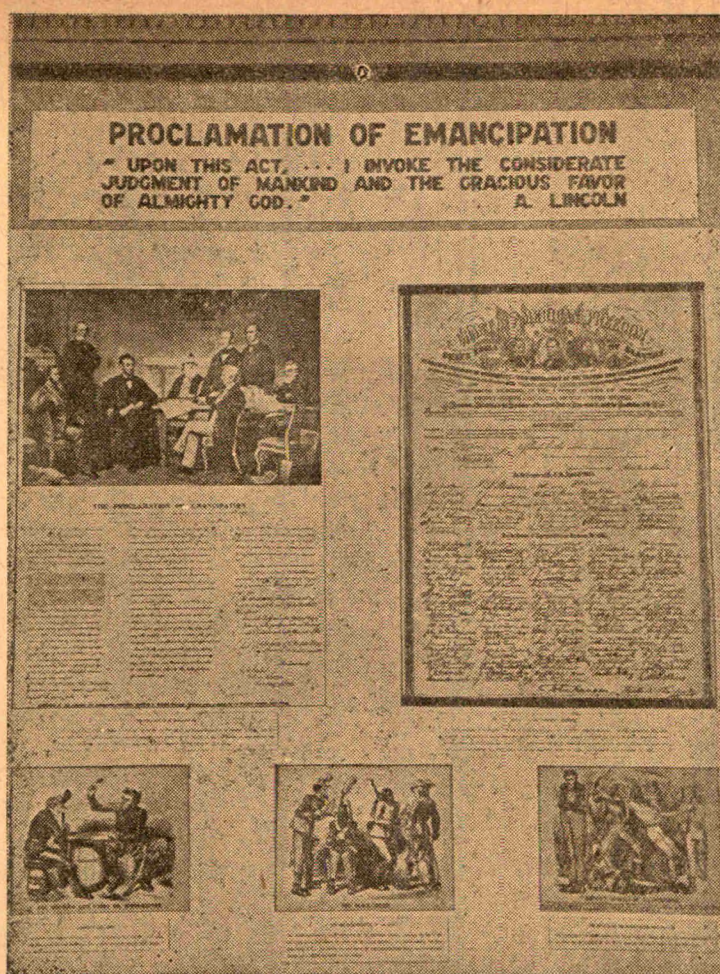
When the child was two years old, his father built a similar cabin on a farm about 10 miles away. Here, on the banks of a small mountain stream called Knob Creek, little Abraham spent his early boyhood. Here he and his sister walked two miles to a one-room log school-house in which the pupils recited their lessons out loud. No trace of home or school remains, but the cabin of one of his boyhood friends and school mates, Austin Gollaher has been placed on the site of the second Lincoln dwelling place. Nearby is a pool where this friend once saved the young Lincoln from drowning.

When their son was seven years old the Lincolns moved to Indiana. There they settled in the midst of a great forest where they first lived in a "half-faced camp." This was a roughly built, three-sided shelter with the open face kept heated by a huge wood-fire which had to be kept going day and night. Then Thomas Lincoln constructed a sturdy log cabin. His son, helping him and growing up in the forest, became an expert axeman. Because of his skill, he later became famous as "the Rail-Splitter Candidate."

The Lincoln cabin had a fireplace made of rough stones. This, and the four ground sills, which formed the foundation of the cabin, have been reproduced in enduring bronze on the original site. Most of this part of Indiana has long ago been cleared, so that open farm fields replace the once-endless stretches of virgin forest. But the acres which Thomas Lincoln owned have been allowed to remain as woodland. The cabin site is in a lonely, tree-shadowed spot; on a slope above it is the grave of Lincoln's mother who died in 1818 and was buried in the silent forest. Near the public road is a park with a large white stone memorial building decorated with bas-reliefs portraying the life of the Lincoln family as it migrated westward.

In 1828, Lincoln saw his first large city, when he helped to take a flatboat down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans. He and his friends drifted leisurely downstream, passing pleasant river towns that were later to become cities. When he arrived in New Orleans, Lincoln witnessed a spectacle that has now vanished from the world. As many as 1,500 flatboats could be seen in the harbour there. River steamers came and went, and ocean-going ships departed daily for Liverpool or Havre. And in this city of nearly 50,000 people, where more of the inhabitants spoke French than English, and half the population was black, slaves were sold in the public market.

Today New Orleans preserves some of the quaint, old-world charm it had when Lincoln visited it more than a century ago. Stucco buildings with iron-latticed balconies line the narrow streets of the French quarter. But the rest of the modern city is very much like any other American community of its size. Most of the shipping is gone from the port. Passenger



One of the exhibit cases in the Lincoln Museum in Washington contains various documents connected with the Emancipation Proclamation

steamers on the Mississippi are hardly ever seen, and only cargo ships and heavy freight barges lie alongside the once-bustling wharves.

Soon after Lincoln returned to his family, they decided to move to Illinois. They went by wagon across the level prairies where there then were no roads. They settled on a farm near Decatur, where they survived a bitter winter in which the snow piled up in drifts 15 feet high. When spring came, Lincoln left to take another flatboat to New Orleans. On the way down the Sangamon River, the boat had to be taken over a mill dam that had just been built at a recently-established town named New Salem. That was Lincoln's first glimpse of the

pioneer village in Illinois in which he was to spend the next six years, for he settled there after returning from this second trip to New Orleans.

New Salem was located on a tree-covered ridge overlooking the river. Here a saw and grist mill had been built; log cabins, which served as houses, stores, and workshops stood on the crest of the ridge to make a tiny community that was almost entirely self-sustained. The village people practised the essential handicraft arts and trades which they and their ancestors had developed over many centuries in similar small towns farther east in America and in Europe.

In 1837 Lincoln moved to nearby Springfield, which had just been made the Illinois State capital. Most of the other towns-people left New Salem about the same time. The village soon decayed, and in 10 years the once-thriving community reverted to overgrown wilderness. The place remained deserted until 1918 when the state acquired it. The actual work of restoring the village to the condition it was in Lincoln's time began in 1932. Today the town that played an important part in Abraham Lincoln's career is so perfect a replica of the original village that hundreds of thousands of visitors who come there each year can see just how the young Lincoln and his neighbors lived.

The mill on the river-bank has been rebuilt; so has a wool-carding factory in the center of the town. Even the complicated circular trademill by which a slowly moving ox-supplied motive power to operate the carding machine has been reconstructed. So have the general stores in which the future President once worked. The cooper shop is the only building that stood there in Lincoln's time, but all the other structures have been reproduced so accurately that New Salem today looks just as it did 150 years ago.

Springfield, Lincoln's next home, was hardly more than a village in 1837. Work was started on the new State House then, and teams of 10 or 12 oxen began dragging great blocks of cut stone to the central square that was to be the focus of Lincoln's career for the next 23 years. During those years he saw the prairie village grow into a thriving state capital. New streets were laid out on which new houses were built, and the horse-drawn stage coach was soon replaced by rail-roads, while telegraph lines were built to tie once widely separated communities together.

Lincoln married Mary Todd in 1842; two years later they moved into a substantial frame house which still stands near the center of Springfield. This well-preserved home, furnished in the style of the period, shows how the family lived. The spacious, comfortable, but unpretentious house was well suited to their needs. Lincoln could walk in there today and feel that everything is just as it was when he left this pleasant house to journey to Washing-

ton as President-elect nearly one hundred years ago.

On a rainy morning in February, 1861 he went from this house to the Great Western station to get on the train that was to take him east. There he made his farewell speech to his friends and neighbors. He was never to see Springfield again.

The small brick rail-road station still stands on a side street. It is no longer used for passengers, but a bronze tablet in front of it reproduces the text of the words Lincoln spoke that morning. Around it the small town he knew has grown into a modern city of 100,000 people. The square where Lincoln had several successive law offices has been changed completely by high buildings erected there since, but the old State House—except for an added storey—remains much as he knew it. In that building he made some of the speeches which, in turn, made him President.

Some of the court houses of the old Eighth Judicial Circuit still stand in the small towns around Springfield. In them one can see the actual trial rooms in which Lincoln pleaded for his clients. In them he and his colleagues were helping to shape American jurisprudence while the law of the new nation slowly evolved.

In Washington only a few of the landmarks associated with Lincoln remain, for the semi-provincial little city that was the capital of the United States during his administration has undergone vast changes in recent years. But these landmarks are important ones. The White House, where the Lincoln family lived, underwent extensive renovations in 1948-52, when the sagging interior of the historic old building had to be completely reconstructed inside the original sandstone walls. But the Lincoln bed-room on the second floor, with its extra-large bed used by the very tall President, has been furnished in the style of his day.

And the Capitol of the United States, where Lincoln served as Congressman and as President, is almost exactly as it was in his time. Its vast dome was completed during his administration, and the finishing touches on the exterior of the Senate and House wings were being made at the time of his death. In front of this world-famous building, Lincoln was twice inaugurated, and to it he often came to sign bills or address Congress. And in the

rotunda under the great dome, his body lay in State in April 1865, after he had been assassinated in Ford's Theatre. The theatre itself has been made into a museum, showing Lincoln's career from his birth-place to the Presidency. Across the street is the little red-brick boarding-house where the mortally wounded man died. To this unimpressive looking house the dying man was brought, and here the leaders of the nation gathered in a narrow hall-bedroom on that fatal night.

The dead President's body was taken by train to Springfield for burial. From Chicago the train steamed south-ward through the country Lincoln had known so well. All along the way, day and night, vast throngs lined the

tracks to see the heavily-draped funeral car pass. The tolling bell of the engine could be heard far across the prairie, and its long plume of black smoke drifted out over the plowed land where tender green corn shoots were springing from the dark, rich soil. When the train arrived in Springfield, the streets were crowded with people who had known Lincoln all their lives.

They buried him on top of a ridge north of the town. There, under the tall shaft of a sculptured monument, his body still lies. And every year hundreds of thousands of people go out of their way to visit the grave of this man who rose from humble circumstances to become America's best-loved President.

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SOME ASPECTS OF LAUGHTER

BY DR. SUDHIR NANDI

THE comic stands between life and art. It does not partake wholly of either's nature. Its appeal is always to the intelligence. Our emotions are shut up in a dark corner of our heart when we prefer to laugh. If we feel one with him at whose cost we laugh, our laughter is immediately dried up. To be more precise, 'insensibility' in the spectator is one of the major factors which determines a comic situation. We cannot laugh at a person for whom we have some sort of a sympathetic feeling. Indifference on the part of the spectator provides the right sort of atmosphere that a comic situation demands. There should be a temporary anaesthesia of the heart. We must look upon life as a disinterested spectator. Our interests must not be involved in any way with the object of laughter. For example, if my brother in his unnecessary haste stumbles down against a stone, I shall run to help him for I have every sympathy with him; rather I am interested in him deeply. This deep fellow-feeling does not allow me to stand aside and laugh, while a man on the street can easily enjoy the situation.

Another condition of laughter is a group,

a social life. Laughter has its meaning only in reference to a society. Man is not an isolated being. He "sucks at the breast of universal Ethos." That is why Bergson emphasises the need for a social life in his famous book, *Essay on Laughter*. We can hardly appreciate the comic if we feel ourselves isolated from others like Alexander Selkirk in the lonely island. To quote Bergson: "Our laughter is always the laughter of a group." Moreover laughter is a social corrective. It has for its mission the purgation of the society and the individual of their rigidity, of their mechanical behaviours and responses. So if we do not insist on a social life for the comic situation to thrive, we miss the true implication of what laughter is for. Comic art has some interest in life. That is where it stands apart from genuine art. True art, according to Kant, is disinterested and comic art has for its function snubbing, not correction. It is a form of social ragging. In this connection, let us point out another point of difference between genuine art and comic art. Art aims at what is individual whereas in comic art it is in the work itself that the generality lies. Comic art aims at

placing types before us; sometimes it creates new types. Thus, the immortal Falstaff of Shakespeare is a type and it does not stand for any unique individual. On the other hand, true art deals directly with unique individuality. The fleeting vision of the artist stands eternally on the canvas as an object of enjoyment. The creative mind of the artist carves the 'thing of beauty' out of his fleeting moments of experience and it stands as a source of 'joy for ever.' The 'Sistine Madonna' of Raphael or the 'Bound Madonna' of Botticelli does not represent any class. They are unique individuals and through them we have a moment's glance at reality. The individual is transformed and transmuted as a symbol of the Real in the eye of a true appreciator. The creator and the appreciator are on the same plane of aesthetic experience. That is why Benedetto Croce makes no difference between them. To have a real appreciation of Tagore, one must be as great a genius as Tagore is.

Automatism or mechanism in human behaviour is another important factor which contributes largely towards developing a comic situation. Inelasticity or lack of adaptability in human behaviour causes irritation among the spectators. Society as a whole abhors such mechanical rigidity. He who withdraws into himself commits himself to a position which gives rise to a sense of the comical. If we are out of keeping with society, society recalls us back with a good thrashing and that social censure is 'laughter'. Inelasticity of behaviour on the part of a man who stumbles on an obstruction makes us laugh. Here the comic is accidental. Society likes that her individual members should get rid of this rigidity of body, mind and character, which makes such accidents possible. What she demands of her members is the 'greatest possible degree of elasticity and sociability'. This rigidity either of the body or of the mind or of the character is the comic and laughter is its corrective.

Due to this lack of elasticity, imitation gives rise to laughter. It is always mechanical. Human gestures and movements, even human attitudes evoke laughter in so far as they are mechanical, i.e., they resemble a machine in their behaviours. Whenever we encounter something mechanical on something living, we have the same comic situation. To

imitate means to tread a beaten track. Here we have no freedom. What we do in imitation is to follow a routine rigidly laid down beforehand. To imitate anyone is to display the element of automatism he has allowed to creep into his person. And as this is the very essence of the ludicrous it is no wonder that imitation gives rise to laughter.

Apart from the consideration of comic elements in human character, even if we try to find out the comic element in actions and situations, our analysis will take us to the same old 'mechanical arrangement' which is the father of many a comic situation. 'Repetition,' 'Inversion' and 'Reciprocal interference of series' are the accepted methods of light comedy. All these three aim at the mechanisation of life. Repetition means lack of Freedom. It smacks of a vicious circle wherein we have the same result in similar mechanical arrangements. From every-day life, idiosyncrasies can be taken as illustrations in point. Let us also point out in this connection that each of the characters in Moliere's plays represents a certain Force applied in a certain direction. And it is because these forces, constant in direction, necessarily combine together in the same way that the same situation is reproduced. When we reverse the situation and invert the roles, we have 'Inversion' and it gives us a comic scene. For example, we may imagine a prisoner at the bar lecturing to a trying magistrate on the principles of Ethics. Reciprocal interference of series means that a situation belongs simultaneously to two independent series of events and is capable of double interpretation at the same time. In this connection, let us also point out that the characteristic of a mechanical combination is reversible. When we spend a lot of our energy without any appreciable result and find to our cost that we even now stand there wherefrom we started, the whole situation turns out to be comic. Kant in his last critique points out that laughter is the result of an expectation which of a sudden ends in nothing. This lack of proportion is not the direct cause of laughter. 'A particular mechanical arrangement' in the words of Bergson is its root-cause. In the wake of Kant and Bergson, Herbert Spencer also defines the comic thus: "Laughter is the indication of an effort which suddenly encounters a void."

THE TRIBALS—A PROBLEM

By P. C. ROY CHAUDHURY

THE total tribal population of Bihar including a portion of Manbhum which has now integrated to West Bengal is about 40 lakhs. The Hos mainly concentrated in Singhbhum count 350,000; the Mundas in Ranchi, Hazaribagh and in other districts of Chhotanagpur count about 520,000; the Santhals of Santhal Parganas and the contiguous districts are about 1,534,000; the Oraons mainly in Chhotanagpur and in other districts of Bihar count about 638,000. The Oraons and Mundas are found distributed practically all over the State. A large number of these tribals have emigrated to the Tea Estates in Assam and in the South. The Juangs and Godabas of Orissa count 34,315 and 17,032 respectively.

There are three main tribal zones in India—North-Eastern, Central and Southern. The North-Eastern Zone consists of Sub-Himalayan region and the mountain ranges of North India. The Central Zone consists of the plateau and mountain belts between the Indo-Gangetic basin to the north of the river Krishna. The tribals of the Hos, the Mundas, the Santhals and the Oraons of Chhotanagpur and the Juangs and Godabas of Orissa are in this Central Zone. The Southern Zone consists of the Penninsular India south of the river Krishna. Munda, Ho and Santhal languages belong to the Austro-Asiatic linguistic family. Oraon language belongs to the Dravidian family. The economic status of the Hos, Mundas, Santhals and Oraons may briefly be described as settled agriculturists, weavers, poultry keepers, etc. The economic status of the Juangs and the Godabas is still in a primitive stage of hunting, shifting or Jhum cultivation. They have not yet fully been converted to the status of settled agriculturists. The four tribals in Bihar are in more sustained contact with the rural urban groups. The Juangs and Godabas are still in isolation and belong to the food gathering and hunting stage or at best to Jhum cultivation, rope making and lumbering.

The Juangs are mostly in Keonjhar and

Dhenkanal which were Native States before and are now converted into districts.

The social and economic life of these tribals is almost of one pattern. There is a village headman, a watchman and a spiritual head for the animists. All of them fill up important roles and the chief duty of the priest is the healing first, the tracing of the witches next and the sacrifices last. The witches are detested but dreaded and much of the Adibasi life is associated with the appeasing of the witches or *Bongas*. Their earthly belongings consist of a patch of land, some poultry, a few pigs and horned cattle. The furniture is of the most primitive kind. Food consists of rice, a little vegetable and of course there is the nectar of rice-beer which is a part and parcel of their life. As a rule they are very poor. They believe in a supreme God and for the sub-lunar world there are the witches, male and female. The border line is very hazy. Religious beliefs are closely associated with sacrifices and dance.

The tribals have a lesson for ourselves who take pride in being more civilised. They are less individualistic and much more community-minded than ourselves. They sing, dance, grieve and fight together. One man's problem is the community's worry. They place the women-folk at a much higher pedestal than ourselves. They do not call the women-folk as *devis* but the women have a better position socially and economically.

A tribal woman has her legal rights and conventions. The Hos and the cognate tribes of Munda stock pay a heavy bride price. The Oraons, however, do not pay bride price although Oraon women do not enjoy a lesser status. These tribals take a practical view of marriage and do not hold it to be sacrament or indissoluble in life. Divorce and mutual separation are freely allowed.

For a long time the British Administrator did not understand the tribals. The ignorance led to mis-representation and mis-representa-

men brought forth bitter political fruits. The tribals had revolted at various places in India from time to time. Chhotanagpur, Santhal Parganas and portions of Orissa were particularly involved in tribal insurrections. There was very little of understanding of the psychology behind the tribal raids with bows and arrows. Later the military capacity, energy and fidelity of the tribals were realised and the Britishers tried to tap these resources through humane administrators like Cleveland in Santhal Parganas or Wilkinson in Singhbhum. They gave the tribals new crops and new ideas. A sizeable percentage of the tribals accepted Christianity. They wanted protection from the *Bhuts*, the *Bongas* whom their fathers had tried to appease with sacrifices, from the Mahajans, Zamindars and toutis who saw to the frittering away of their small worldly possession.

An attempt was made to utilise them for migration for tea and other concerns and for enlistment in the army. Thereby a certain economic status was given and that changed the character of the common tribal man. Despised and exploited, they wanted to raise their status and to be the assimilated individual. The converted tribals unfortunately have some tendency to alienate themselves even to the point of detribalisation and thus a gap was created. This gap has to be bridged if the tribals have to be conglomerated. The tribals of Bihar and Orissa, have an aristocracy of their own. According to tradition proper anointment of a king in India could only be done by the tribals. This trait of fidelity was utilised by the Britishers. It is for this that the tribals know no yielding as long as the national drum beats and the whole party would stand and allow themselves to be shot down.

The changes among the tribals of Bihar and Orissa are not exclusive to them but show a pattern common to all the tribals in India. The first feature is an insidious fading away of the tribe to a caste, substitution of the tribal language or dialects into the pre-dominant regional language. Another feature is the disintegration of the social set-up that was the steel-frame. The *Pahans* and *Mahtos* of the Oraons, the *Manikis* and *Mundas* of the Hos, the *Sardars* of the Santhals, the group

heads of the Juangs and Godabas have lost their previous status. The traditional institutions like *Dhumkurias* are disintegrated. Tribal laws have been substituted normally by the ordinary Penal Codes. In spite of the many decades that have passed by, the Santhals or the Hos have not been able to understand why they should be deprived from hunting or from doing *Bitlaha* against a man who has outraged his community. The customs and practices may be savage or odious to others but certainly not to their ideas. Even the bacchanalian orgies associated with various rituals have their explanations and the disintegration of the tribal culture is a big problem.

The contribution of the tribal labour has been immense to the building up of India. Many of the railways would not have been built but for them. The tea industry is entirely built up with Adibasi labour from Chhotanagpur and Chhattisgarh. The coal mining population is almost entirely Adibasi. The industries of Chhotanagpur, the jute mills in Calcutta and even urban labour in Calcutta and agricultural labour in rural Bengal depend very much on tribal sources.

Partially due to frustration but more due to a growing self-consciousness, that is only natural because of the impact of education and modernism, there is a revivalism among the Adibasis, a resuscitation of the tribal prestige and a fanning of an incipient nationalism among them. The sensitiveness should be canalised to build a better family of the Indians. The tribal life at the present moment is at a cross-road and there was never a greater need for wiser control with an eye to the future. The little discontent from time to time could be an asset, if properly handled. The labour unrest in tribal India has not upset technical development or impeded production in factories and mines, as it has done elsewhere where industries are put into gear by non-tribal labour. The tribals could play a very great role in the development of India as a whole. An accent to this problem was given by Thakkar Bapa. A forward policy of economic uplift has been taken up for the primitive tribes and if necessary, there is protective legislation against exploitation.

THE HISTORY OF INDIAN MUSIC

By PROF. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A., Member, Asiatic Society.

THE history of Indian Music has interested all the artists at all periods in many climes. This history is not a mere narration of dry facts, there is a touch of life in it. It is not wrong to say that music is the voice of the soul, and the history of music has its abiding interest and enduring quality. We shall, towards the close of this narration, see that a comparison of Indian music with European music is very helpful for a proper understanding of both.

Music is fundamentally a matter of heart, emotion, and rhythm. Mr. James Brunton says: "Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast." Carlyle observes that "Music is the Prophet's art" and that "Music is the universal language of mankind." Shelley draws attention to its enduring quality in his famous lines: "Music, when soft voices die, vibrates in the memory." Thus, it has a prophetic quality, an emotional and rhythmical appeal. It has a language peculiarly its own. It gives sweetness and charm to life.

The history of Indian Music goes back to immemorial antiquity. Handed down from the *Rishis*, Indian music has ever since maintained its high and glorious tradition. Prof. Keith is of opinion that Rig-Vedic music too "had advanced beyond the primitive state." Siva was the original dancer unfolding his cosmic dance, and Brahma was the *Adi-Kavi*, the first musician and poet, unfolding his divine music before mankind. In the Rig-Veda wind-instruments such as 'Vina', string-instruments and drums such as 'Dundhavi' were highly developed. Music, according to the *Vedas*, had many functions, viz., to terrify the foe, celebrate social functions, organise battles, adoration of Nature, worship and recreation. M. Henri Martin, a celebrated and well-informed art critic and an admirer of Oriental Art in his *L'art Indien et L'art Chinois* describing a dancing figure of Siva remarks, *Cette figure s'explique de la façon suivante: avec le tambour qu'il tient de la main droite, Siva reveille la nature inerte qu'il détruira par le feu*¹. It means, "This figure is explained in the following manner: with the Tambur that He holds in his right hand Siva rouses to life inert nature

that He shall destroy with the Fire." Thus, rousing 'inert nature' to life was according to Mr. Henri Martin another function of Indian music. Music influenced every walk of life. Its importance was enormous. In the Rig-Veda we read of seven women singing in praise of Som when squeezing the juice of the plant with their fingers. The Samans were divine songs set to music. The Gathas were songs in verse. Riju Gatha meant singing correctly. Gathin was the singer. Aitareya Brahmana distinguishes between Re and Gatha as divine and human (secular) music respectively. Dana-stutis were sung in praise of kings and nobles on receiving gifts from them.

In the epics we read of the Hall of Music which suggests its great popularity. Megasthenes says that "all the Indians were free and not one of them was a slave." It is certain that this freedom was the keynote of this development. From now on two different traditions, the Northern and the Southern, began to develop.

During the reign of Vikramaditya theatres were well-organised. Dramas became a regular feature. Samudragupta claims to be 'Kavi-raja' in his Allahabad Pillar Inscription. The great variety of musical instruments in the sculptures of this period, such as flutes, conch-shells, harps, 'vinas', 'mridangas'; 'dundhavis' and so on prove the great popularity and widespread character of music.

Jayadeva's *Gita-Govinda* (twelfth century) is a classic example of immortal music. *Rajatarangini* (1182?) tells us that there were 16,000 Ragas, of which only 36 were well-known at that time. Vidyapati has been put in the fourteenth century by Raja Sir S. M. Tagore in his *Universal History of Music*. Capt. Willards in his *A Treatise on the Music of Hindusthan* writes that the Muslim invasions completely destroyed music. But this view is difficult to accept, for although Hindu music undoubtedly suffered, Muslim music flourished and made valuable contributions to the development of Indian music. Amir Khusrau during the reign of Alauddin Khilji invented, 'Zilaph', 'Sazgiri', and 'Sarparda' Ragas. Pandit Sarangdev's *Sangit Ratnakara* in the thirteenth century is worthy of note. Another noteworthy

1. *L'art Indien et L'art Chinois* by Henri Martin, p. 27.

work was Pandit Ram Amatya's *Svar-Mela-Kalā-Nidhi* composed in 1610 A.D.

In Akbar's days Dhrupad style was started by Raja Man Singh in Gwalior. Raja Vikramajit was the patron of Bakshu Nayak. Tansen is only too well-known to need mention. Islam Shah of Gujarat was the patron of Ramdas and Mahapatra. In the court of Raja Man of Gwalior there gathered together the following artists: Jurjo, Bhagwan, Dhondee, and Daloo. *Raga-Darpan* (The Mirror of Ragas) compiled by orders of Raja Man of Gwalior is a science of music. *Ain-i-Akbari* gives the names of 33 principal court musicians of which not more than five were Hindus. Haridas Swami, the musician and saint of Brindavan was the Guru of Tansen (Tauna Mishra). At this period, Mira Bai, the queen-consort of Udaipur sacrificed everything for Divine Love which she expressed through music mainly. Tulsidas flourished at this time. During this period, Pandit Pundarika Karnataki, the court poet of Faruqi of Khandesh composed four treatises on music: *Sad-raga Chandrodaya*, *Raga Mala*, *Raga-Manjari*, and *Nartana Nir-naya*. Burhan Khan was his patron.

In Jahangir's time Jehangirdad, Chatarkhan, Parwizdad, Khurramdad, Makhu and Harzan were the famous musicians. Tulsidas died during his reign. *Sangit Darpan* by Pandit Damodar, the son of Lakshmi Dhara, composed in 1625, was a work of great value. It is highly praised by Sir William Wilson in his *The Musical Modes of the Hindus*.

In Shah Jahan's time *Sangit Parijata* was written by Pandit Ahobala, the son of Shirikshana. The principal court musicians were Jagannath (on whom was conferred the title of Kari-raj), Dirang Khan, and Lal Khan (bearing the title of Guna Samudra). The first two were weighed in silver and given Rs. 4,500/- each.

Aurangzeb, the puritan, stamped out music with all other fine arts. For a century, from 1658 to 1757, with the general and political disintegration of the period music and art declined.

The British rule brought new changes. They never settled in this country like the Muslims, and at first looked at Indian culture with indifference if not with positive hostility. In the nineteenth century Krishnādhān

Banerji of Cooch Behar wrote 100 Dhrupad and Kheyals in European notations. He was successful in his experiment. In 1916 the late illustrious musician V. N. Bhatkhande's famous address at the All-India Music Conference at Baroda marks the beginning of a new era. With it began, I think, the revival of music in modern times.

This is very briefly an attempt at a sketch of the history of five thousand years of Indian music. Let us now see what light it throws.

Of the three *margas*—Gyan, Karma and Bhakti—indicated by our philosophy, although our music utilises all these paths it has mainly followed the Bhakti-marga. It is interesting to note that the saints of the Bhakti school were all musicians. Kavir, Tulsidas, Ramdas, and Surdas are all very well-known. Mahāprabhu Chaitanya introduced Kirtan as a mode of *sadhana*.

Mr. K. M. Panikkar points out that the music was degraded in the Muslim Courts by the dancing girls of ill-repute.² There is another reason for this decline. No creative art can progress on right lines if it has to cater to the orders of princes. But even then the progress was not unworthy of a great people.

Music in India is considered to be divine. It originates from Brahma, the Adikavi. It nourishes the three-fold Hindu ideals—*Satyam*, *Sivam*, *Sundaram*. The musician is the apostle with a divine mission. His life is a life of Tapasya. Truly the Upanisadas have said: *Tapasa prapya satyam* (Through Tapasya truth has to be attained)³. Our most widely used religious book *Gita* is the supreme instance of divine music (*Gita* is derived from *Geeta*, which means music).

Indian art is a synthesis, which is manifest in Indian music. In Indian art all antithesis of subject and object—spirit and matter, light and darkness, unity and diversity, life and death which constitute the rhythmic nature of the universe—are resolved. The synthesis of art is far more real than any political synthesis can ever be. Every individual ego (Jivatman) after completing his cycle (Gati), must lose himself in Paramatman or

2. *A Survey of Indian History*, by Mr. K. M. Panikkar, p. 217.

3. *Maitriyanyupanisada*: Sama Veda.

Brahman. In a similar manner every Tal after completing its course must lose itself in the Sur. In each case the direction is towards a higher unity. The musician in Ancient India was not really professional, he was a Yogi. "The mind being in repose becomes the mirror of the Universe".⁴ Thus music, like all other branches of Indian art, is rooted in *yoga*, which means 'union', from which proceeds all unity.

But at present with changed circumstances, there is the danger of vulgarisation not only of music but of all arts. The commercial age has its own requirements and standards. This danger is not only true in the case of India but of Europe as well. Thus, even long before modern times, "in adopting Greek music the Romans vulgarised it."⁵ This danger is all the greater in the modern commercial age. It is therefore necessary that our artists should be conscious of the lofty origin and mission of our music, and make every conscious effort to check this tendency by all means.

A characteristic and very encouraging feature is that although music is intimately connected with emotion (Bhakti) it is not opposed to reason. At least in European history, the eighteenth century, the age of reason, produced a galaxy of rare musicians. Alessandro Scarlatti (1659-1725) was the author of 115 operas, of 700 cantatas, and 200 psalms.⁶ He organised mainly the school of Opera at Naples. Handel (1685-1759) was another worthy name. Bach (1685-1750) was another. Jean Philippe Rameau (1683-1764) studied up to the age of 40 years the abstract science of harmony. His *Treatise on Harmony* appeared in 1722 "and created sensation in the musical world".⁷ He laid great stress on the rigidity of notations with almost mathematical precision so that Voltaire called him "Our choral Euclid." Gluck (1714-1787) composed music for the Austrian court. Beethoven (1770-1827.) was mainly responsible for the inauguration of the Romantic

Age in music. His Heroic Symphony dedicated to the First Consul appeared in 1804. As he received many shocks, particularly towards the close of his life, he became somewhat of a misanthrope. But even then the musician's broad-mindedness did not completely depart. "He has no more faith in men, but he has faith in humanity"⁸. So the age of reason was not lacking in music nor in musicians. This is very encouraging.

Recently, in an important conference in October, 1955, in Germany, over 900 musicians from different parts of the world met together. Professor Messerschmidt "dilated upon the pernicious contrast on the one hand of life's positive 'objective powers', such as technique, labour, industry, objectivity, standardisation, and precision of purpose in life, and on the other hand of the cultivation and development of the emotional mental powers regarding music-teaching in the school."⁹ Why in schools only? It is true everywhere.

Thus the problems facing us are very difficult ones. But we need not lose heart. It is necessary for us to understand the problems so that we may face them boldly. If the modern commercial age and materialistic world be dull, oppressive and uninspiring, there is all the more necessity of music. The history of Indian music reveals a great tradition and a great unity. It has not only survived in the past five thousand years of our history through many challenges, but has actually grown richer by adaptation to changed circumstances. It surely has the capacity to face the new challenges and requirements of the new age^{*}

8. *Ibid*, p. 86: *Il n'a plus foi dans les hommes, mais il a foi dans l'humanité.*

9. Speech quoted in *Geist und Tai*, (December 1955, page 364). "Prof. Messerschmidt (Calw) ging auf den unheilvollen Gegensatz ein, der sich in der lebensbestimmenden 'Objectiven Machten', wie Technik, Arbeit, Industrie, Versachlichung, Normierung, Zweckbestimmtheit des Daseins einerseits und der auf die Pflege und Entwicklung der emotionalen und Gemutskräfte bedachten musischen Erziehung der Schule andererseits auftritt."

*Text of a speech delivered at DAV College, Dehradun Music Association, Professor M. K. Kapoor, Head of the Department of Music, presiding.

4. *The Dance of Shiva* by A. K. Coomaraswamy, Ch. I.

5. *Histoire de la Musique*, by B. Champigneulle, p. 8. *En adoptant la musique des Grecs, les Romains la vulgariserent.*

6. *Histoire de la Musique* by B. Champigneulle, p. 55.

7. *Ibid*, p. 64: *Et fait sensation dans le monde musical.*

TO KEATS

By KALIDAS ROY

THE mother gave you the consumption fell,
To penury chill the father threw;
Shelley blest and drew you near,
Gave Hunt his friendship true.
On your slim hand did Fanny lay
Her heart full of love,
Chapman poured the nectar sweet
In Homer's golden cup.

SEVERN served you in ailing nights,
Lamb with praise sincere,
Your Land of birth did gravely hurt you
With coldness and the sneer.
Came Lockhart up with many a shaft
To dart at you, I hear;
The Review Quarterly attacked bitterly
With deadly sting, O dear!

GREECE unlocked her coffer of lore,
Offer'd Rome the last bed soft;
A matchless gift of poetic flame
On you bestowed the gods aloft.
With it alas! on you was giv'n
A span of life too short,
Like rainbow beams of autumn cloud
Of fading, fleeting sort!

A vision noble Nature gave you
To Truth and Beauty pursue,
You 'loaded every rift with ore,'
And never stopp'd to woe.
Eternity took you on her golden boat
To Beauty and Joy's own shore,
Where nightingales sing in eternal spring
On th' wings of Poesy poet's soar.

A bard am I of Bengal, friend!
Name and fame have I none,
Yet am I a kin of yours,
O, brother woe-begone.
Your debt I own with a grateful heart,
Prince of our poetic race!
I salute you a hundred times
Master, thro' time and space.

*Translated from Bengali by
Umanath Bhattacharya.*

VISNUPRIYA, HOLY CONSORT OF LORD GAURANGA*

BY DR. JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI,

VISNUPRIYA represents the sum-total of all good—past, present and future. She is the Eternal Energy, the Adya Shakti of our *Shastras*, and the Mother of the universe, Visvajanani, who is responsible for the creation, maintenance and destruction of all objects and beings all around.

Kavi Karnapura in his immortal work *Chaitanya-Candrodaya* has rightly remarked that Visnupriya was the embodiment of devotion for the emancipation of all in this Iron age; in other words, it was she who represented the epitome of the sublime teachings of Mahaprabhu himself—and who would rescue the whole world from all chaos and disorder through his beneficial preachings which all beings were bound to follow.

It is due to her that the Gaudiya Vaisnavas have been able to reach their destined goal so beautifully pointed out by Mahaprabhu himself—never-ending love, the eternal ocean of divine nectar from whose banks nobody can return without the heart's desire fulfilled.

Throughout her whole life Visnupriya stood up for her children in weal as well as woe; never allowed any dissensions in her own fold; burnt the incense of her mortal coil for long 94 years knowing no comforts in life, absolutely dedicated to the cause her beloved husband stood for, constantly merged in prayers and uttering the name of Hari, Sri Krishna Chaitanya, and cooking—if at all—for the *prasad* of her devotee-children, never for self. That is why the *Bhakti-ratnakar* has rightly cried out: '*Keo na janaye kena rakhaye jivan*—nobody knows why she keeps her body and soul together'—never caring for a morsel of food or any other object of delight or human comfort.

There are five distinct periods in the life of Sri. Visnupriya: (1) Visnupriya with her parents, from birth till her marriage at the age of twelve only; (2) with mother Sachi till Mahaprabhu took to monk life (only 2½ years); (3) in the service of her mother-in-law till the latter's *mahatirodhana*; (4) almost all alone throughout day and night—leading a life of very austere penances, unprecedented in the history of asceticism, particularly after the *Mahatirodhana* of Lord Gauranga; (5) Visnu-

priya the builder of Gaudiya Vaisnav Samaj introducing the worship of Lord Gauranga and constructing a place of worship for the Mahaprabhu now known as the Mahaprabhu Mandir in Navadvip; inspiring Srinivasa Prabhu to a divine life for the perpetual well-being of Gaudiya Vaisnav Samaj and imparting instructions to the leading Mothers of the country headed by Sita Devi, Jahnavi Devi, Vasudha Devi and others and so forth. She lived long to see that there were no internal dissensions amongst her children, that the religion so magnificently preached by Lord Sri Gauranga was deeply rooted in the divine soil of human hearts, that all demoniac tendencies were extirpated and divinity bloomed forth luxuriantly all over the world. Here is a universal religion knowing no barriers of caste and creed, time or clime—that is All Grace embracing all and sundry, serving all even without their knowledge. For, in this incarnation, Gaura Mahaprabhu was determined to shower his blessings and mercy upon all without being asked—this time he was the apostle of *Karuna* or Mercy in the truest sense of the term and his holy consort, with her motherly heart even softer paved the way to the real goal for all—Sri Krishna-Prema through *Bhakti* or Devotion *par excellence*.

Visnupriya's life is a sealed *Veda*; even when unsealed, it reads almost archaic. But those few who have drunk deep, or will do so at the fountain-head of her merciful human existence can never and will never forget her even for a moment but constantly pray to her for being so merciful as to make her motherly self intelligible to a larger number of devotees at least for the eternal good of the universe.

Our *sastanga pranams* to Mother Visnupriya today, on her 464th birthday, the Holy Sri Panchami Day when She, the Mother of the universe, will be worshipped throughout the country and overseas as Lakshmi or Saraswati or both. As "Priya" or the Beloved of Lord Visnu, she naturally represents both which she virtually is, as the word "Sri" so appropriately and beautifully denotes.

* Gist of the lecture delivered at the *Prachyavani*, on the 464th Birth Anniversary of Sri Visnupriya.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

THE HISTORY OF THE GURJARAPRAITHARAS: By Baij Nath Puri. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd. Bombay, 1957. Pp. 176. Price. Rs. 20.00.

Because of the long and distinguished part played on the stage of ancient Indian history in the period immediately preceding the great Turkish invasions of the 10th and following centuries by the Imperial Pratiharas of Kanauj, and not less because of the insufficient data available on these points, the problems relating to the rise of the parent stock of the Gurjaras and the vicissitudes of its various ruling houses have formed the subject of endless discussion among scholars for more than half a century past. In this scholarly monograph the author has presented a comprehensive survey of the whole subject based upon an exhaustive and critical study of the original and secondary sources, and he has deserved the gratitude of his readers by reason of the good arrangement of his material as well as the lucid presentation of his arguments and conclusions. It seems reasonable to expect no further advance to our knowledge of the subject until the archaeologists come to our aid by means of the excavation of Kanauj and other ancient sites.

The work consists of two parts. Part I (strangely enough, not mentioned as such anywhere by the author) deals with the origin of the Gurjaras (who were held for long somewhat fantastically to have been a foreign tribe allied to the Hunas) and the political history of their ruling houses (especially of the Imperial Pratiharas of Kanauj) and their system of administration. Part II entitled "Cultural History" deals in successive chapters with the social life as well as the economic and reli-

gious condition of the people under the rule of the Imperial Pratiharas. The volume is enriched with three appendices giving a list of Pratihara inscriptions of Kanauj, another list of relevant inscriptions of contemporary and later dynasties, a note on Pratihara coinage and a list of the Pratihara monuments. There is also a select bibliography as well as a good index of names. Another valuable feature consists of two maps, one of Western India at the period of Arab invasions in the 8th century, and the other of the Pratihara empire at the height of its power. Professor T. Burrow, the supervisor of the author's work for his Doctorate thesis at the Oxford University, contributes an appreciative Foreword.

Without detracting from the high merits of this work we may offer a few remarks. In the chapter on the origin of the Gurjaras some reference ought to have been made to the available anthropometric measurements of their present descendants, the Gujars and allied tribes. In the chapter on administration mention should have been made of the significance of the epigraphic references to the clan-chiefs' estates (as illustrating the beginnings of the Rajput type of clan monarchies) as well as to the various fiscal terms (as indicating the terms of royal assignments of land to officials and the current methods of assessment and payment of the land-revenue). These points, it may be stated in passing, have been sought to be treated by the present reviewer in his work *The Agrarian System of Ancient India* (pp. 53-56). The chapter on social life should have contained some notice of the current theories of the origin of the Rajputs. In the chapter on religious condition the history of the various sectarian religions should have been treated in the wider context of the contemporary philoso-

phical as well as iconographic developments throughout our land.

The book is disfigured by a number of misprints of which the most serious occur in the Select Bibliography, pp. 160-61.

U. N. GHOSHAL

HISTORY OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN BEHAR (*Three volumes*): By Dr. K. K. Datta. Published by the Government of Behar, Patna. Pp. ix + 670; 529; 478 respectively. Price Rs. 20.00 each. For the complete set Price Rs. 50/-.

Each of the three volumes has a few common features, namely Glossary, Bibliography, Index, Appendix and Illustrations. This is an important publication on our freedom movement, and specially as the name indicates, on the freedom movement in Bihar, for which the author deserves our hearty congratulations. Students of modern Indian history, or to be precise, the history of Indian nationalism during the last hundred years, can ill-afford to do without it. Each of the volumes bears stamp of industry, study and research. The author has left no stone unturned to verify his statements with documents referred to in the body and presented largely under various sections in the Appendix.

Volume I, covers the period between 1857 and 1927. It contains eight chapters and twenty-three sections as Appendix besides the valuable foreword by Sriji Rajendra Prasad and thirty-three illustrations, some of which are very rare. The chapters are as follows: (I) Bihar and the Indian Movement of 1857-59; (II) The Wahabi Movement and Bihar; (III) The Birsa Movement in Chhotanagpur; (IV) Early Revolutionary Nationalism and Bihar; (V) Beginning of Modern Political Awakening in Bihar; (VI) Mahatma's Mission in Champaran; (VII) Bihar's role in the Satyagraha of 1919 and in the non-co-operation and Khilafat Movement; (VIII) A-critical but constructive phase.

Charles E. Trevelyan wrote in his book on Indian Education as far back as in 1838, that freedom might come to the people of India through two methods, viz., (I) Armed Revolt and (II) Introduction of Parliamentary System of Government in the country through dissemination of Western education. He perhaps could not envisage the possibility of employing both the methods simultaneously, but this has been proved true in our long and varied struggle for winning political freedom.

Our methods adopted for this end may be summarised as follows: (i) Constitutional, (ii) Quasi-constitutional, and (iii) Revolutionary.

The learned author has started with the Sepoy Revolt of 1857-1859 and has devoted seventy-two pages for this purpose. But it is a matter of regret that he has altogether ignored our endeavours which may be termed constitutional, for the previous thirty years. Bihar constituted a part of the Bengal Presidency from the beginning of the British rule up till the infamous partition of Bengal in 1905. And it was completely separated from Bengal in 1911 and formed into a separate province of Bihar and Orissa. The movements, religious, social and political, started by Raja Rammohun Roy in Calcutta had their repercussions on all the British territories in India in general and on Bihar, a component part of Bengal, in particular. Rammohun's stay at Ramgarh and Bhagalpur in Bihar is very important in the story of our freedom movement. Desire for religious and social reform gradually gave rise to a desire for political liberty in the minds of the English-educated section of the Indian community and the leaders of thought in Bengal tried their utmost to give shape to it during the years previous to 1857. The British Indian Association of Calcutta had its branches in Bihar and in the U.P. The constitutional methods of political agitation adopted at its centre also percolated through its branches in those provinces. It should be noted here that the great Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the Secretary of the Aligarh branch of the British Indian Association.

Bihar, or at least a part of Bihar, played an important role in the Sepoy Revolt and the Wahabi Movement. The former took the form of a mass revolt in the Sahabad district under the leadership of Kunwar Singh while the latter was organised by the prominent Muslims of Patna and Calcutta, Patna being the centre of their activities in Eastern India. The author has done justice to these movements by depicting their nature and scope on the basis of contemporary records. He has termed the Wahabi Movement as socio-political. But it should be remembered that the principal object of the Wahabi Movement was sectional or communal rather than national. These may be summed up in the following lines taken from one of their main war-songs:

"Fill the uttermost ends of India with Islam,
so that
no sounds may be heard but 'Allah! Allah!'"

The Adibasis' endeavours for political entity have also attracted proper attention of the author and he has given them in the third chapter of this volume. The fourth and fifth chapters should be taken together as our political efforts, particularly in Bihar, have been narrated in them during the thirty years from the foundation of Indian National Congress till Mahatma Gandhi began his Champaran campaign in 1917. As Bihar formed a component part of the Bengal Presidency, all the political movements in Bihar cannot be isolated from those of Bengal. But here the author has perhaps failed to do proper justice. The Indian Association of Calcutta started a country-wide political movement which could not but have its repercussions in Bihar also. The Civil Service question troubled the minds of the educated Biharis no less than others. Surendra Nath Banerjee went twice at Bankipur, Patna and held meetings with the Biharis for this purpose. The Indian Association had its branches at some of the prominent towns in Bihar. The *Bihar Herald* started in the seventies of the nineteenth century at Patna became an exponent of our popular national cause. Guruprosad Sen, though a Bengali, was the most prominent political leader in Bihar who was held in high esteem and regarded by both the Biharis and the Bengalis. Thus the political movement of Bengal and Bihar were closely inter-connected and the history of one is really speaking the history of the other. And the story of the freedom movement in Bihar will never be fully told if we ignore this fact.

One thing should be specially noted here. Bhudev Mukherjee, sometime Inspector of Schools of the Bhagalpur Division, advocated strongly the cause of Hindi in Bihar, for which he is still remembered by the Biharis with love and gratitude. It was due mainly to Bhudev's efforts that Hindi with Nagri script was introduced in the courts of Bihar. We do not know why the author has not referred to the movement of "Bihar for the Biharis" started so far back as in 1896. It was a movement for the political integrity of Bihar. Though the sponsors of the movement had a separatist outlook still it did not fail to rouse political consciousness in the minds of the Biharis. During the Swadeshi Movement the New Spirit of self-help and self-reliance penetrated to Bihar. One should expect in such an authoritative volume a fuller treatment of this historic event. The author, however, has done well to refer to the revolutionary movement of Bengal. It found

its way into Bihar and secured many recruits amongst the Biharis. *Jugantar* was the organ of the Revolutionary Party of Bengal, and not *Sandhya* (p. 111, Vol. I) of Upadhyaya Brahmabandhab, though he was an extremist to the core.

Vol. II covers the period 1928-1941. It contains four chapters, besides twenty-seven items as appendix. The chapters are as follows: I. A New Turn (1928-29); II. The Salt Satyagraha and Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-34); III. The New Constitution of 1935 and the First Congress Ministry (1937-39); IV. World Crisis and Indian Nationalism.

The period covered by this volume witnessed many serious decisions taken by the Congress and movements sponsored by it. The people of Bihar took a prominent part in these matters. The Bihar leaders also played their role faithfully on the Congress platform and outside it. The Press struggled hard and that at a tremendous sacrifice and it would have been apt to say more on their service and sacrifice in this story of the freedom movement. Every calamity serves to weld people together to overcome its dehumanising effects as also to appreciate the necessity of united efforts to overcome them for a dependent country as ours. These would no doubt give rise to national consciousness and solidarity. The Bihar earthquake of 1934, though a calamity of a serious nature, came to us as a blessing in disguise, and the people, irrespective of caste or creed or of different localities, came to help one another in such a way that the devastations and miseries created by it could have been mitigated in a short time. The author has done well to refer to this historic earthquake.

Vol. III tells the story of the following six years (1942-1947) and it is told in three chapters, viz., (I). The Revolution of 1942-43; II. Turn in the Tide; and III. March to Independence. These are substantiated by eleven items in the Appendix. The valiant and glorious part played by Bihar in the August Movement of 1942-43 will be remembered by every lover of freedom for all ages. The subsequent events that followed and brought political independence to our doors are but recent history. The author has done well to place the facts before the readers to draw their own conclusions. These events are mostly of an All-India nature. The author has no other alternative but to present them before the reader, and the efforts of the Biharis could scarcely be singled out. However, credit must be given

to the latter for whatever they did for the advancement of our cause of National Freedom.

In spite of some glaring defects and omissions the book should be welcomed as a valuable addition to the literature of our freedom movement. When a comprehensive history of our freedom struggle in India will be written, books like this will no doubt supply enough materials for the purpose.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

GANDHIAN PHILOSOPHY: *A message by Sri Ram Chandra Gupta. Published by Gupta Publishing House, Agra. Pp. 128. Price Rs. 5.*

An unreadable book. It has no substance, no thought, no expression. The author undertook a task he was not equal to. He had better not rushed into print.

The book carries a foreword by Sri Humayun Kabir and an introduction by Sir Patrick Hastings both dated February, 1952. The book itself was published a little over six years after in April, 1958. The author has not accounted for this time lag.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

RODOGUNE: *By Sri Aurobindo. Pages 162 Size 9¾"×6½"; Published by Sri Aurobindo Asram. Pondicherry. 1958. Price Rs. 5.*

This is a five-act play, depicting Syrian and Parthian Royalties and their feuds. Through the current of events the poet has drawn out the niceties of human nature and the dealing of the forces of good and evil in his inimitable style. The forces of evil have been shown to be complex, confusing human minds and generally achieving triumph in this world by its worldly ways. Human soul, divine love unmindful of the world and the complex working of the forces of evil rise above them and conquer even death fulfilling the saying, "Heaven had a purpose in my servitude," as uttered by the heroine Rodogune. The Parthian princess was taken captive by the Syrians. In course of events she was united with the Syrian Prince Antiochus in eternal nuptial. This prince always believed that he was born to be a king, but circumstances stood in his way and he offered himself as a sacrifice to the forces of evil. The princess followed him leaving the land of evil to the region where evil had no hold.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

THE ROLL OF BROADCASTING IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS: *By Derek Holroyde. Institute of Political Science, Ahmedabad. Pages 8. Price .25 nP.*

This is the third Annual Lecture, 1957, of the Institute, by no less a person than the representative of the B.B.C. in Delhi who gives us a short history of B.B.C. and its method of work in an age when the masses are sharing wide interest in international matters and wide subjects.

A. B. DATTA

SANSKRIT

THE YOGACARABHUMI OF ACARYA ASANGA, Part I: *Edited by Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya. University of Calcutta. 1957. Price Rs. 10.*

The valuable acquisition of photographic copies of important Sanskrit manuscripts from Tibet made by Mahapandita Rahula Sankrityayana is being gradually made available for study by the world of scholars through critical editions of the texts contained therein. Originally the work was taken up by the Bihar Research Society where the photoprints of the manuscripts were deposited. The Kashi-prasad Jayaswal Research Institute later on introduced the Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series for the publication of these works and handsome scholarly editions of three works have already appeared in the series. It is gratifying to note that the Calcutta University has also undertaken the task of publication of one of these works, namely, the one under review. Only a small section of the work, e.g., the first six chapters of the first of the five divisions is published here as Part I. The learned editor has compared the Sanskrit text as available in the manuscript with the Tibetan version as found in the Narthang edition. The results of the comparison are recorded in the footnotes. In the light of this comparison and other considerations the readings of the manuscript have occasionally been corrected while in some cases emendations have been suggested. We admire the hard and painstaking work put in here by the veteran scholar in his old age. The scholarly world will wish god-speed to the edition and be eagerly waiting for the succeeding parts expected to be produced and finished in the same fashion. We hope when the work is completed we shall have a comprehensive introduction giving among other things a detailed summary of the contents of the book.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

MIRA: *By Brajanandan Sinha. Authors' Corner, 193, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6. Price Re. 1-8.*

Mirabai is a household name in India today. Her songs are inimitable in sweetness and spiritual ecstasy. But her life's story is not yet fully known. The author has given here a short biographical account and carefully compiled and translated her songs into Bengali.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

BHARATIYA ARYABHASHA AND HINDI: *By Sunitikumar Chatterji. Rajakamal Prakashan, New Delhi. 1954. Pp. 251, Price Rs. 6.*

In 1940, at the invitation of the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, of Ahmedabad, the learned Doctor delivered a series of eight lectures on the subject of the development of *Aryabhasha* in India and of the growth of Hindi in New India. These have been raised and enlarged since in the light of the achievements of our independence. And the present publication is the first Hindi version of the lectures, the originals being in English. As such, the Hindi

scholars will welcome it and it is expected, further, that the readers of the book will be able to approach the triangular problem of Hindi, Hindustani and Urdu in the spirit in which the author has approached it, nay, solved it, scientifically, historically and constructively.

G. M.

GUJARATI

BAPUJINO VATO (Stories about Bapuji): *Edited by Mukulbhai Kalarthi. Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad-14. August, 1958. Price 14 nP.*

Forty-two very short anecdotes have been told in Gujarati for young and old. The range is very wide—to suit all readers. Simple in style, the anecdotes will be remembered to recall the theories. One anecdote will illustrate India's poverty when we are told that in Champaran area, one woman was directed at Gandhiji's directive at cleaning the *saris*. She had only one, that which she was putting on!

This is to be recommended in adult education centres, and also in schools—apart from general readers.

P. R. SEN

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Indian Periodicals

Remembering Kalidasa

Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra writes in *The Aryan Path*:

The *Kalidasa-Smriti-Samaroha*, Kalidasa Remembrance Festival, has been celebrated at Ujjain this year on a more lavish and grander scale, so much so that even the President of India and many other notable personalities took part in it and vied with each other in paying tributes of praise to the great poet. This display of special exuberance marks another level of the cultural renaissance that is sweeping over the country today.

Kalidasa is famous as Kavikulaguru (Teacher of Poets), and rightly so. Modern scholars fashionably refer to him as the Shakespeare of India. It would perhaps be more appropriate to call Shakespeare the Kalidasa of England. It may be remembered that Kalidasa is senior to Shakespeare by 1,200 years, if not by 1,700 years as some Indologists would have it. It is indeed tantalizing not to be able to know the exact age of Kalidasa. True to ancient Indian tradition, Kalidasa has been too modest to leave behind biographical details about himself. But what matter? He now belongs to eternity and has his home in the heart of every true lover of poetry.

Kalidasa lives amongst us by seven of his currently known immortal works in Sanskrit: two lyric poems, two long poems and three plays: *Meghaduta*, *Ritusamhara*; *Raghuvamsa*, *Kumarasambhava*; *Vikramorvasi*, *Malavikagnimitra* and *Sakuntala*. It is this last that primarily attracted the attention of European savants and elicited high praise from poets of Goethe's eminence. The study of Sanskrit in Western countries thereby received fresh impetus, and the foundation was laid of what was then considered a new branch of science: Indo-Germanic Philology, or a comparative study of Indo-European languages, now better known as Indo-European Linguistics.

Kalidasa's works embody all that is fine, noble and sublime in India's culture. In other words, Kalidasa is an epitome of Indian culture.

He was a model and a shining example to his contemporaries as well as to the generations of poets to come, and he continues as such to this day. He has been a source of inspiration, not only to poets and playwrights but also to artists and sculptors. Echoes of his ideas have reverberated in later poetic compositions, while his pen-pictures are made visible in the frescoes of Ajanta and Bagh on the one hand and in the multitude of sculptures throughout the country, belonging to the Gupta period, the Golden Age in the history of India, on the other.

There are many facets of Kalidasa's personality as a great poet and dramatist. He is distinguished by his peculiarly delightful style, simple and lucid and yet lofty and dignified, of describing things, always with apt, original and striking similitudes. In fact, his similes constitute the most outstanding trait of his poetic compositions. In this connection, the verdict of old rhetoricians is worth quoting:

upama Kalidasasya Bharaver=artha-gauravam
Naishadhe pada-lalityam Maghe santi trayo gunah

"Kalidasa has similitude; Bharavi has depth of meaning; the *Naishadha kavya* has the melodiousness of words; and Magha possesses all the three excellences."

Obviously this utterance emanated from an admirer of the laborious poet Magha, but it accidentally points out the true characteristic of Kalidasa's work. In the course of time, Kalidasa's fame gave rise to many a pseudo-Kalidasa. So many later Sanskrit poets assumed the name Kalidasa that it became quite difficult to distinguish the real from the unreal. It became conventional then to refer to the real one as *Dipasikha* Kalidasa, or Torch-flame Kalidasa. This distinguishing appellation owes its origin to the clever use of the *dipasikha* simile in a verse in the description of Indumati's *svayamvara* in the *Raghuvamsa*. Kalidasa has significantly compared Indumati there with a *dipa-sikha*, "the flame of a torch." The verse reads:

saricharini dipa-sikha=eva ratrau yam yam
 vyatityaya patimvara sa
 narendra-marg-atta iva prapede vivarna-
 bhavam sai sa bhumipalah
 (Raghuvamsa, VI, 67)

Princess Indumati, with the *jayamala* in her hand, is led forward, step by step, by her lady's maid, Sunanda by name, in front of the eligible princes seated in a row on tastefully decorated seats. Sunanda introduces every prince, one after the other, while Indumat quickly moves on, her silence indicating her rejection of those princes; for ultimately she is to choose Raghu. It is the dejected condition of the rejected princes that the poet describes in the verse in question. It defies literal translation, but it says in effect:

'As that fair maiden, Indumati, intent upon choosing a prince for her husband, passed by those princes one after the other in silence, the faces of those princes fell—were darkened, so to say, in the gloom of despair. It was like storeyed buildings along the main street, lit at

night by the light of a big torch. As the burning torch moved forward to the next building, the one left behind was naturally enveloped in darkness.'

Very often the poet is not content with one single simile. He employs a string of similes, which are an added joy and drive home the point at issue more forcefully. Consider, for instance, the description of Himalaya: how he was blessed with the birth of a daughter to him:

prabha-mahatya sikhay=eva dipas=trimar-
 gay=eva tridivasya maraah
 samskaravolty=eva gira manishi taya sa
 putas=cha vibhushits=cha
 (Kumarasambhava, I, 28)

"As a lamp is with a big bright flame, as the path to heaven is with the Heavenly Ganges (the Milky Way), and as a wise man is with refined speech, so was he (Himalaya) purified and beautified with her (Parvati, born to him)."

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And how charmingly he describes Parvati's adolescence:

asambhritam mandanam anga-yashter=
anasav-akhyaṃ karanam madasya
kamasya pushpa-vyatirikṭam=astram balyat
param s=atha vayah prapade
(Kumarasambhava, I, 31)

"Now she attained to the age that immediately succeeds childhood—the age which in itself is an adornment, without ornaments, of the delicate female figure; the age which in itself is an intoxicant, without liquor; the age which in itself is another arrow of Cupid, beyond Cupid's usual (five) arrows of flowers."

Apart from poetic excellences, Kalidāsa's works reveal his vast knowledge of various branches of learning, art and music. In spite of poor means of communication in his days, Kalidasa seems to have travelled extensively throughout the length and breadth of India quite early in life, as is evidenced by his accurate geographical descriptions, especially in the *Meghaduta*. Nothing seems to have escaped his keenly observant eye. Dr. Satya Charan Law of Calcutta, a well-known authority on ornithology, made a special study of birds and bird habits alluded to in Kalidasa's works and has published a book in Bengali entitled *Kalidaser Pakhi*, wherein he demonstrates by appropriate illustrations how accurate and precise Kalidasa's knowledge was with regard to the breeding and migrating habits of various species of birds in India. These are but a few instances of Kalidasa's profound knowledge. Here and there he gives us glimpses of his philosophy and religious propensities as well. To enlarge upon that subject is beyond the scope of this essay. It may, however, be pointed out that his typical invocations mark him out as a devout worshipper of Siva.

Economic Equality in a Welfare State

Sardar K. M. Panikkar observes in *The Indian Review*:

Indian history has many lessons for India today. The ups and downs of a great people who had lost their independence for a century and half and whose story extending over three thousand years shows many changes cannot but help us to strengthen our desire for freedom and warn us of the dangers against which we must always remain prepared.

One of the most remarkable lessons of

history not only of India but of all countries is that the strength of a nation lies in the happiness and contentment of its people. Numerous are the instances of countries whose courts were brilliant, whose nobles rich, powerful and living in luxury, where arts flourished and great buildings attested to the taste and love of pomp of rulers, which fell like the walls of Jericho to the sound of the enemies' trumpets.

In fact, it may justly be said that the downfall of state follows from too great a distance between the palace and the hovel, between the luxury of the court and the grinding poverty of the people. The story of the French Queen who asked perhaps in all honesty that 'if the people do not have bread, why they do not eat cakes' may be taken as a classic instance of this separation between the ruler and the ruled and the heavy price which not only the Queen Marie Antoinette but the people of France had to pay, would show how the distance between the palace and the hovel is one of the recurring dangers of all governments.

Indian history itself provides numerous instances which bring to us forcefully this important lesson. The Moghul Empire in the time of Mahommed Shah looked imposing enough from outside. The Emperor had his audiences on the same peacock throne which Shah Jehan the Magnificent had constructed to proclaim his pomp and power. He held his Durbars in the same Audience Hall which had proudly proclaimed that if there was a paradise on earth, it was there. The dignitaries of the Empire had the same magnificent titles, and yet when Nadir Shah, the Persian adventurer, turned up at the gates of Delhi, not a hand was raised to defend the capital of India. The great Viceroys, the Wazirs and the Nizam-ul-mulks, summoned to the presence by letters of distress couched in words of command, preferred to remain at a safe distance.

The population of imperial Delhi was handed over to merciless massacre for three days and nights and in the streets of the capital flowed the blood of innocent people. Nadir went back to Persia unmolested carrying with him the cherished treasures of India, the peacock throne, the crown studded with precious gems and riches beyond the dreams of avarice, leaving the occupant of the Moghul throne an object of pity and contempt. There is no parallel in history where the distance between pomp and luxury on the one hand and the

loyalty of the people on the other was so clearly demonstrated.

Two other examples from the later history of India may be mentioned. Siraj-ud-dowlah succeeded to a viceroyalty which lacked nothing in pomp and magnificence. Three of the richest provinces of India were his to govern. And yet at Plassey he was sold and betrayed by his own people to an enemy pitifully inferior in numbers. Western historians are inclined to see in this the superiority of European over Indian forces. And yet viewed in perspective the fact becomes clear that it was his own people who had betrayed him.

The Viceroyal court was magnificent. The number of dancing girls who attended the ceremonial occasions numbered many hundreds. The high officials of the court, Nawabs, Rajas and the newly rich merchants vied with each other in splendour. But the population ground down by poverty, felt no loyalty to the government and felt no interest in the state.

The second example is even more significant. Nawab Mohammed Ali, the Moghul Governor of Arcot, was indeed a strange person. When he visited Madras, as he did fairly often, the East India Company entertained him at banquets with over five hundred dishes and arranged for a suitable number of dancing girls to perform before him. The strange representative of a decaying imperial power had invented new methods of exploiting the people of his provinces.

He alienated large areas to his European creditors leaving the people to the tender mercies of those usurers, while he himself lived in extravagant magnificence. The result was that when at his death the Company took over the territory and reduced his successor to a mere puppet, there was not a finger that was raised in protest. The distance between the palace and the hovel had become so great that no one cared what became of the state.

The lesson is clear. It is only when the state is believed by the people to be looking after their interests that any kind of firm loyalty can exist towards it. This, in fact, is the Hindu tradition also. When we talk of *Ramraj*, what we mean to convey is a state where the interests of the common man override all other considerations. In his discourses on *Rajadharma* in *Mahabharata*, Bhishma emphasises the same point, that the ruler should look after the ruled as a pregnant woman takes care of the child in her womb, that is the welfare of the people should be the overriding consideration.

In the circumstances of today this lesson is even of greater importance. In a monarchical form of government, there is a visible centre around which loyalties can grow. These are easily understandable doctrines of obedience, allegiance and loyalty. Also traditionally, prestige, pomp and majesty are invested in the monarch and therefore a certain distance between the palace and the hut is considered normal and, consequently, much would be forgiven in a hereditary monarch who is looked upon as the symbol of national authority.

But the conception of the modern state is totally different. It represents the totality of the people, and the sovereignty even in monarchies, is today accepted as being with the people. Every type of modern state is based on equality. Here distinctions of class and glaring inequalities between groups strike at the root of popular obedience without which no state can exist.

The Indian Constitution specifically lays down these principles; a democracy based on the participation of all adult population, a directive to work for the abolition of inequalities of income, status, etc., and the eradication of social distinctions based on caste, untouchability, etc. Everywhere in the modern world the objective is to abolish wide divergences in wealth, class and status which lead to the very idea of the Ruler and the Ruled.

The modern state does not accept the idea that there is one section of the people who have a right to rule while the others, however well-looked after, have to accept a position of being the ruled. Those in whom authority is vested are no longer monarchs and nobles and can in no way be considered a ruling class. If between those placed in authority and the common people a noticeable gulf develops, then there is undoubtedly danger to the country's freedom, either by revolution or in course of time to its independence. There can be neither palaces nor hovels in India under the new conditions.

The development of civilisation everywhere has been described as the widening of the symbolic circle, that is the circle of social groups. In India, on the other hand, society tended till recent times to fragmentise itself into castes, sub-castes and family groups organised pyramidically, with millions of untouchables as a submerged base. It is this pyramidal and hierarchical character of Hindu society which constituted one greatest national weakness.

Even in the most prosperous periods of our past history, India suffered from this extreme weakness, with a few of the privileged classes living in palaces in the utmost luxury while the common man had to be content with hovels, and the former untouchables, denied even elementary human rights, had to shift as best as they could. What seemed as unbridgeable gulf between the palace and the hovel arose from this fact.

India learnt her lesson from history that she could neither emerge as a modern nation, nor keep her freedom for any length of time if

such differences were allowed to persist. In the welfare state which we have adopted as our ideal there is room neither for palaces nor for hovels. The abolition of untouchability, the consolidation of social relationships and the process of levelling up which the nation has now undertaken by its policy of industrialisation, rural transformation and exploitation of natural wealth, are all meant to give practical effect to the doctrine of equality embodied in the Constitution. It is the lesson we have learnt from our past and we can forget it only at our peril.

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I, the publisher of the Modern Review, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Danish Fish Trade

In the **Danish Foreign Office Journal**, November, 1958, Poul F. Jensen, Director of the Industrial Inspectorate, Ministry of Fisheries, writes:

In proportion to the size of the country, Denmark has the most extensive fishing waters in the world. Danish fishing vessels plough the waters of the North Sea and Baltic, the Skagerrak and the Kattegat, and a great number of belts, sounds, and inland waters.

The annual catch totals about 423,000 tons and is worth about 240 million kroner. Nearly half of the amount comes from the North Sea. The largest group is flat fish, of which about 75,000 tons is caught, but the catch of herring, sprats, and mackerel is nearly as great and about 30,000 tons of cod, haddock, and similar fish is caught, besides eel, salmon, other varieties of fish, lobsters, and shrimps.

Fishing off Greenland is a chapter by itself. Here the catch principally consists of cod and halibut, and there is some hunting of seals and whales.

Ground-net fishing exceeds other forms of fishing (trap, trawl, seine, and hook) in volume and value.

The fishing fleet comprises some 22,000 vessels, the largest of which exceed 50 g.r.t., the smallest being under 5 g.r.t. The total value is estimated at about 184 mill. kr. About 12,500 persons fish for a living. Plaice gives the biggest return, and large hauls of this fish are made on the Dogger Bank in the North Sea.

The export value of Danish fish is about 181 mill. kr. per annum.

The desire of fishermen and the trade that these problems should be solved led in 1954 to the passage of a special law controlling the quality of fish and fish products.

The law prohibits the processing of any fish which is in poor condition that is to say, fish that is declared unfit for human consumption or is not absolutely fresh owing to some defect in icing, packing, or other handling. The inspection guarantees that the fish will reach its destination in good condition.

Wet fish is one of the most perishable of all foods. Consequently, the regulations require it to be iced. The installation of freezing plant is a costly procedure, but it pays.

A special committee—the Ministry of Fisheries Quality Committee—assists the Minister to enforce the provisions of the law.

The day-to-day administration of the law is the responsibility of the Fishery Inspection.

The country is divided into 39 inspection districts and there is a fishery inspection station in every important fishing harbour and port of export. The largest station is at Esbjerg, where there are 12 inspectors headed by a chief inspector.

Fishery inspectors are usually recruited among young fishermen with some training in seamanship. Promotion to the higher grades is by special examination.

It should be added that the Ministry's Research Laboratory also provides technical guidance for industry.

This advice is usually given free of charge.

The Research Laboratory also assists the Fishery Inspection in special bacteriological and other research requiring technical equipment.

The 1958 Nobel Peace Prize Winner

World Veteran in its December issue 1958 sketches the life and achievements of Father D. G. Pire as follows :

A Dominican at 18 and a priest at 24, Father Pire was a leading member of the Belgian Resistance. At that time he devoted himself to the suffering and helpless, particularly to starving children at a time when so many people in Western Europe did not have enough to eat. But it was in February 1949 that the young parish priest of the Liege province found his real vocation.

During a conference on the plight of "Displaced Persons" then living in German camps, the Belgian priest met the director of one of the camps. He accepted an invitation to visit some of the camps and realized immediately that the morale of the refugees deserved as much attention as their material well-being.

Father Pire founded the organization "Aid to Displaced Persons" at Huy, a small industrial town in Belgium, on the road from Namur to Liege. His idea was to create communities for the refugees who had no chance; for all those who could not emigrate for reasons of age or bad health—the "hard core" as he called them, without regard to religion or nationality.

Then the idea of "European villages" took form. In 1956, the first of these villages was inaugurated in Aachen, on German territory right near the Belgian border. A few months later, twelve houses of the European village in Bregenz, Austria, provided homes for 24 refugee families from Austrian camps.

The "Europe of the Hearts," as Father called it, was on its way. A third village for Hungarian families was inaugurated in Augsburg, Germany, then followed the "Albert Schweitzer Village" near Saarbrücken and the "Fridtjof Nansen Village" north of Brussels. By giving the name of Nansen to this village, the Aid to Displaced Persons honored the memory of the great Norwegian who, after World War I, had been the first "father of refugees."

A sixth European village now in preparation is to carry the name of Anne Frank the little Jewish girl who was

deported during World War II and died heroically in a concentration camp—and whose diary has moved the whole world.

The European villages, also called "Villages of the Last Chance," are anything but ghettos. They are always near a city of importance. Once rehabilitated, the inhabitants (often former tubercular cases) can work in town and find their place in the community just like any other citizen.

Together with the national authorities of countries where the villages are built, the Council of Europe contributed to the work of Father Pire by offering many facilities. And it was M. Fernand Dehousse, President of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe who forwarded the name of D.G. Pire for this year's Nobel Prize.

The choice of the Nobel Prize Committee was unanimous.

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Agricultural Settlement

News from Israel, February, 1959 gives the following information:

Until the turn of the century more than 2000 years of dispersion had separated the Jewish people from the land, and made them strangers to the plough. The city-bred clerks, merchants and students who established the first agricultural villages in modern Israel were, therefore, confronted with manifold problems. They were hampered not only by a lack of personal experience, but as well by a dearth of agricultural experts. To add to the difficulties, the land, once fruitful, was barren and unyielding after centuries of neglect.

Despite the adversities of inexperience and difficult soil and climate conditions, the settlers succeeded in laying the foundations of agricultural life. Their villages (*moshavot*) were built on the basis of private initiative—each farmer owned his own land and worked it, with the emphasis on cash crops, as opposed to subsistence crops. Petah Tikva, Rishon-le-Zion, Rehovoth, Zichron Ya'acov and other villages laid the foundations for the citrus, wine, and olive-growing cultures in Israel today.

Even before the moshava had fully developed its characteristic forms, a new and significant development in agricultural settlement took place during the first decade of the twentieth century. Among the immigrant arrivals in Palestine at that time were a few groups of young men and women who reacted strongly against the idea of individualistic farming as practised in the moshava. They reasoned, on ideological grounds, that no man should own more land than he and his family could cultivate by their own toil. This would do away with the danger of Jewish farmers becoming mere overseers on land worked by hired help. A truly agricultural population, they felt, must also de-emphasize the importance of cash crops and become self-sustaining in vegetable production, grain and dairy farming. Only this way could new settlers become rooted in the land.

These ideas, coupled with a determination to reclaim the wastelands and restore the ravaged fertility of the Holy

Land, gave rise to co-operative agricultural settlement. In 1909 Degania, the first collective settlement (*kibbutz*) was founded in the Jordan Valley. Unlike previous sporadic attempts, this group held together and developed a unique system of collective villages living. By December, 1957, there were 228 *kibbutzim* in Israel, with a population of about 80,000.

At the same time, the first attempt was made to form a smallholders co-operative village (*moshav*) at Merhavia. This particular attempt did not succeed, but it provided a stimulus to the co-operative idea. Subsequently, in 1921, a group of farmers established the village of Nahalal in the Valley of Jezreel. They divided up their land in such way as to give every family an area it could cultivate itself. Each family lived and farmed individually, but with organized co-operation in buying and selling, including the purchase and operation of heavy farming equipment, and an organized system of mutual help. It answered the desire for individualistic living while providing a practical solution to economic problems within a co-operative framework. Of all the rural villages which exist in Israel today, more than 50 per cent are of the *moshav* type.

World War I was an important testing time for the new settlements. Cut off from their markets in Europe, the villages which had adopted monoculture had a difficult time. The new villages, on the other hand, were vindicated in their beliefs that subsistence crops were indispensable to a self-sustaining agricultural structure. The Palestine community was provided with the essential foodstuffs it needed during the War.

The period between the wars was one of consolidation for the agricultural settlements. During this time, agricultural research was initiated in the acclimatization of plant and livestock and the local production of seeds for vegetables, field crops and trees. Agricultural education assumed new proportions, serving not only to train new forces for agricultural settlement, but also to raise the level of agricultural production. When the British Mandate over Palestine terminated in 1948, there were 256 Jewish agricultural settle-

ments in the country, with a total population of some 105,000 people.

The government of the new State of Israel removed the restrictions on Jewish immigration into the country. Between 1948 and 1951 over 685,000 immigrants entered Israel. A whole range of new problems had arisen. Large-scale agricultural development had to be undertaken to feed the expanded population, to provide employment and for defence. Experience had proven that the most readily defensible territory is territory which is settled.

Clearly, the time was ripe for a new and bold settlement offensive. But whereas a dearth of land and an over-abundance of farmer candidates had always plagued the settlement organization during the Mandatory period, the creation of the State and the influx of refugees from Nazi Europe and the Arab countries turned the tables completely. For the first time there was no lack of available land. There was, however, no over-abundance of desire on the part of the new immigrants to settle on the land. In spite of this reluctance, the statistics attest to a remarkable success on the part of the settlement authorities. Between May 1948 and December 1957, the rural population increased from 110,000 to 322,000; the number of rural villages from 326 to 743, and the cultivated area in these villages from 4 million acres to 9.5 million acres.

The first problem was how to adapt the agricultural plan of the new villages to the psychological requirements of the new settlers. Most of them were wary of agriculture and were convinced that it offered no economic future for them. There was also the associated question of how to ensure employment during the formative period before a man could live off the products of his soil, and this involved planning suitable labour projects in the vicinity of the new villages, such as land reclamation, afforestation, road building, and so on. Above all however, the agricultural planner in Israel was confronted with the problem of how to produce an organic

community from the varied and disparate elements of this mass immigration.

Developments in this respect are best exemplified by the new trends in regional planning. A group of small but cohesive villages is grouped around a common Rural Center, where the schools, the clinic and other regional services are established. The individual villages, however, are composed of inhabitants drawn not only from one country, but, as far as possible, from the same background in that country. This system has been found to remove the tension and conflict from mixing and converts it into a gradual and natural process.

During the past ten years, vast human and material resources have been expended to promote rural settlement. Immigrants were encouraged to consider the form of settlement which best suited their personal capacities and beliefs. The Land Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency, with the aid of the Government, invested more than IL.550 million (\$300 million) in the new villages, and the established farm community contributed selflessly of its experience and manpower. Farmers from the more-developed regions in the north became teachers and advisors to the new settlers in the country's undeveloped south.

These efforts have brought remarkable results. A capable and firmly-entrenched farm population is rapidly growing up in the new villages and co-operatives. Today, settlements established since the creation of the State account for approximately one-half of the agricultural production of the country. The newcomers, despite their varied origin, their initial fear of farm life and their previous lack of skill, have found their way to integration in the Israel rural scene.

The Use of Mother-tongue in Science Teaching

The following extract is taken from the *Buletin*, March, 1959, issued by the Embassy of Viet-Nam:

From the early days of French domination up to the August 1945 Revolution, secondary and higher education in Vietnam were entirely given in French. Now in South Vietnam still all higher education is given in French or English. This may lead to believe that although the Vietnamese language is fit for secondary education it falls short of the exigence of teaching science at the higher educational level.

It may be surprising, therefore, to learn that Vietnamese is the only teaching medium in the DRVN, from the kinder-gartens to the University, and that it satisfies all the needs of science as rich and varied as medicine, agriculture, political economy, physics, mathematics, etc.

This, indeed, is the result of a long arduous and patient work. Dozens of years before the August 1945 Revolution, the spreading of scientific ideas had started in various reviews and periodicals, especially in the popular editions of scientific reviews. In support of this movement, various scientific vocabularies were elaborated in the early forties by Hoang-xuan-Han, Dao-Van-Tien, Pham-Khac-Quang, etc. . . . , who recorded the terms already in use, and coined others based on the existing ones equivalent terms in Chinese or other languages. Practice made use of and settled the majority of the terms, which, through the press, reached the school public. Many teachers took an active part in this movement of propagation. Thus on the eve of the revolution we were in possession of a still-imperfect tool, but a quite suitable one for the requirements of that time: a means for the spreading of scientific knowledge to all levels. The Government emerging from the revolution officially proclaimed the exclusive use of the national language in teaching.

It is true that at first technical terms were lacking, conciseness and preciseness sometimes had to be sacrificed owing to numerous difficulties. Many lecturers had to spend an incredible time translating their courses originally

written in French. The students had just as much difficulty in following them. But nothing discouraged teachers and students, and their efforts were soon rewarded.

Quite soon the students became accustomed to the new terms and were proud to study in their mother-tongue.

From the early months of 1946, the Ministry of Education began to publish a monthly pedagogical bulletin as well as editing and gradually publishing all school manuals for the primary and secondary schools in accordance with the new curricula. This task was continued throughout the resistance war, despite the serious difficulties encountered, especially in printing works, but all possible forms of reproduction were resorted to, from ordinary hectograph copying to lithography, reneotyping and typography.

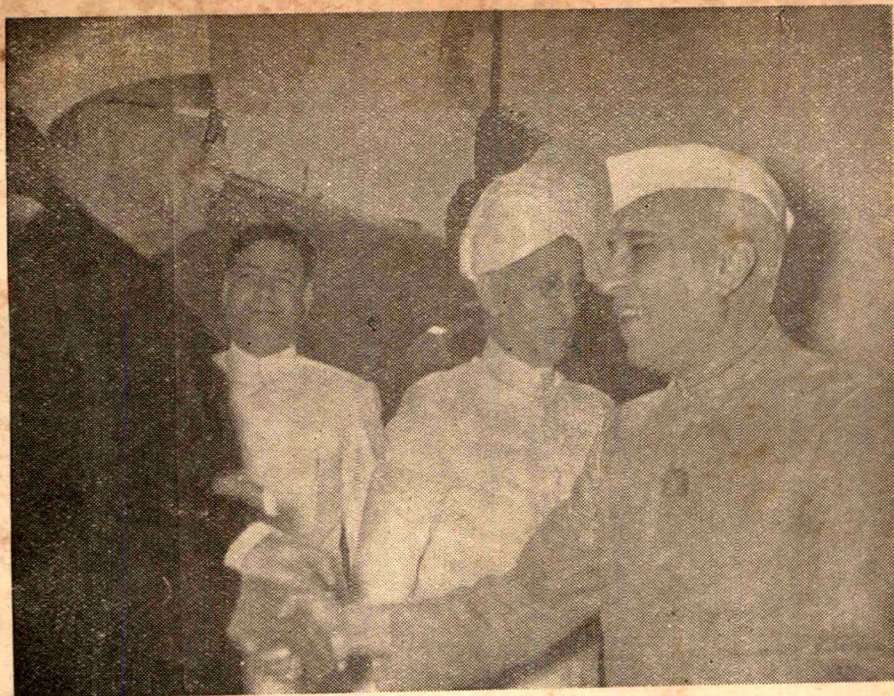
Since the re-establishment of peace, to support the ten-year general education system, the Ministry of Education has had written and distributed more than four million school manuals for all classes in two years. In higher and technical education, all the courses are renewed and many printed.

The results are satisfactory but a great deal still remains to be done.

First of all, modern scientific knowledge must be spread more and more widely among the people, so that the whole nation may take an interest and effectively take part in the advancement of science. It is only in this way that science will progress rapidly and contribute efficiently to the people's welfare, and only in this way will the whole nation's efforts in the expression of science and culture through the mother-tongue be justified. The propagation of scientific works has also begun, especially translations of works from the socialist countries.

At the same time, the work of unifying or rather codifying, scientific language has to be thought of.

Finally, the formation of a higher scientific Committee attached to the high organs of the State, decided on at the 8th session of the National Assembly, will certainly give an impulse to research work, and to the co-ordination of all scientific activities, to ensure their full, sound and well-balanced expansion.



The Prime Minister wishing *bon voyage* to the President before he left New Delhi on a visit to Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos



Mr. Andreyev and Mr. Mukhitdinov of the Soviet Goodwill Delegation at the Palam Airport with the Vice-President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan



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TOILET

By Chitrani Chaudhuri

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NOTES

The Cold War

Pandit Nehru has told us in mournful tones that the "Cold War" has come to India, with the coming of the Dalai Lama to this country, in search of a political sanctuary. In view of the attitude taken by Peiping that is undoubtedly the case. And a Cold War, where one of the parties is a totalitarian State, has immense ramifications and dangerous possibilities for a peaceful state, as the history of the Central European States, the Arab States of the Near East and Tibet itself has demonstrated beyond all doubt.

In our case the situation is further complicated by the existence of a very well-knit political party, that came to the fore during the last World War, thanks to the patronage of the British Raj, after the publication of the Puckle circular. It has had the aid of International Communism, in the Post-Independence period in more than one way, in the thorough consolidation and strengthening of its party-organisation. And it has demonstrated, beyond all mistake, the measure of its extra-territorial allegiances, by expressing its support for the false propaganda directed against India by Peiping, through the medium of its party newspapers.

Cold War always carries a threat of a shooting War, and in a very loosely-knit and inefficiently-run Government like ours, this threat has disastrous possibilities, particularly when we already have a mendacious and sabre-rattling neighbour, rendered totally reckless of consequences through large-scale military aid from the United States.

If the country and its nationals were well-organised, to meet all emergencies and to face

a prolonged period of international tension, it would be another matter altogether. But the reverse is the case, as we have been trying, all along these long years since the dawn of the Cold War era, to evade issues by preaching and protesting Neutrality, Peace at any price and the *Panch-Silas*.

It is one thing for the strong and the staunch to be neutral and quite another for the weak and the vacillating. It is not sufficient that we be potentially strong, for strength means preparedness and vigilance in all directions and the clearly apparent capacity to meet all eventualities. If India has entered the Cold War, then it is most imperative that a thorough and efficient assessment be made of our strengths and weaknesses.

Peace at any price we need not discuss in detail. It is sufficient to point out the price we paid for "Peace" of that variety, by eight centuries of slavery. It might be cogent to point out that there seem to be quite a few of our nationals today who would welcome-in slavery in another name, like those that welcomed the Afghans and Turks and after them the Feringhees.

The mere expounding of noble ideals of peace, or the wailing of jeremiads and protests are not likely to help. What chances are there for the *Panch-Silas* against the impact of the Five Corruptions that are assailing this nation. We refer to Parochialism, Black-marketeering, Official corruption, Disruptive activities and Extra-territorial allegiances.

We consider that it is time to initiate legal measures against all these major threats to our Independence. And time is of the essence.

India, Tibet and China

The granting of asylum by India to the Dalai Lama has given rise to a very delicate and complicated situation and has strained to a certain extent Indo-Chinese relationship. India certainly wants to maintain friendly relations with China, but she has also goodwill for the Tibetans who desire their autonomy. The granting of asylum does not constitute any break from India's avowed object which is that "where freedom is menaced, justice threatened or aggression takes place India cannot be and will not be neutral." The recent events in Tibet indicate that China broke the 17-point agreement entered into between Tibet and China. The Tezpur statement of the Dalai Lama clearly states that there has been violation of the 1951 agreement by China which is now trying to destroy the Tibetan autonomy. In her zeal to integrate Tibet as a part of China, the latter overlooks the historic fact that although in different periods of history with long breaks China exercised her suzerainty over Tibet, Tibet was never an integral part of China.

Now China is refuting the statement of Dalai Lama saying that Tibet is an integral part of China and anybody who will say to the contrary will be nothing but an enemy of China and imperialist. But China's attack on Tibet reveals that the Communistic China's imperialism is in no way better than the capitalistic imperialism of the West.

China never liked India pleading for Tibet. In 1951 she slapped in the face of India when Pandit Nehru pleaded moderation in China's treatment to Tibet. At that time China abused India stating that India was playing into the hands of China's enemies which allegation was farthest from the truth. This time she makes insinuations that the Dalai Lama's statement bears signs of influence by foreign powers, obviously hinting that India might have influenced this statement of Dalai Lama to make charges against Chinese aggression in Tibet. Rightly, the Government of India has refuted this allegation. However, India today is vitally interested

in the fate of Tibet as she is also interested in the fate of other downtrodden and colonial countries. Tibet today is the victim of Chinese aggression which has violated her autonomy and naturally India's sympathy will go out to Tibet in her days of national calamity. Apart from that, strategic considerations demand that there should be a buffer state between India and China to avert any future clash between these two countries. With Tibet being integrated into China, India's entire northern frontier stands vulnerable. India, therefore cannot ignore happenings in Tibet. While admitting Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, India maintains that Tibetan autonomy is a fact of history and that should be preserved by China. India has affinity both with China and Tibet and she wants peace in Tibet, otherwise her northern frontier will be in conflagration.

The history of Tibeto-Chinese relationship does not show that Tibet was ever a part of China. The Tibetans, though Mongoloid, are not Chinese ethnically. Culturally Tibet has been influenced by India. India has given Tibet its faith, its scriptures, its alphabet and its early art. In the early seventh century, when Buddhism was introduced in Tibet, she was a separate and independent State with a strong military power. During the reign of Kublai Khan, the first Mongol Emperor of China, who was converted to Lamaism, the Chinese suzerainty was established over Tibet by introducing the system of priest-kings and this system still continues. The first Dalai Lama—or incarnation of Buddha—was installed in 1394. After the passing of the thirteenth Dalai Lama in 1933, the present Dalai Lama was installed in 1940. Since the days of Kublai Khan, China claimed suzerainty over Tibet, but there was not the slightest vestige of control over the autonomy of Tibet. Tibet was politically independent of China until 1720. Then the change came when the Manchu Emperor Kang Hsi took advantage of the differences between the Mongols and the Tibetans over the succession to the sixth Dalai Lama and despatched an army to Tibet which established

Chinese rule at Lhasa. But this Chinese control over Tibet was short-lived and soon the Chinese suzerainty faded with the end of the Moghul rule in China.

In 1856, there was a war between Tibet and Nepal and it was concluded by a treaty of peace between the two countries. In this war, China was nowhere in the picture and China was not even a party to the treaty concluded between Tibet and Nepal. By this treaty, Tibet had to pay a tribute of 10,000 annually to Nepal.

During the end of the last century, India had a number of border disputes with Tibet and China was quite unable to secure a settlement. As a result a British expeditionary force under Sir Francis Younghusband was dispatched to Tibet in 1904. A convention was concluded between Tibet and the British Government in India which set out a special relationship between Tibet and India. There was no mention of the Chinese suzerainty over Tibet in the 1904 convention. On the contrary, Article 9 of the convention expressly confers on the British Government certain definite powers concerning matters which fall under the external sovereignty of Tibet. The terms of the Anglo-Tibetan convention of 1904 was accepted by China in a convention concluded with Britain in 1906, under which China accepted the terms of the 1904 Anglo-Tibetan convention which conferred certain specified powers on the British Government in matters relating to Tibet's external sovereignty. By this convention Tibet was placed under the double suzerainty of Britain and China. The 1904 convention recognises the de facto autonomy and limited independence of Tibet as otherwise how could she confer certain rights on the British Government?

In 1911 China invaded Tibet and established a military occupation when the thirteenth Dalai Lama took refuge in India. With the outbreak of the Chinese revolution in 1912, the Tibetans rose against the Chinese military rule and drove away the Chinese. In 1912 the Tibetan independence was complete and Tibet terminated Chinese suzerainty. She

declared herself to be an independent State. Since 1912 Tibet had been asserting her complete independence and in the 1914 convention between British Government, China and Tibet, Tibet participated as a separate and independent State. Under the treaty of 1904, India acquired the rights to maintain trade agents at Gyantse and Yatung with a small formal escort, and a seasonal trade agent in the summer in the area of Gartok in the western Tibet. A military mission was established by India in Lhasa in 1936. Tibet has her own currency system and since 1912 the Chinese representative at Lhasa was not allowed to exercise any control over the internal affairs of Tibet, nor did Tibet pay any tribute to China.

Since 1912 Tibet has not been bound by treaties concluded by China and that shows Tibetan independence. Suzerainty in international law implies that the war of the suzerain is ipso facto war of the vassal state. But during the second world war Tibet continued to be a neutral State, although China was a party to the war. In 1942 China demanded a right of passage through Tibet, but that was refused by Tibet. At last at the advice of Britain, Tibet allowed the passage of only non-military goods through Tibet and she maintained her neutrality during the war.

This historical background clearly indicates that the Chinese suzerainty over Tibet was never effective for any long period and since 1912 it became non-existent. Tibet's position in international law was recognised as a semi-sovereign State. In the name of "peaceful liberation" a Sino-Tibetan treaty was thrust upon Tibet by force in 1951 and intimidation by the People's Government of China which professes itself to be Communist. From whom was Tibet liberated? It was a camouflage for imperialistic conquest of a peaceful people. The Tibetan delegation at the 1951 agreement in Peking were hardly allowed to say anything, the procedure followed being that of communicating to them what was expected of them. Before that China resorted to military operations against Tibet and the 1951 agreement was

forced upon Tibet almost at the point of bayonet. China's plea for military operations against Tibet was that the crossing of the 38th parallel in Korea and the progress of the Allied troops at the border of Manchuria made it imperative for China to invade Tibet as a measure of security for her own existence. This plea is certainly untenable.

The borders of India and Nepal run closely with Tibet for 2,000 miles. In the nature of things India has special interests in Tibet which China has recognised in the past. There is a considerable trade between the Bhutiyas of Almora and the Gharwalis earn their livelihood by their annual migrations to the markets around Gartok. Tibet has long been regarded as India's bastion, a bastion unsurpassed in the world. Hitherto India has posted not a single soldier along that vast northern frontier. The Chinese conquest of Tibet has deprived India of her strategic advantage and India may now be compelled to militarize her frontier with China, involving posting of a large number of soldiers and diverting large resources.

State Trading in Foodgrains

At last the much-awaited scheme on State Trading in Foodgrains was announced by the Central Government on April 2 last in the Lok Sabha. The shortage in food supply has been a major obstacle to the country's progress towards prosperity and unless the food position is eased, industrial progress is bound to suffer. The internal production of foodgrains is not sufficient enough to feed the people of the country and the ever increasing numbers of population always leaves a gap between the food production and the need of the country. With a view to distribute the output throughout the country the need for a Central Organisation has been felt for sometime and at last the Union Government has come out with a scheme for undertaking trade in foodgrains. The scheme, however, is not up to the expectation and this has been subjected to severe criticisms inside and outside the Legislature.

Broadly speaking, the scheme has two parts—the ultimate pattern and the interim

scheme. The authorities face difficulties in the way of undertaking full-scale State trading immediately. The absence of an adequate administrative organization, the lack of sufficient storage accommodation and the want of adequate buffer stocks are the main impediments in the matter. The ultimate pattern of State Trading in Foodgrains will consist of a system which will provide for the collection of farm surpluses through service co-operatives at the village level and the channelling of the surpluses through marketing co-operatives and Central Marketing Co-operative Societies for distribution through retailers and through Consumers' Co-operatives. Effective steps will have to be taken for the Development of Consumer Co-operatives. The Union Government have decided that efforts should be directed towards the speedy realization of the ultimate objective and that during the interim period, more and more of the whole-sale trade in foodgrains be taken over by the co-operatives as they are progressively organised and developed.

A Working Group was set-up by the Government of India to work out the details of the scheme of State Trading in Foodgrains. The Working Group has laid down that the primary objective of State trading in foodgrains is to maintain price levels which are fair to the producer and the consumer and to reduce to the minimum the difference between the price received by the farmer and the prices paid by the consumer throughout the season and over an agricultural cycle. The Government have accepted this objective.

The Working Group was constituted under the Chairmanship of the Food Secretary and with representatives of the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, the Planning Commission and the Reserve Bank and the State Bank of India. It was assigned the task of considering the implications of the National Development Council's decision to socialise the whole-sale trade in foodgrains and to work out the details of a scheme for the implementation of that decision. Apart from the objective of price stabilisation, the other proposals of the Working Group include provisions for an orderly transition toward the assumption by the State of whole-sale trade in foodgrains without suddenly dislocating the

existing channels of distribution or imposing excessive burden on the administrative machinery of the Central and State Governments.

The Working Group have also suggested that there should be a steady expansion of purchases by the Government of India with a view to establishing for the State a position of strategic control over the market and the intensification of existing measures, such as the licensing of wholesale traders and imposing certain obligations on them, the system of distribution at the retail stage through fair price shops and statutory price control at the wholesale stage. The scheme prepared by the Working Group also provides for the progressive development of co-operatives so that a comprehensive network of marketing co-operatives, capable of taking over the entire marketable surplus may be built up.

But the socialization of the trading in foodgrains cannot be achieved in the near future. The ultimate objective as set forth above will take a long time to be realized. Hence the Working Group has recommended an interim scheme to be worked till the establishment of full-scale state trading. The interim scheme is now being followed but not to the desired extent. Under the scheme, the Government have not immediately undertaken the purchase of the entire marketed surplus, as that would at once cast upon the Government the responsibility for feeding the consumers in the urban and semi-urban areas. The State will progressively acquire larger proportions of such surpluses with a view to controlling the market more and more effectively until full-fledged state trading is established.

In the interim period wholesale traders will be permitted to function as licensed traders who will make purchases on their own behalf but shall pay specified minimum prices to the farmer. While the Government will have the right to acquire the whole or the portion of the stocks from the licensed traders at controlled prices, the traders will be at liberty to sell the remaining stocks to the retailers at prices not exceeding the controlled prices. The wholesale traders will be required to maintain proper accounts of their purchase and sale transactions and of their stocks and

submit periodical returns to the State Government.

Certain other decisions have also been taken by the Government of India about the trading in foodgrains. In the initial stages, state trading will be confined only to the two major cereals, namely, rice and wheat. In order to ensure that the producers get the minimum prices, the Government will set up an agency for making direct purchase of foodgrains from the producers who are desirous of selling their surplus produce to the Government. The purchase and sale operations as a whole would be conducted on a no-profit and no-loss basis. Uniform purchase prices will generally be fixed for a whole State or region. There are certain highly deficit areas where the prices are always higher than in the surplus areas. In view of this, the authorities think that it may be necessary to fix different purchase prices in the case of such highly deficit areas. Similarly, controlled prices for wholesale trade may vary from region to region within the State.

In the Lok Sabha this scheme was criticised by all sections of the House. It is practically not State trading in foodgrains inasmuch as procurement of rice and wheat will be done in the interim period through licensed wholesale traders and that is a step far away from the socialisation of trading in foodgrains. The main problem is how to maintain a fair price at which the consumers will be able to get foodgrains from the retailers and the Working Group also recognises that this should be the primary objective of State trading in foodgrains, that is, the maintenance of a fair price. But that aspect of the matter has been sacrificed in the interim period. In other words, the main issue has been put into cold storage for the time being and the problem of price fixation both at the wholesale stage and retail stage calls for immediate action. The cost fixation of agricultural output is not an easy matter, particularly the retail prices. The retail prices will continue to be speculative notwithstanding the best wishes and efforts of the authorities. And that would mean that the problem remains unsolved in the interim period.

The scheme as has been announced is anything but State trading, that is, in the interim

period. It will practically be private trading as has hitherto been the case. The only new feature is that the Government will try to exercise some control at the wholesale stage, but it is yet to be seen how far this will prove a success. Another problem that will be formidable is the spread between the price to be paid to the farmers by the wholesale traders and the retail price at which the consumers will get the foodgrains. The spread will tend to be high on account of speculative trade to be undertaken by the retailers. The farmers this year are not parting with their output to the expected level in view of the low price that is now being offered to them by the wholesale traders. So long as there prevails an apprehension among the farmers that there will be an upward swing of prices of foodgrains in off season, they will feel reluctant to part with their crops, holding them for better return during the rainy season.

During 1958 India is reported to have a record production of foodgrains, the production of rice alone being 29.7 million tons. But the availability of foodgrains in the market is not adequate and the prices have not come down to any appreciable extent. The State trading scheme is designed to help the wholesale traders under the aegis of the State. That is why some members of the Lok Sabha criticised the Government saying that they sabotaged the scheme of State trading as was envisaged by Food Grains Enquiry Commission. The best way towards price stabilization is to set up a grains bank that will exercise control over prices. For that purpose the State must maintain all surplus stocks in the country. To exercise strategic control over the prices of foodgrains, the stock should be maintained at a minimum level of 5 million tons. But the stock so far procured by the State does not exceed 5 lakh tons. Thus the consumers will continue to be at the mercy of the wholesalers and retailers for some time to come.

The report of the Foodgrains Enquiry Commission was published in the second half of 1957. Since then the authorities practically slept over the matter. Now they have come forward with a scheme which lacks coherence and is not at all effective. The State by this time should have set up a Central Organisation for procuring and storing foodgrains so that

these could have been freed from the profiteering and speculative deals of the dealers. But the Government have carefully shunned that path and have adopted a course of least trouble. The Government are reluctant to purchase the entire marketed surplus of foodgrains in selected areas because the acquisition of the entire marketed surplus of such an area will immediately cast on the Government the responsibility for feeding the entire urban population of that area and possibly also of feeding the population of other areas which receive their supplies from such an area. The Government do not favour the setting up of State Corporations for undertaking trading in foodgrains. Instead they will rely on village co-operatives and service co-operatives for such purposes. The basic policy is that village co-operatives and co-operative marketing societies will be developed and there may eventually be an apex marketing society in each State. In this ultimate pattern there seems to be no place for Corporations in the States.

The co-operatives themselves are not well developed and it is of doubtful proposition to impose faith and responsibility on such organisations which are shaky and lack experience and organisational efficiency. India cannot hope to be self-supporting in the production of foodgrains in the immediate future. The rising numbers of population in the country will always outstrip the food output and for that reason a permanent arrangement by the State is needed for trading in food. The report of the Ford Foundation that recently visited this country points out that in view of India's rapidly rising population, which is expected to reach the figure of 48 crores by the end of the Third Plan, a target of 110 million tons is needed for food output to provide sufficient food to the number of population in the country.

The food production needs be doubled by the end of the third Plan. And to ensure proper distribution, full-fledged State trading and control over foodgrains are necessary. So long as the food trade remains in the control of private sector, the people, the country and the economy will suffer. To ensure larger production, the Government should declare a minimum price for foodgrains at the beginning of the

agricultural season and assurance should also be given that the State is prepared to purchase foodgrains direct from the farmers at that price. Unless the farmers are assured of a profitable price incentive, production is bound to suffer and the farmers will also offer resistance in parting with their output unless they are assured that they can get foodgrains at almost the same price at which they will sell the crops. For this purpose the State organisation will impart confidence to the farmers.

Public Service Commissions

The frequency of complaints in Parliament and the State legislatures about the failure of the Union and State Governments to obtain, or abide by, the recommendations of the Union and State Public Service Commissions in a large number of cases is a matter of the most serious concern as it touches upon a very important subject of public policy in a democratic State, *viz.*, the maintenance of administrative efficiency and integrity. During a recent debate in the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council, for example, the Leader of the Opposition complained that the State Public Service Commission was being treated in an extremely casual manner. He alleged, with reference to the report of the Commission for the year 1955-56 (why the report should have come up for discussion so late—nearly three years after the close of the period to which it relates—is another point for a proper appreciation of which it would be necessary to know the date on which the Commission had submitted its report to the Government), that the recommendations of the Commission had been repeatedly ignored and in a large number of cases even no reference had been made to it. The figures which he cited in support of this criticism showed that during that year, 1362 persons had been appointed without any reference to the Commission as against 1510 in a regular manner (*i.e.*, through the Commission).

One of the fundamental postulates of democracy is the dispersion of authority to create mutual checks and balances and to prevent excessive concentration of power which inevitably leads to tyranny and dictatorship. The Legislature, the Executive, the Judiciary

and the system of independent audit through the Auditor-General are all meant to maintain the delicate balance of power in the democratic State. The Public Service Commission in such a set-up serves to help the State to get the services of the best talents of the country. Following the general democratic principle of not allowing power to concentrate in any particular organ of the State, the Constitution of India specifically lays down the role and functions of each. In the interest of administrative efficiency and integrity it lays down the principle that the Public Service Commissions should be generally consulted at the time of recruitment of personnel for filling up governmental vacancies. The specific mention of the Public Service Commissions in the Constitution is in itself an indication of the implied obligation of the Governments to refer to them all cases of appointments and to abide by their recommendations, save in exceptional cases which are to be few and far between. If on the face of this the Governments, in the Centre as well as in the States, should be unable in a significant number of cases to refer to the Commissions the cases of appointments and promotions or to accept their recommendations, as happens to be the case now, the question that comes to mind is whether there is at all any justification for maintaining the show of a number of costly commissions which are largely ineffectual. The continued refusal of the Executive to acknowledge the proper role of the Public Service Commission, in the Centre and in the States, brings credit neither to the Commission nor to the Government. It indicates either that the Commission has miserably failed in the proper discharge of its duties laid down in the Constitution which has led the Executive to take upon itself the major share of the Commission's task; or that the Executive, through the measures to side-track the Commission, is usurping powers which do not properly belong to it. Whether the responsibility lies with the Commission, or the Executive or with both, the nation has cause to be equally concerned at the trend of developments because the Executive, being subject to various pressures and influences which do not generally affect the independent Public Service Commission, may fail to exhibit that sense of

objectivity and detachment in selecting candidates which is essential for an efficient public service whose importance in a Welfare State can hardly be exaggerated. In an impartial assessment it is, on the other hand, impossible to overlook the fact that the Public Service Commission, in the Centre as well as in the States, have also not been able always to act up to expectation. When all the factors in this complicated relationship between the Executive and the Public Service Commission have been taken into consideration, it would appear that the national interest calls for the immediate appointment of a high-powered committee with adequate representation of the Parliament, the Executive, the Commission and the lay public, to go into the working of the Public Service Commission in the Centre and in the States with a view to summing up the past experience which only could enable future policies to be laid down on a sounder basis.

More on Law Commission's Report

The discussions in the Lok Sabha on the demands for grants of the Minister of Law and Home Affairs laid bare the vulnerability of some of the findings of the Law Commission. Both the Law Minister and the Home Minister were emphatic in their denial of any governmental interference in the appointment of Judges and the statistical support they brought to bear upon their agreement appeared to make their position impregnable. The Home Minister cited figures and said that all the seventeen Judges appointed to the Supreme Court since 1950 had been selected in accordance with the wishes of the Chief Justice of India. Of the 176 Judges appointed to the High Courts during that period all except one had the approval of the Chief Justices of the States concerned. In one case only the Government of India had accepted the view of the Chief Justice of India in preference to that of the local Chief Justices. The Home Minister added that in as many as 161 cases of appointment of High Court Judges the six persons connected with the matter of selection (the Chief Justice of the local High Court, the Chief Minister of the State concerned, the Governor of that State, the Union Home Minister,

the Prime Minister and the Chief Justice of India) had been unanimous in their decision. In fourteen cases where there was a divergence of opinion the view of the Chief Justice had prevailed.

The statements of the Minister of Law and the Minister for Home Affairs run directly counter to the statement of the Law Commission and tend to create a great confusion in the public mind. If we are to believe the Minister's statements it would either mean a sad reflection upon some of the present leaders of our judiciary or upon the integrity of the Law Commission itself. If, as the Law Commission avers, the executive had interfered in the selection of Judges in a greater majority of cases and if the Chief Justices had submitted to such undue interference by concurring with many unsatisfactory appointments—while they had no obligation to do so either under the conditions of their service or under their oath of office, the people can hardly be expected to agree to arm such people with greater powers. If, on the other hand, the Judges had not behaved in such a despicable manner, the Law Commission's findings in this regard must be regarded as highly misleading and would, to that extent, lose public respect for it.

Levy Agitation Withdrawn

The withdrawal of the anti-Betterment Levy agitation in Punjab, following the implied assurance of the State Chief Minister that the Government would consider the grievances of the people, leads one to ask if the parties could not have arrived at such an agreement earlier without so much strife and violence in the State. The fact that the Government already has brought down the assessment from the original figure of Rs. 100 crores to Rs. 30 crores and has indicated its willingness to consider bringing it down still further would seem to indicate that the Government itself was by no means convinced of the righteousness of its own position. The agitation which was countered by the strongest police measures has meant the loss of several lives, direct

physical and financial injury to many, and indirect inconvenience and loss to a still larger number of persons. Now that both the parties have come to see the folly of it all and the agitation has been called off unconditionally by the organisers of the movement, the Government should unreservedly come forward in adopting the speediest measures to mitigate the suffering of the people and to remove the grounds of their complaint.

Filling up the Vacuum

The policy of filling up the vacuum, which was first propounded with reference to the Middle East, may soon be extended to the area of the Indian Ocean. At any rate the threat of such an action is contained in a recent article in a U.S. magazine called *Navy* written by Rear-Admiral E. M. Eller, a historian for the United States Navy. "The Indian Ocean," the Admiral writes, "is momentarily a naval vacuum with no single or joint command at the ready to keep open this only highway to outside world A suitable naval task force in these waters would be of priceless value in helping to keep world peace. The sooner this vacuum is filled, the stronger will be the prospects of averting Soviet domination of this area whose loss in the end might mean the loss of freedom everywhere."

Admiral Eller is the director of the Naval History Division in the office of Naval operations and his article forms part of a study by the magazine of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf areas. It may not, therefore, be unreasonable to take his views as representative of those of a certain section of official strategy-planners. The talk of an Indian Ocean Command has been in the air off and on for the past six years. The conclusions of a bilateral naval pact between Great Britain and the Union of South Africa once led to such speculations. In a statement, made sometimes later on, the Indian Prime Minister pointed out that the Indian Ocean was encircled by the navies of powers who were intimately connected with various regional pacts which could by no means, be regarded as conducive to peace and mutual understanding. The recent reports of the stationing of American mariners

in Singapore not unnaturally led to anxious thoughts in many Asian minds. The article by the Rear-Admiral would seem to suggest that American policy in this matter is still in a fluid state and may, at any day, be interpreted to extend the purview of the various pacts (Baghdad Pact, SEATO Pact and other bilateral agreements) to cover the Indian Ocean area also which is almost inevitably bound to lead to the extension of the area of international tension.

Iraq and U. A. R.

King Feisal of Iraq was murdered with the late Premier Nuri Al-Said in the revolution of July, 1958. This revolution was then regarded, as conducted by a pro-Nasser group of "Free Officers" in the Iraqi Army. But today the conflict of ideology between Iraq and U.A.R. has been so acute that dreams of friendship and unity of action, one may think, have melted into the thin air. Charge and counter-charge between Cairo and Baghdad are the main play of the passions of present-day Iraq and U.A.R.. President Nasser said in Cairo on March 11 that the U.A.R. would not be offended at Kassem's demonstrations and insults, 'because an insult for the sake of a great issue like Arab Nationalism is a great honour.' The President's policy was to support any Arab country threatened with aggression and not to give Kassem and the Communists the chance "to sow the seeds of dissension among us and place us within their zones of influence. Communist terrorism in Iraq against Arab Nationalism and the U.A.R., and our leaders will make us more determined than ever in our mission. We shall fight and struggle to protect our country and Arabism. We follow an independent policy emanating from our country. We resisted pressure and military pacts against the Baghdad Pact so that we should not be within spheres of influence." On March 15, in Damascus the President attacked his opponent bitterly: "The Arab and Iraqi people will defeat today the red dictatorship in Iraq as they defeated other countries and armies before. Looking at Baghdad we see a bigger terror than in the days of Nuri Al-Said." President Nasser told the cheering crowds that Colonel Abdel Salem Aref, former Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq, now under

death-sentence for plotting against the regime, was the real hero of the July 14, revolt. He accused the Iraqi rulers of deceiving the Iraqis, making a mockery of Arab Nationalism and called them Communist agents. He said that it was against this terror and subjugation that the revolt in Mosul was directed.

The Iraqi Government also did not remain inactive. On 10th March, they had expelled nine members of the United Arab Republic Embassy in Baghdad including the military attache, Brigadier Abdel Megied Ferid. These diplomats were reported to have been kept in an enclosure in the airport until a crowd of Communist demonstrators arrived and jeered them with anti-U.A.R., slogans. The Iraqi Foreign Ministry on March 14, issued a statement calling on the Government of the United Arab Republic to stop what it called violations of the Iraqi frontier by Syrian tribesmen. This statement was described as without foundation and charges were made by the U.A.R., that Iraqi Air Force fighters had strafed a Syrian village during the recent revolt in North Iraq. President Nasser in the speech on March 15, in Damascus, predicted that the revolt in Mosul, Northern Iraq, would not be the last "as long as there is a dictatorship, terrorism and apostasy in Iraq." Discussing the revolution in July he said that Kassem's game was to wait and see so that if the July, 1958 revolution succeeded, he would proclaim himself as the sole leader but if it had failed he would have proclaimed loyalty to Regent Abdel Illah and Nuri Al-Said.

But in spite of this remark about Kassem by Nasser, it cannot be denied that there is strong support behind Kassem's power in Iraq. Evidence of it are not at all rare. One can easily recollect that Colonel Fadhel Abbas Mahdawi, President of the people's tribunal in Baghdad, interrupted its proceedings, on March 16, to shout into the microphone that the Iraqis would deal with 'Nasserites' and their agents "if you try to cross one inch into the Republic." "The lot of the traitor Showwaf was the lot of Nuri Al-Said and such will be your lot," he warned. Colonel Mahdawi denounced the Nasserites as traitors to the Arab cause. He declared: "We are the sincere guardians of the people and its power, the peo-

ple headed by our leader Abdul Karim Kassem —Kassem, the hero of the revolution, Kassem of Iraq, Kassem of Syria, Kassem of Egypt, Kassem of all Arab countries."

Without entering into the questions whether General Kassem is a true nationalist, whether he has enough devotion to Arab Unity or whether he is a Communist agent as termed by President Nasser, we cannot help supporting his decision on March 24, though much delayed, that Iraq had decided to withdraw from the Baghdad Pact. In his statement broadcast by Baghdad Radio General Kassem said: "We are a neutral country and we have no aggressive intentions against the world's status. The policy of our State is founded on neutrality which excludes its being a party to a pact, a military or aggressive block. Our continued stay in the Pact would be a perversion of our convictions and contrary to the feelings of the people, because independence and sovereignty are inter-dependent and because the Pact-member States might violate them in the event of war or aggression and effect a landing of their forces in our country by invoking the 'frozen' Baghdad Pact We were determined to end this pact since July 14th. We did truly end it. But its vestiges remained and these we have now liquidated." The Radio concluded: "Iraq will maintain relations with all countries, especially with its neighbours, on the basis of friendship, equality and mutual benefit."

Views on Berlin Crisis

We give the background to the present crisis in the following summaries:

U.S.A.: In a nation-wide radio and television broadcast on March 17, President Eisenhower spoke primarily on the Berlin situation. He said the United States was ready to make "every sincere effort" to negotiate a German settlement, but stressed that America would not abandon its rights or responsibilities in such negotiations. "The free nations are faced with three choices today in regard to Berlin and Germany" he said: (1) An abdication of allied rights, which are also responsibilities. The Soviets would prefer this, he said, but for America this would be an "unacceptable" course. He said that the United States

had no intention of abdicating its rights or of deserting free peoples. (2) "The possibility of war." He said that the free nations certainly did not want war, for it could mean the destruction of civilization. The Soviets knew this, he said. (3) Negotiation while at the same time providing for security. "If conditions promise results," he said, "the United States and its allies stand ready to talk with Soviet representatives at any time and at any place." Mr. Eisenhower said the allies were ready to consider all proposals which could increase security and take account of the desires of the free people. In any negotiation, the United States would not, however, abandon the people of Berlin, agree to any permanent division of Germany, permit any unilateral abrogation of treaty rights, or allow any undermining of the security of the United States and its allies, the President affirmed.

U.S.S.R.: In a Press Conference in the Kremlin for Soviet and foreign journalists on the Berlin and German situations, the Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Nikita Krushchev declared on March 19, that Russia recognised the right of the Western Powers to have troops in West Berlin, but he thought that after 14 years a peace treaty should be signed. In accepting western ideas for a May 11 Foreign Ministers' meeting, he again assured the western statesmen that Russia held to a peaceful settlement of the Berlin question by negotiation and dismissed any idea of an ultimatum. He declared that the Soviet proposals for a peace treaty with Germany and liquidation of the occupation regime in West Berlin was an initiative ending the cold war.

G.F.R.: At a Press Conference in Delhi Mr. Willy Brandt, the Governing Mayor of West Berlin said: "The case of Berlin points to the greater problem, namely, the rebuilding of the unity of German statehood free from foreign interference and by elimination of the neo-Colonialism by which East Germany has been subjugated." Summing up his conclusion on the Berlin question, Mr. Brandt reiterated the following points: (a) "The Berlin crisis is not an isolated case, but can and must only be understood in connection with the German problem as a whole which, in itself, is part of the overall problem of European World Security;

(b) the Berliners want peace, but they oppose unilateral action, and they are absolutely aware that peace cannot be secured by moral capitulation; (c) The Berliners have a right to live, a right which is based on international law, recognised also by the Soviet side. This right to live includes free access to the city."

NATO Vs. The Soviets

The New York Times, dated April 5, gave the following commentary on the Berlin crisis:

The date was April 4, 1949; the scene, the stage of the Interdepartmental Auditorium in Washington. In succession the foreign ministers of twelve nations spoke briefly and put their signatures to a document bound in blue goatskin. The document was the North Atlantic Treaty. With that instrument there came into being an alliance designed to meet this situation:

"Russia had used the massive threat of the Red Army to sweep nation after nation into the Communist camp—the most recent of them Czechoslovakia the year before. A pivotal Western position, West Berlin, was under Soviet land blockade and was being supplied by a costly airlift. Postwar demobilization and economic instability had cut deeply into Western power. The hope was that the U. S. atomic bomb—then a monopoly—and the pledge of common action under the North Atlantic Treaty would deter Russia from further military advance."

Last Thursday morning, on that same stage in Washington, leaders of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization formally observed the alliance's tenth anniversary. In the afternoon, behind closed doors, they took up urgent problems confronting them. In the background were these essential facts about the situation in which the alliance now stands:

"Soviet military power has grown. True, the Western position has been strengthened also, with West Germans now in the alliance and bolstering the European front, and with NATO's southern flank extended to Greece and Turkey. East and West have seemed to be locked

in thermonuclear stalemate. Nevertheless the potential for catastrophic war—through recklessness or mischance—has multiplied. And now Russia is brandishing her power behind a new challenge in Europe.”

The challenge goes to the fundamentals of Western security in Europe. It grows out of the Soviet demand that the Western Big Three abandon their military position in West Berlin and declare it a “free city.” Along with the demand the Russians have served notice of intention to turn over to the East Germans the control of Western access to the city. The explicit threat is that if the Western powers do not deal with the East Germans but instead try to force their way through, they will collide with the power of the Red Army. Soviet Premier Khrushchev has been using the threat as a lever to force the West to negotiations at the summit, presumably in the hope of extracting concessions under the shadow of war. It is now considered likely that summit talks will take place.

Last Monday Mr. Khrushchev closed a round in the maneuvering toward the summit by accepting a Western proposal for talks of foreign ministers first, in Geneva May 11. The note arrived while ministers of the key Western nations involved—U. S., Britain, France, West Germany—were meeting in Washington to prepare for the next round. Wednesday evening they wound up their talks and reported to their NATO partners. Yesterday the meetings ended with a declaration of united determination to stand firm in defense of Western rights.

NATO, the greatest peacetime coalition in history, encompasses 450,000,000 people who inhabit 7,800,000 square miles of the earth's surface. Together, the fifteen-member nations have 5,500,000 men under arms, including forty-six divisions allocated to NATO's joint military pool in three regional commands. They are pledged to regard an attack against one as an attack against all.

West Germany was brought into the alliance in 1955 by the Western Big Three who had pressed forward with West

German rearmament in the face of mounting Soviet pressure on the continent. NATO's front line of defense was thereby established along the West German border and the city limits of West Berlin. Thus the Soviet challenge on Berlin and Germany is a direct threat to NATO and the entire structure of Western defense.

That is the basic stake, as Western officials see it, in the new round of East-West negotiations which will begin in Geneva May 11. In its note last week agreeing to the foreign ministers' conference, Moscow also accepted a Western stipulation that the meeting should deal with “questions related to Germany” in addition to the specific Soviet proposals, first, to make West Berlin a “free city,” and, second, to sign separate peace treaties with East and West Germany. The wording of the Soviet note also indicated that Premier Khrushchev regards the holding of a summit conference as a foregone conclusion regardless of the outcome of the foreign ministers' meeting. The note said:

“The Soviet Government notes with satisfaction that at present the Western Big Three have reached agreement to start solving urgent international questions at a foreign ministers' conference and a summit meeting”

Actually, the Western Big Three have not agreed unqualifiedly to go to the summit. In varying and somewhat ambiguous terms, each stated in its note to Moscow March 26 that a summit conference would depend on the outcome of the foreign ministers' meeting.

U.S.-Pak. Bilateral Agreement *(Arkana Pact)*

We quote here from the American Embassy's *News Letter* March 11, some facts of the U.K.-Pak. Bilateral Agreement:

“Following the fall of the Royal Government of Iraq in mid-July of last year (that is, 1958) the Ministerial Council of the Baghdad Pact met in London . . . At that meeting the United States, which is not a signatory to the Baghdad Pact but is a member of several of its Committees, agreed to enter into agreements with the remaining active members of the Pact to assist in their security and defence,

"pursuant to existing congressional authorization." There followed a prolonged period of negotiation between the U.S. and Turkey, Iran and Pakistan . . . Last Thursday in Ankara Ambassador Fletcher Warren for the United States and Foreign Minister Fatin Rustu Zorlu for Turkey, Ambassador Sayid M. Hassan for Pakistan and General Hassan Arfa for Iran signed identical agreements differing only in the names of the countries involved. The first article of the agreement (Iran, Pakistan) is determined to resist aggression. In case of aggression against Turkey (Iran, Pakistan) the Government of the United States of America, in accordance with the Constitution of the United States of America, will take such appropriate action, including the use of armed forces, as may be mutually agreed upon and as is envisaged in the joint resolution to promote peace and stability in the Middle-East, in order to assist the Government of Turkey (Iran, Pakistan) at its request."

The 'threat' posed by this agreement was the dominant theme of the debate in the Lok Sabha on March 16. Two opposition members, Mr. Surendra Mahanty (Ganatantra Parishad) and Mr. W. C. Patnaik (Ind.) denounced the pact in stronger terms. Mr. Mahanty warned the Government that nothing prevented America from saying at any time that India was controlled by international Communism. "This is a clear cause of black-mail and international bullying by the U.S.A. against India," he said. Congress members, including Mr. Joachim Alva, Mr. D. C. Sharma, Mr. D. S. Raju and Mr. Kalika Singh, said that the pact was a menace to India. The Praja-Socialist member, Mr. Asoka Mehta, while calling the pact objectionable, did not think that it had basically altered the situation. In this connection we shall also follow the statement released at a press conference organised by the visiting Soviet Delegation in New Delhi on March 19: "The Government of U.S. has recently concluded new bilateral military agreements with Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, which are rightly considered by the peace-loving peoples of Asia as a new serious 'threat' to the cause of peace in this region. We understand the anxiety of the Indian people in

connection with this agreement because in spite of the assurances of the Government of U.S. this agreement is directed not only against the Soviet Union but first of all against the neighbours of Pakistan—India and Afghanistan."

News from Africa

(very important)

Africa is now in travail. The parts affected are the remaining zones of colonialism. We give summaries of the situations prevailing in some of them in the following summaries:

Northern Nigeria: Nigeria, largest British colonial territory, lies in Western Africa, between Cameroon and Dahomey (French) on the gulf of Guinea. Its area is approximately 373,250 square miles and population (1954) of 31,800,000. The chief exports are tin, palm oil, palm kernels, cotton lint, cocoa, hides and skins, columbite, rubber and pea-nuts. The Northern region of the huge country is the largest with some 17,000,000 inhabitants. Two-thirds of them are Moslems. The region achieved self-government on Sunday, March 15. At a celebration of the event on Saturday (March 14) her Commissioner in London, Alhaji Abdulmaliki, read this message from the Premier, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sondana of Sokoto: "I would like to assure you all of our determination to remain within the British Commonwealth of Nations. As a young nation we shall have many problems facing us, but we will tackle them with courage and firmness to the best of our ability. We shall want, and welcome, assistance in our industry and commerce, and we shall do our best to create attractive conditions for investment."

Tanganyika: It is a trust territory administered by a Governor, with Executive and Legislative Councils, formerly was German East Africa, and was taken by the British in 1918, the Urundi and Ruanda districts going to Belgium, and the Kionga Triangle to Mozambique (Portuguese East Africa). It reaches from the coast to Lake Tanganyika and Lake Nyaza to Victoria Nyanza. The area is 362,688 square miles, population 8,069,000, the majority being of

the Bantu race. The principal products are sisal, cotton, coffee, hide and skin, bees-wax and ivory.

The appointment in July of five un-official Ministers and the formation of a Council of Ministers to replace the present Executive Council in Tanganyika would mark another major step in the progress of the territory towards eventual self-government. In Dar es Salaam on March 17 the Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull, made an announcement: "The position we have now reached is one stage in a succession of stages, each of which will get us nearer our final goal." After the elections a committee would be conducting enquiries, and he would, in consultation with advisers, be considering the question of further advances in the constitutional field. The Governor explained that these advisers would include the five un-official Ministers—three African, one Asian and one European.

Nyasaland: Nyasaland is a British Protectorate in the Central Africa and situated in on the Southern and Western shores of Lake Nyaza and extends nearly as far as the Zambesi River. Its area is 47,404 square miles including 10,575 of water with a population of 2,600,000. Tea, wheat, cotton, rubber and tobacco are cultivated.

Mr. W. K. Chiume, a Nyasaland African leader who flew secretly to London last month addressed a meeting of students: "come what may, we are going to have freedom and we are determined to have it." 'Federation means apartheid, and 'out with Welensky' were among the slogans on banners carried by the students to the gathering place.

Kenya: Kenya is the crown colony and protectorate, extends from the Indian Ocean North-east to Somaliland, North to Ethiopia, West to Uganda and South to Tanganyika. Its area is 224,960 square miles and population is 6,150,000, largely native. The capital is Nairobi. The main products are coffee, tea, cereals, sisal, dairy products, timber and minerals. Mr. Tom Mboya, President of the Nairobi People Convention Party, has, in an open letter to

the Governor of Kenya Sir Evelyn Baring said: "People had been arrested and removed from Nairobi, where they had been earning their living, without any proven case against them "and in fact without being faced with any evidence." Wives and children of some of the arrested men had been left to end for themselves and in two cases women who had been repatriated were forced to leave their children behind in Nairobi without anyone to take the responsibility for feeding and looking after them, he said. Mr. Mboya further said that the Nairobi Peoples Convention Party were based on a "frank and fearless expression of African feelings, fears and aspirations." The Party adhered to the principles of Democracy."

Southern Rhodesia: It lies in the central part of Southern Africa, extending from the Transval Province northward to the Zambesi River with Portuguese East Africa on the East and Portuguese West Africa and Bechuanaland on the West. It has an area of 150,333 square miles. Population is 2,480,000 including approximately 159,000 Europeans. The country is rich in gold reefs and other minerals, but has proved to be an ideal agricultural country. Salisbury is the capital. A new form of Government was established in Rhodesia in October 1, 1923 with a Governor assisted by a Legislature which had full control over internal affairs.

Commenting on the Government's Unlawful Organization Bill announced on Thursday which aims at permanently banning the African National Congress movement in Southern Rhodesia, the Archbishop of Central Africa the Most Reverend James Hughes in an interview published in the Bulawayo Chronicle said on March 14: "I am in conscience bound to register a public protest . . . I am shocked to discover that we appear to be devoid of both statesmanship and legal skill and must resort to methods characteristic of the Hitler regime."

French Cameroons: French Cameroons was part of the German Colony, Kamerun in Western Africa. It consists of 166,489 square miles. It became an auto-

nomous state and provisional trusteeship on April 16, 1957. Its population is 3,127,400 including several thousand Europeans. Its chief products are palm oil, groundnuts, timber, hides, cocoa and ivory. The capital is Yaounde.

The 82-nation U. N. Trusteeship Committee on March 12, voted for the ending of Trusteeship and granting independence to French Cameroons on January 1, 1960. The Committee's resolution embodies an amendment sponsored by India, Ceylon and five other countries expressing confidence that at the earliest possible date after the attainment of independence, election would be held for the formation of a new assembly "which should take decisions regarding the establishment in their final form of the institutions of free and independent Cameroons."

Secretary of State Dulles

Mr. John Foster Dulles has resigned his post as the Secretary of State of the United States, due to being incapacitated by a recurrence of cancer.

Son of a Presbyterian Minister, Mr. Dulles comes from a family long active in foreign affairs. He is the third in three successive generations of his family to serve as U.S. Secretary of State. Dulles first came into the international picture when, as a 19-year old student at Princeton he accompanied his grandfather to the Netherlands and served as an attache of the Chinese Delegation at the second Hague Peace Conference in 1907. At 30, already well-known as an international lawyer, he was one of five close advisers to President Woodrow Wilson at the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919 following World War I. He was a member of the U.S. delegation that helped to establish the U.N. at Francisco, in 1945. An active participant in international affairs for 50 years and the driving force in U.S. foreign relations during his assignment as Secretary of State from 1953 to 1959, Mr. Dulles tried to find peaceful solutions to international problems. He represented the U.S. at every major international meeting until illness in 1958 restricted his activities. He was the principal adviser to President Eisenhower at the heads-of-government meeting at Geneva in

July of 1955. His devotion to principle was strikingly demonstrated on November 2, 1956, when he went before the U.N. General Assembly to condemn the invasion of Egypt by the U.K. and France and by Israel and asked for an immediate cease-fire. Less than two years later, Lebanon issued its call for assistance and Dulles responded without the least hesitation. President Eisenhower in his news-conference said: "I . . . have asked him to remain as my consultant, and I will appoint him to some office that makes it possible for him to be useful both to the State Department and to me, because I think all of you know my opinion of Secretary Dulles."

U. S. View on Tibet

The New York Times of April 5, gave the following comments on the Dalai Lama's flight from Tibet into India:

On the night of March 17, according to reports reaching the outside world last week, a dramatic trek began in the remote mountain country of Tibet. The Dalai (Mongol for all-embracing) Lama (priest), a 23-year-old Tibetan who is venerated as the "Living Buddha" and a god-king by his countrymen, fled from the capital city of Lhasa. With a party of some eighty lamas and attendants, he hiked southward along narrow, stony tracks, across great rivers and high passes, toward India 300 miles away.

Chinese Communist planes searched for the party and on occasion Chinese paratroopers pursued it. But under the protection of Tibet's Khampa tribesmen, the Dalai Lama arrived last week at the Indian frontier in the area of Towang, about 500 miles north of Calcutta. On Friday, Indian Prime Minister Nehru announced to a cheering Parliament that the Dalai Lama was safe, in good health, and would be given "respectful treatment."

The highest land in the world, Tibet is a huge plateau (almost twice as large as Texas) between two mountain ranges, the Kunluns in the north and the Himalayas in the south. Its population of about 1 million are mainly peasants, nomads and priests. Tibet is a theocracy;

its religion is Lamaism, an offshoot of the Indian border, the Chinese carted off thousands of Tibetans for forced labor. Last week the fighting continued but the Chinese, vastly superior in numbers and equipment, were evidently in control of most of the country. Premier Chou En-lai ordered the dissolution of the Dalai Lama's Local Government of Tibet and the substitution of a regime headed by his rival, the Panchen Lama, who is regarded as a Communist puppet. Nonetheless, reports from Indian frontier stations said the Tibetan people continued to regard the Dalai Lama as their sole ruler.

For centuries Tibet has been considered a part of China's sphere of influence. The Chinese Communists are determined to bring this land under firm Chinese control for two main reasons. First, they feel they need Tibet in order to assert their power in Central Asia vis-a-vis Russia and India. Second, they want to subjugate and communize the region because an autonomous Tibet, living in peaceful defiance of the rigid doctrines governing China, might spur rebellions against Communist rule in other discontented Chinese territories such as Sinkiang.

In 1950 Chinese Communist troops invaded the country and a year later induced the Tibetans to sign a treaty in which (1) Tibet recognized Chinese suzerainty and Peiping's authority over its external affairs, and (2) Peiping agreed to respect Tibetan autonomy and the position of the Dalai Lama as the supreme spiritual and temporal ruler of Tibet.

Peiping violated its part of the agreement. The Chinese Communists challenged the Dalai Lama's authority. They sought to destroy the centuries-old Tibetan theocracy and communize the country. More than 300,000 Chinese Communist troops were stationed in Tibet. The Chinese established Communist schools and indoctrinated the young generation of Tibetans.

As the Tibetan people's bitterness mounted, fighting broke out. Last month the revolts became a full-scale rebellion and the Dalai Lama fled. Peiping rushed troop reinforcements and planes. News reports from Tibet itself have been scant because of poor communications. But the Chinese Communists told of bloody fighting in which they killed or captured thousands of Tibetans. According to reports from Himalayan frontier stations on

The suppression of the Tibetan revolt cost Communist China much goodwill in Asia. For one thing, to every Asian nation with large groups of Hindus or Buddhists, the Dalai Lama has a special significance. Religion is a potent force in these nations and Hinduism, Buddhism and Lamaism are related—the Buddha himself was a Hindu prince. Hindus as well as Buddhists revere the Buddha and the young Dalai Lama is, to them, a holy figure.

In addition, there was the political aspect of Communist China's moves against Tibet. For a decade Peiping had sought to cultivate the neutralist nations of Asia. Peiping's approach, expressed at the Bandung conference in 1955 by Premier Chou En-lai, was this: "We people in the Asian and African countries share the same fate and the same desires." Until recently, many Asians believed implicitly in the peaceful intentions of the Chinese Communist regime. They excused Peiping's use of force in North Korea and North Vietnam on the grounds that the Communists had been "provoked" by Western involvement.

But the Asians were obviously disenchanted with Peiping last week. Relations between Communist China and India were thrown in jeopardy. The Indian press attacked the Communists in bitter terms. Peiping countered that the Tibetan revolt had been organized in the Indian border town of Kalimpong, with Indian help. The Indian Communists supported this charge. In New Delhi on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday Parliament angrily debated the

affair. The Deputy Minister for External Affairs, Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, said the Government took "very strong exception" to the Chinese allegation and equal exception to the Indian Communist statements. When the Communist deputies rose to speak, the house shouted them down with cries of "Shame-Shame!" and charged that they had shown themselves to be "traitors."

The Dalai Lama's Statement

The following is the text of the statement made at Tezpur on April 18:

"It has always been accepted that the Tibetan people are different from the Han people of China. There has always been a strong desire for independence on the part of the Tibetan people. Throughout history this has been asserted on numerous occasions. Sometimes the Chinese Government has imposed its suzerainty over Tibet and at other times Tibet has functioned as an independent country.

"In any event, at all times, even when the suzerainty of China was imposed, Tibet remained autonomous in the control of its internal affairs.

"In 1951, under pressure of the Chinese Government, a 17-point agreement was made between China and Tibet. In that agreement the suzerainty of China was accepted as there was no alternative left to the Tibetans. But even in the agreement it was stated that Tibet would enjoy full autonomy. Though the control of external affairs was to be in the hands of the Chinese Government, it was agreed that there would be no interference by the Chinese Government with the Tibetan religion and customs and her internal administration. In fact, after the occupation of Tibet by the Chinese armies the Tibetan Government did not enjoy any measure of autonomy, even in internal matters, and the Chinese Government exercised full powers in Tibetan affairs.

"In 1956 a Preparatory Committee was set up for Tibet with the Dalai Lama as Chairman and the Panchen Lama as Vice-Chairman and General Chang Quo-hua as the representative of the Chinese Government. In practice, even this body had little power, and decisions in all important

matters were taken by the Chinese authorities. The Dalai Lama and his Government tried their best to adhere to the 17-point agreement but the interference of the Chinese authorities persisted. By the end of 1955 a struggle had started in Kham province and this assumed serious proportions in 1956. In the resultant struggle the Chinese armed forces destroyed a large number of monasteries.

"Many Lamas were killed and a large number of monks and officials were taken and employed on the construction of roads in China, and interference in the exercise of religious freedom increased.

"The relations of Tibetans with China became openly strained from the early part of February, 1959. The Dalai Lama had agreed a month in advance to attend a cultural show in the Chinese headquarters and the date was suddenly fixed for March 10. The people of Lhasa became apprehensive that some harm might be done to the Dalai Lama and, as a result, about 10,000 people gathered around the Dalai Lama's summer palace at Norbulingka and physically prevented the Dalai Lama from attending the function.

"Thereafter the people themselves decided to raise a bodyguard for the protection of the Dalai Lama. Large crowds of Tibetans went about the streets of Lhasa demonstrating against Chinese rule in Tibet. Two days later thousands of Tibetan women held demonstrations protesting against the Chinese authorities. In spite of these demonstrations by the people, the Dalai Lama and his Government endeavoured to maintain friendly relations with the Chinese and tried to carry out negotiations with the Chinese representatives as to how best to bring about peace in Tibet and assuage the people's anxiety.

"While these negotiations were being carried out, reinforcements arrived to strengthen the Chinese garrisons in Tibet. On March 17 two or three mortar shells were fired in the direction of the Norbulingka palace. Fortunately the shells fell in a nearby pond.

"After this the advisers became alive to the danger to the person of the Dalai

Lama and in those difficult circumstances it became imperative for the Dalai Lama, the members of his family and his high officials to leave Lhasa.

"It was due to the loyalty and affectionate support of his people that the Dalai Lama was able to find his way through a route which is quite arduous. The route which the Dalai Lama took involved crossing the Kyichu and Tsangpo rivers and making his way through the Lhoka area, Yarlung Valley and Psona Zong before reaching the Indian frontier at Kanzey Mane, near Chuangmu.

"On March 29, the Dalai Lama sent two emissaries to cross the Indo-Tibetan border to request the Government of India for permission to enter India and seek asylum there. The Dalai Lama is extremely grateful to the people and the Government of India for their spontaneous and generous welcome as well as the asylum granted to him and his followers.

"India and Tibet have had religious, cultural and trade links for over a thousand years, and for Tibetans it has always been the land of enlightenment, having given birth to the Buddha. The Dalai Lama is deeply touched by the kind greetings extended to him on his safe arrival in India by Mr. Nehru and his colleagues in the Government of India. The Dalai Lama has already sent a reply to this message of greetings.

"Ever since the Dalai Lama entered Kanzey Mane he has experienced in full measure the respect and hospitality extended to him by the people of the Kameng Frontier Division of the North-East Frontier Agency and the Dalai Lama would like to state how the Government of India's officers posted there had spared no effort in making his stay and journey through this extremely well-administered part of India as comfortable as possible.

"His country and people have passed through an extremely difficult period and all that the Dalai Lama wishes to say at the moment is to express his sincere regret at the tragedy which has overtaken Tibet and to fervently hope that these troubles will be over soon without any more bloodshed.

"As the Dalai Lama, and the spiritual

head of all the Buddhists in Tibet, his foremost concern is the well-being of his people and in ensuring perpetual flourishing of his sacred religion and freedom of his country.

"While expressing once again thankfulness at his safe arrival in India, the Dalai Lama would like to take this opportunity to communicate to all his friends, well-wishers and devotees in India and abroad his sincere gratitude for the many messages of sympathy and concern with which they have flooded him."

The Canberra Jet Plane Incident

New Delhi, April 21.—The Defence Minister, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, reiterated in the Lok Sabha this evening that the shooting down of the Indian Air Force Canberra jet aircraft over Pakistan on April 10 was a "calculated and wanton" attack.

Mr. Menon said it was against all principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations and in "total disregard" of the principle of reciprocity in relation to India. The Defence Minister also stated that the treatment meted out to the injured crew after the Canberra was shot down was against the Geneva Convention.

Mr. Menon listed Pakistani violations of Indian air space in recent weeks. He said even yesterday (April 20) a Pakistani aircraft had penetrated some 85 miles into Indian territory in the district of Hissar, "not far away from Delhi" and added: "Indian aircraft have not resorted to any hostile action in spite of the provocation in respect of the Canberra."

The Defence Minister, who made a detailed statement on the subject after interrogating the severely injured pilot and the navigator of the aircraft repudiated Pakistan's contention that it had warned the Indian Canberra before it was shot down. "Not even the (Pakistan) concocted confession of our pilot contained any reference to these alleged warnings given to the aircraft," he said.

Had any such warning been given, according to the practice on a wave-length accepted by all nations, it would have been heard by other stations, certainly by the nearby air stations at Amritsar or Jammu as they were tuned to this wave-length.

"No air station anywhere heard any such message. It must be clear, therefore, that Paki-

stan's claim in regard to warnings is untrue," he added.

Mr. Menon said: "No warning of any kind by radio or by firing tracer bullets, as alleged by Pakistan, was at all given. Both the pilot and the navigation, who have been very closely questioned by our Air authorities on this matter, are clear on this point."

The first indication to the crew that anything unusual was happening was not any warning by radio or by tracer bullets, but the "rude shock of a 'thud' in the plane." The crew became aware of the attacking planes only after they had been hit; when after having seen two airfields on the ground and realised that they were probably over Pakistan, they had already turned towards India.

Mr. Menon stated that the crew during interrogation after their return to India had "categorically and repeatedly" stated that their flying over Pakistan territory was the result of a navigational error.

Mr. Menon recalled that Pakistan authorities had admitted that the Canberra was attacked by more than one Pakistan fighter plane. It was obvious, therefore, that the "fighters were armed and the guns loaded contrary to the practice of Air Force planes in peacetime. The attack on the Canberra was "deliberate, planned and prepared," and was made not to prevent her from further penetration into Pakistan because the aircraft was already turning Indiaward.

Mr. Menon said during the interrogation of the injured airmen, the Pakistan officers concerned appeared to have subjected them to much pressure and harassment. "They appear to have told their victims that they were in Pakistan and not in India and that it was better for their health if they confessed that they had deliberately violated Pakistan territory for aerial reconnaissance and photography."

The pilot had only hazy recollections of the whole of this period of interrogation. "He remembers people continuously shouting at him. He remembers feeling threatened and harassed. He has no recollection whatsoever of speaking himself or signing any statement at all or as alleged."

The navigator, who was separated from the pilot from the moment they reached the Pakistan military hospital, had been

told (by Pakistan authorities) that "it was no use his saying he was off the track and was over Pakistan territory owing to faulty navigation since the Prime Minister (Nehru) and the Government of India had already admitted that they had been sent out on a mission to fly over Pakistan and to take photographs."

In fact, Mr. Menon said, despite the fact that the navigator was totally exhausted, shortly after the midnight of April 11 the navigator was asked to sign a statement which was not read by him.

Mr. Menon said that Pakistan officers repeatedly assured the navigator that the statement was only to the effect that they had come over Pakistan territory as a result of navigational error and that the signing of the statement was a mere formality which he (the navigator) had to comply with before returning to India. The navigator signed the statement. "It is significant that neither the Pakistan authorities nor the Pakistan Press has so far said anything about the statement of the navigator," he said.

Mr. Menon said that both these airmen had confirmed that they flew at a height of 47,500 ft. The height of the plane given by Pakistan at first was 50,000 ft. It was afterwards changed to 45,000 ft.

"This is, no doubt, intended to cover up the fact that at the height of 50,000 ft. the Canberra could not have been chased by a Sabre jet but could only have been shot at by the fighters lying in wait for her quite deliberately. It is absurd to suggest that the Sabre jets could have chased the Canberra for over 100 miles and still keep her under their control."

Mr. Menon said that Pakistan as a member of the United Nations had an obligation not to use force except in self-defence against armed attack as provided in Article 51.

"Her conduct, therefore, considered from any point of view, is in disregard of the canons, the principles and practices of international behaviour as well as the Charter of the United Nations. It is also in total disregard of the principle of recipro-

city in relation to India," Mr. Menon declared.

He disclosed during this month several violations of Indian air space of a "sinister character" had been made by Pakistan aircraft. Even yesterday a Pakistani aircraft penetrated some 85 miles into Indian territory in Hissar district about 75 miles from Delhi. "But no hostile action was taken by Indian aircraft despite the provocation in respect of the Canberra."

Mr. Menon said the photostat copy of the radar-tracked map could not be true. "This is not and, what is more, cannot be the case. The photostat is the photograph of merely a map with lines on it which could be drawn at any time without any reference whatever to any radar-tracking."

Mr. Menon said Indian Air Force had "strict instructions not to engage themselves in any missions or exercises which involve violation of Pakistan or any foreign territory. I have no doubt in my mind that these instructions are strictly observed."

The Defence Position

The Hindusthan Standard report:

New Delhi, April 8.—The inconclusive defence debate in the Lok Sabha today evoked more than ordinary interest with members urging the Government to reorganise the armed forces to meet the requirements of a modern war and to gear the ordnance factories to the production of modern weapons.

There was criticism of waste of defence expenditure. References were made to cases of corruption and "scandals," and members made it clear the country was prepared to spend more if there was an assurance that the money would not be mis-spent and that adequate defence arrangements on modern lines had been made.

Mr. U. C. Patnaik (Ind.) pointed out that if instead of "camouflaged" reduction in the defence budget this year more funds had been utilised on ameliorative schemes for the forces, it would have been worthwhile for the country's defence.

He accused the Defence Ministry of showing little regard to Parliament or financial control and said that losses worth hundreds of crores of rupees had been incurred by entrusting the task of

purchasing defence equipment to officials with a shady past, some of whom had been even convicted.

Mr. Patnaik said that nothing had been done to re-organise the armed forces or to start the production of rockets and other modern weapons in the ordnance factories, although research on various projects had been going on for many years. He pointed to the discontent among a certain section of Army officers and said that 25 senior Brigadiers, known for their efficiency, had recently been superseded.

Dr. Jayakar

Dr. Mukund Ramrao Jayakar, a prominent figure in the public life of India died on 11th last month at an age of 86.

Dr. Jayakar was a student of the Bombay University and was a Barrister-at-Law of the Bombay High Court. He entered into public career in 1916 and became a member of the Bombay Legislative Council seven years later. He was the leader of the Swaraj Party in the Council and remained leader of the opposition in 1925. Dr. Jayakar was returned to the Legislative Assembly in 1926 and continued to be its member till 1930. He represented India at the Round Table Conference in London and later he was a member of the Federal Structure Committee. He was appointed a Judge of the Federal Court of India in October, 1937. He became a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1939 and continued to be a member till his resignation in March, 1942. He was elected as a member of the Constituent Assembly, but resigned early in 1947. He served the Poona University as a Vice-Chancellor from 1948 to 1956.

Dr. Jayakar was a man of many talents. He had a great love for education. In politics, he was a moderate.

Pandit Bidhusekhar Sastri

We regret to have to announce the demise of Pandit Bidhusekhar Shastri at the age of 80.

A devout follower of Rabindranath Tagore, he spent the greatest part of his active life at Santiniketan, where his profound scholarship and vast learning made him a landmark.

He was one of our oldest and most valued contributors and it is with sorrow that we announce the loss of this learned son of India.

THE UNION PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION

By DR. VRAJ MOHAN SINHA, M.A., Ph.D.

OUR Constitution framers were quite aware of the importance of a non-political civil service and hence they took proper steps to put the recruitment beyond the reach of political parties. At the national level we have the Union Public Service Commission which exercises jurisdiction with regard to All-India and Union Services. At the State-level we have the State Public Service Commissions which have jurisdiction over the State Civil Services.

Article 315 of our Constitution provides for the Union Public Service Commission. This, however, is not a new innovation. Under the Government of India Act, 1919, the Public Service Commission was there to discharge, "in regard to recruitment and control of Public Services in India such functions as may be assigned thereto by rules made by the Secretary of State in Council."¹ But in spite of this provision the Commission was not established and it was only in 1926 that India got the Public Service Commission after the Lee Commission had strongly pleaded for it. It was then named as Public Service Commission (India). When the Government of India Act, 1935, came into force it was designated as the Federal Public Service Commission and subsequent to the commencement of the Republican Constitution it came to be known as the Union Public Service Commission. Members of the Federal Public Service Commission automatically became members of the Union Public Service Commission unless they chose otherwise. As a temporary measure the Constitution relaxed the conditions regarding qualifications, terms of service and age of retirement. In all these matters they were to be governed by rules under which they were appointed.²

The Constitution satisfies itself by merely providing for the Commission. It does not specify the number of members or their condi-

tions of service. This has been left to the President.³ At present the Commission is composed of 8 members including the Chairman appointed by the President. The President will not be free to make appointments as he is not free to perform any other official function. Thus the right of appointment, though not in theory, but in practice, is vested in the Prime Minister and the Cabinet. How far the Prime Minister and the Cabinet will act in an impartial manner in matters of appointment of the members of the Commission will depend upon the political conditions prevailing in the country and also on the view which they take.

The existence of the Commission can be justified only if it is allowed to act impartially. To quote Dr. P. S. Deshmukh, "These Commissions are said to be a necessity of modern States. These Commissions are primarily meant to keep appointments away from day-to-day politics, party preferences and influences."⁴ This object can be achieved only if the commission is fully independent of the executive and can afford to displease them if necessary. The present Commission can act more independently than the Federal Public Service Commission under the 1935 Act. Once appointed the Chairman and the members are free from the control of the executive. If they are to be removed on the grounds of misbehaviour the President must make a reference to the Supreme Court.⁵ The Supreme Court has already prescribed the procedure for dealing with such references.⁶ On receipt of the order for enquiry the Registrar of the Supreme Court sends notice to the person concerned and also to the Attorney-General to appear before the court

3. *Ibid*, Article 318.

4. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, Vol. IX, No. 15, 22nd August 1949, p. 560.

5. *The Constitution of India*, Art. 317

1. *The Government of India Act, 1919*, Section 96 (c).

2. *The Constitution of India*, Article 378.

(1). 6. *Order XXXVII of the Supreme Court Rules, 1950.*

on the fixed day. A copy of the charge-sheet is also sent to the person concerned along with the notice. Witnesses too may be summoned. Under this procedure of enquiry the President has little to do.

If removal is to be affected on grounds of (i) being adjudged insolvent; (ii) accepting a paid office; or (iii) infirmity of mind or body then reference to the Supreme Court is not needed.⁷ But none of these require any discretion on the part of the President. These are self-evident. Of course, pending the report of the Supreme Court the President may suspend the Chairman or the member concerned.

Such provisions were altogether missing in the Government of India Act, 1935. These were left to the discretion of the Governor-General. Obviously the Commission can act more independently under the present set-up. Though the President is authorised to determine the terms of service of the members and the Chairman of the Commission, yet he cannot alter it to their disadvantage during their term of office. All this goes to show that the executive has no means of controlling them. Once in office they must continue for six years or until attainment of sixty-five years of age, unless removed according to the procedure outlined above.

The constitutional requirement that the Commission should submit an annual report to the President which should be presented to the Parliament along with a memorandum explaining the causes of non-acceptance of the Commission's advice⁸ is also designed to act as a check against the high-handedness of the executive. Cabinet will think twice before turning down Commission's advice as such an act is likely to cause criticism in the Parliament, the press and the public. Nevertheless because of the present-day party solidarity of the Congress both inside and outside Parliament this is not likely to be very effective.

As regards the composition of the Commission the Constitution requires that "as nearly as may be one half" shall be officials of at least ten years standing.⁹ But the Commission may

be composed of any number of officials even to the extent of totally excluding the non-officials. The composition of the Commission cannot be challenged because non-officials have been excluded. In *P. Raghunandha Rao v. State of Orissa and another* the validity of the Orissa Public Service Commission was challenged because it was composed of officials only. The petitioner's contention was that when the Constitution says as nearly as one half should be officials the other half must necessarily be composed of non-officials. The Orissa High Court however held that, "As nearly as may be one half" in Article 316 indicated only an approximation. This could not be equivalent to more than half. It is open to the Governor to appoint other members of the Commission from amongst officials or non-officials as he pleased. In support of this view the court also pointed out that a suggestion to substitute "not more than half" for "as nearly as may be one half" was defeated in the Constituent Assembly.¹⁰ This judgement equally well applies in case of the Union Public Service Commission also. However, from the above judgement it may be inferred that if less than half are non-officials then the composition of the Commission may be challenged in the Court of law for such an Act offends against a constitutional requirement.

Under the Government of India Act, 1935, the position was just as it is today. In the proviso to Clause (1) of Section 265 instead of "as nearly may be one half" "at least half was used." It could be very well pointed out that the Act has nothing to say regarding the composition of the other half and as such it has been left to the discretion of the executive. Further, it could also be pointed out that "at least half" indicates the minimum only. It is not the maximum which may be more than this.

To achieve the best result it is desirable that in the composition of the Commission outside knowledge and the intimate knowledge of the Civil Service is judiciously blended. This minimum of one half seems to be too much. Already there is a feeling that our bureaucracy remains largely uncontrolled. If half or more

7. *The Constitution of India*, Art. 317 (3).

8. *The Constitution of India*, Article 318.

9. *Ibid*, Art. 316(1) Proviso.

10. *P. Raghunandha Rao vs. State of Orissa and another*, A.I.R., Orissa 1915, page 113.

than half of the total membership goes to the officials, to be further augmented by the inclusion of the nominee of the Ministry for which recruitment is being made, they will be able to carry the selection the way they like. To avoid this two suggestions may be made.

(i) No official be appointed as the Chairman of the Commission. The Chairman exercises great influence over his colleagues. An official acting as the Chairman makes the official side too strong.

(ii) Official membership be reduced to one-third, and it be provided that in the remaining two-thirds officials will not be included. The suggestion that the official membership be put at one-third was also put forward by the conference of the Chairman and the members of the Union Public Service Commission and the Chairmen of the State Public Service Commissions. Such a body is probably the best authority to say as to which interest should be represented on the Commission and in what proportions.

Speaking against so overwhelming a representation of the official elements on the Commission a member observed in the Constituent Assembly, "The Government Servants' views should not be so overwhelmingly represented on the Public Service Commissions. While it is necessary that we must have the advantage of experience of Government Servants their views should not be the determining factor in the selection of the candidates." Further he observed, "The longer the period a person has been in the Government service the more conservative he becomes and develops the whims and caprices and even idiosyncracies of that class. They get out of touch with the public opinion and changing needs of society."¹¹

The functions of the Commission have been detailed in the Constitution itself. These are more or less the same as were prescribed under the Government of India Act, 1919, or the Government of India Act, 1935. The functions of the Commission are advisory. The Government may or may not accept their recommendations. The reason for this was explained in the Parliament in the following words: "The

danger is that if you give them mandatory powers you set-up two Governments in a province and two Governments at the Centre and there is everything to be said against a procedure of that kind."¹² The Commission had the same position under the Government of India Act, 1935, also. Acceptance of Commission's advice in other countries too is based on conventions only, but in certain cases indirect statutory safeguards are provided. For instance in England no Civil Servant is entitled to receive pension unless he has been appointed in consultation with the Commission. The Union Public Service Commission in their first report pleaded for similar safeguards in India too.

The Commission conducts examination for recruitment to all-India and Union services and frames and operates schemes of joint recruitment, if requested by two or more States. Besides this the Commission is to be consulted in the following matters:

(i) Method of recruitment to the Civil Servants and Civil posts.

(ii) Principles and suitability of candidates for appointment, promotion or transfer from one service to another for officers referred to in (i) above.

(iii) Disciplinary matters affecting officers serving in civil capacity.

(iv) Payment of cost of legal proceedings instituted against an officer serving in civil capacity for his official acts.

(v) Pension of officers serving in civil capacity for having sustained injury while on duty.

(vi) Any matters referred to the Commission by the President.

The Constitution provides "The Union Public Service Commission . . . shall be consulted . . ." The judicial opinion has not been uniform regarding the interpretation of this Clause. In 1953, the Calcutta High Court in *Munna Lal Tewari v. Harold Scott*, held that the Commission must be consulted on disciplinary matters though acceptance is not obligatory, i.e., if the Commission is not

11. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, Vol. X, No. 15, 22nd August, 1947, p. 577.

12. *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 300, Col. 858, as quoted in *Commentary on the Constitution of India* by Basu.

consulted then the orders are inoperative because a Constitutional provision has been offended but non-acceptance of advice does not affect the orders.¹³

It may however be pointed out that the present Article 320(3) is just a reproduction of Section 266 of the Government of India Act, 1935. In a case under that section it was held that the "provisions of the Section 266 are directory and failure to consult the Public Service Commission before appointing Tapan Kumar Chatterji" does not invalidate the appointment.¹⁴

Later in *Munnalal Tewari v. Harold Scott and Others*, a division Bench of the Calcutta High Court (on appeal) held that "Article 320(3) appears to me to be of a directory nature for a variety of other considerations. The first is that the article itself gives the liberty to the President and the Governors to exempt themselves from its operation by regulations framed by themselves. A mandate which leaves it open to the mandated person to carry or not to carry the mandate according to his pleasure or discretion cannot be a mandate properly so-called"¹⁵

In view of the fact that the opinion of the Commission is not mandatory the consultation should at least be made mandatory and the Constitution should be suitably amended.

Under the proviso to Clause (3) of Article 320 of the Constitution the President has made the Union Public Service Commission (Consultation) Regulations which prescribe the following matters to be excluded from the purview of the Commission.

"(a) Appointment to a Central Service, Class I, of any officer in the armed forces of the Union or any officer who is already a member of any all-India service, a Central Service Class I or a Railway Service Class I.

"(b) Appointment to a Central Service Class II of any officer from another Central Service Class II or from a Central Service Class

III or of any officer in the armed forces of the Union or of a Railway Service Class II.

"(c) Appointment to a tenure post in Central Service, Class I or a Central Service Class II of an officer of the service of a Part 'A' State."¹⁶

The Commission need not also be consulted in regard to selection where they have agreed to recruitment being made abroad. Generally speaking the Commission is not consulted in appointment which are likely to last for a year only. The exercise of this power by the Government has been the target of criticism by the Commission.¹⁷ There have been instances of appointments where candidates were reasonably expected to hold office for more than a year. Often such persons held offices for periods far in excess of a year without any reference to the Commission. The office experience proves to be of great advantage when such candidates appear before the Commission along with fresh candidates. Regulation 4(b)¹⁸ has been interpreted and used in a fashion which could have been never intended. The sole idea behind this Clause was to give the Government Departments this latitude so that their work may not suffer for want of officers. Government Departments seem to have taken the stand that they can retain the persons in their service for one year without any reference to the Commission. Towards the fag-end of the year they inform the Commission and can later smuggle them into service on strength of their experience which they claim to have acquired. The Commission in their first report observe, "This provision has unfortunately been invoked by Ministries and departments far too indiscriminately."¹⁹ This has been used as a convenient backdoor which was never intended to be.

15. *Munnalal Tewari v. Harold Scott and Others*, A.I.R., Cal., 1955, page 451.

16. *Union Public Service (Consultation) Regulation*, Regulation No. 3.

17. *First Report of the Union Public Service Commission*, page 3.

18. *Union Public Service (Consultation) Regulation*, Regulation No. 4(b).

19. *First Report of the Union Public Service Commission*.

13. *Commentaries on the Constitution of India*, by Basu, page 510.

14. Matter No. 7 of 1949 Cal. (c) Quoted in A.I.R., Cal., 1954, page 63.

THE RATE OF CATTLE MORTALITY IN INDIA

By DR. P. C. BANSIL, M.A., Ph.D.

MORTALITY among animals, to a large extent, is a function of factors like housing, tending, feeding, standards of sanitation and veterinary facilities, etc. For this very reason, a major portion of cattle deaths can be attributed to famines, floods and pestilence. But for the information contained in the annual administration reports of the Animal Husbandry Departments of various States, nothing definite is known about cattle mortality or slaughter in the country. For having an idea of the mortality rate, we will have to tackle the problem from a number of angles.

TREND OF CATTLE POPULATION

Reliable cattle population data are not available over a long period in this country. The system of holding regular cattle censuses on an All-India basis was initiated in 1919-20 and 8 enumerations have been held since then. None of these censuses covered the whole of the country at one time and even the areas of enumerations have not been the same in all cases. A brief description about the various cattle censuses would be of interest for the purpose of their study.

Attempts are said to have been made in the Moghul period to take a cattle census but it was only from the eighties of the nineteenth century that any regular census system was initiated. The work was first taken up in certain districts of the Punjab and later in Bengal and other British provinces. In most parts, the statistics were collected annually and in some cases they were of doubtful accuracy. They were neither collected at the same time nor the methods of enumeration were uniform throughout the country. With a view to standardise the methods of collection and to make the data comparable and more useful, the Government of India decided in 1916 that a census of cattle should be taken throughout British India during the cold weather of 1919-20 and that this census should be repeated quinquennially thereafter. The first census was accordingly held from December

1919 to April 1920 throughout British India.¹ The co-operation of Indian States was also invited and 28 of them comprising about 29 per cent of the total area of Indian States joined. The second census was taken in 1924-25, when 12 more Indian States participated, bringing the total area covered to about 38 per cent; but no census was taken in British Baluchistan where it was decided to do it decennially. In Bengal, this census was actually taken in 1926 and in the Punjab in 1923. Owing to settlement operations then going on, no census was taken in the Kamrup and Sibsagar districts of Assam.

The above two censuses suffered from one defect in that the period of enumeration was too long, viz., from December to April. Large inter-provincial movements of cattle are known to take place during these months and the results were probably inaccurate to some extent for this reason. In 1928, the Royal Commission on Agriculture recommended that the census should be taken simultaneously all over the country in as short a period as possible so that the results are more accurate and reliable. Accordingly, the third census was taken in January, 1930, when all the British Provinces and 83 Indian States joined, covering about 50 per cent of the total area owned by the States.

The fourth census was taken in January, 1935. The provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa did not participate in this census mainly owing to financial reasons. A large number of Indian States, however, participated and about 66 per cent of their total area was covered, as compared with about 50 per cent in 1930. The fifth census was held in January, 1940. The United Provinces and Orissa could not join this time but the number of Indian States which took part in it increased and nearly 79 per cent of their area was covered.

In the censuses of 1919-20, 1924-25 and 1929-30, the oxen and the buffaloes were, for

1. The census in British Baluchistan was taken in 1920-21.

purposes of enumeration, divided into four groups, *viz.*, bulls, bullocks, cows and young-stock. The last group included animals not old enough for work or breeding. With a view to obtaining more complete information, the following revised classification was adopted for the 1935 census.

Sub-divisions used in 1935 Cattle census:

Males—

1. Breeding bulls, *i.e.*, entire males over 3 years kept or used for breeding purposes.
2. Working bullocks, *i.e.*, bullocks and uncastrated males over 3 years kept for work only.
3. Bulls and bullocks over 3 years not in use for breeding or work.
4. Total bulls and bullocks . . .

Females—

1. Breeding cows, *i.e.*, cows over 3 years kept for breeding or milk production.
2. Cows over 3 years used for work.
3. Cows over 3 years not in use for work or breeding purposes.
4. Total cows . . .

Young-stock—

1. Under one year male and female.
2. One to three years of age—male and female.
3. . . .
4. Total young-stock.

A slight departure from the above classification was made by the United Provinces in submitting its returns. Several of the Indian States also adhered to the old classification.

In the 1940 census, the breeding cows were further sub-divided into: (i) In milk, (ii) Dry and (iii) Not calved. Another feature of this census was that enumeration was done separately for rural and urban areas in each district. All the provinces and States participating in the census did not, however, follow the new classification. In Bihar and in some of the States, the 1935 groups were adhered to and no census was taken separately for urban and rural areas. In some cases, *viz.*, Bikaner State, the enumeration was done in 1938-39 instead of in 1940.

This sixth census was taken in 1945 in which 92 per cent of the States participated. On

the partitioning of the country in 1947, Sind, Baluchistan, N.-W.F.P., and parts of Punjab, Bengal and Assam were transferred to Pakistan, thus resulting in a large-scale transfer of both human and cattle population. The first official live-stock census for the Indian Republic was taken in 1951, covering 94.5 per cent of the total area of the country.

The second livestock census for the Indian Republic and the Eighth in the All-India series was held in 1956. Certain improvements were introduced this time to obviate the defects of the past. The reference date for the census was 15th April, 1956. But due to administrative and other difficulties, no census could be conducted in Orissa, West Bengal and Manipur during 1956. These States conducted the census in 1957. The census date for 1956 is thus for all the States and the Union territories of India based on the Census conducted in 1956 and 1957.

From the above description it will be observed that livestock enumeration in India has not yet attained any desirable standard of accuracy. Frequent changes in the classifications, the adoption of different groupings by some units and participation of some areas in one census and non-participation in the other, affect the utility of figures and make comparison, on all-India basis, difficult. Besides, the data in many parts are at present collected through village chowkidars, headmen, policemen, etc., and are not always free from doubts.

Appendix 'A' would supply the available information with regard to the trend of cattle and buffalo population for the period 1940-1956. The broad idea can be had from the following figures:

TABLE 1
Trend of Cattle and Buffalo Population
(in millions)

	Cattle	Buffalo	Total
1940	138	40	178
1945	136	38	174
1951	155	44	199
1956	159	45	204

This would indicate a marked increase in the population of both cattle and buffalo during the quinquennium 1945-1951 as compared with the preceding or the succeeding period. No

specific reasons can be found for this increase as even the effect of the ban on cow slaughter would not have been perceptible. In case, the factor has had any appreciable effect the increase in the period 1951-56 would have been more pronounced.²

All this would raise a number of doubts about the comparability of the data for the various years. From the brief discussion of various livestock census as given in the preceding pages, such a conclusion emerges automatically. This being the case no definite conclusion can be drawn from this date.

A study has, however, been made with regard to the trend of cattle population in certain selected areas for which census figures are available from year to year. Table below supplies this information:

TABLE 2

Trend of Cattle and Buffalo population in certain selected areas
(in millions)

Census year	Cattle	Buffalo	Index of cattle with 1920 as 100
1920	60.8	19.8	100
1925	60.3	21.1	99
1930	62.2	22.0	102
1935	64.4	23.4	106
1940	60.4	24.1	99
1945	59.7	22.7	98
1951	65.1	24.1	107

Ajmer, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Coorg, Delhi, Hyderabad, Kashmir, Madras, Mysore, Punjab(I), Travancore-Cochin and U.P.

Source: *Report on the Marketing of Cattle*, 1956, p. 15.

The Index of cattle population with 1920 as 100 came down to 98 after 25 years in 1945. In the first year of the war—1940—it stood at 99. It went up to 107 in the year 1951. This means that cattle mortality plus slaughter during the 25 years (1920-45) was just equal to births so that there was no net addition to the population. The decline in the population by 2 points during 1940-45 may be attributed to war during which a large number of cattle were slaughtered for the foreign forces. This is apparent from the Table below:

2. This is because ban on cow slaughter came only after partition in August, 1947, and it can be reasonably assumed that it would have taken a few years more, before it could have been properly implemented.

TABLE 3

Number and percentage of Cattle slaughtered for military purposes

Year	Number slaughtered	Percentage to total
1940	47,883	.023
1941	73,524	.035
1942	2,22,417	.107
1943	2,65,396	.128
1944	1,83,974	.088
1945 (9 months)	1,42,110	.068

Source: *Report of the Cattle Preservation and Development Committee*, page 31.

Here again the possible reasons for the increase cannot be ascertained. As already stated it cannot be attributed to the ban on cow slaughter. If this is natural increase, we do not find any specific reasons for it. May be that we have been having some frequent increases or decreases due to the complexity of a number of factors. Practically no cattle improvement work has been done in the past which might possibly have brought any radical changes in their birth and death rates in the country.

Looked at from a long-term point, it can be assumed that our cattle population has been more or less stationary. If so it would follow from this that birth rates among the cattle have been more or less equal to death rates. Let us then examine the position about birth rate.

BIRTH RATE

Calves below one year: We have already seen that our cattle census data suffers from a number of limitations. Any conclusion derived from this can thus be considered as only tentative. Table 4 summarises the available information with regard to the total cattle population between the various age-groups up to the year 1951. Such a break-up for 1956 is not yet available.

TABLE 4

Distribution of Cattle population in India, between various age-groups
(in millions)

Age	Pre-partition India				India
	1935	1940	1945	1951	1951
	Popu- lation	Popu- lation	Popu- lation	Popu- lation	Popu- lation
Below 1 year	21 (13)	20 (13)	21 (13)	19 (12)	

1 to 3 years	27 (17)	25 (17)	22 (14)	25 (15)
3 to above	114 (70)	105 (70)	113 (73)	118 (73)
Total	162 (100)	150 (100)	156 (100)	162 (100)

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages to total.

This brings out a very interesting point. The total young-stock under one year (both males and females) were near about 20 million or 13 per cent of total cattle at the various censuses. This can reasonably be taken as the minimum annual addition to the cattle population of the country. Actual birth rate would, however, be more than this because the figure of 13 per cent excludes all deaths of calves below one year, it being only those who were living at the time of the census. The actual number would obviously be more than this.

Cows kept for breeding: Some idea about birth rates can also be formulated from the population of cows kept for breeding and their average calving interval. Table 5 gives details about cows kept for breeding and their percentage to the total population.

TABLE 5 <i>Cows kept for Breeding during various Censuses</i> (in thousands)				
Total cattle population	1940	1945	1951	1956
Cows over 3 years kept for breeding or milk	48988	40275	46373	47248
(i) In milk	—	17007	18960	20095
(ii) Dry & not calved	—	23268	27413	27153
Percentage of 2 to 1	29.5	29.62	29.87	29.78

This again shows a remarkable uniformity in the sense that cows kept for breeding constituted roughly 30 per cent of the total cattle population from census to census. Assuming that this ratio between cows kept for breeding and the total cattle population might have

remained constant during the previous years, and that every cow calves on an average every second year,³ there were annually 20 million additions to the total cattle population or a birth rate of 13 per cent.

Incidentally this figure is also the same as we got on the basis of calves below one year. Here also, it may be a little underestimate because the calving interval of two years assumed by us may not be true as an average for all the cows kept for breeding. If the actual average (for which we have no data to compute) is, say even 20 months instead of 24, there can be assumed a corresponding increase in the birth rate.

If, therefore, the two assumptions, i.e.,

- every cow over 3 years kept for breeding calves on an average after every two years,
- there is no net addition to cattle population or change in the percentage of cows over three years kept for breeding,

are correct, birth rate among the cattle can be taken as 13 per cent.

The study so far thus fixes in a way the lower limit of birth rates among cattle at 13 per cent.

DEATH RATES

There are also some independent indicators like the average life-span and production of cattle hides which can give an idea of mortality rates among the cattle. It may be pointed out that nothing definite can be said even here. This is because the data about these factors also are inadequate and unreliable.

3. According to Dr. I. D. Mantramurthi cows come on heat in temperate climates about 3 weeks after calving and every three weeks after that until they conceive. But in India, in the case of indigenous cows, they vary from three weeks to a year or more after calving and their period are very irregular.—*Milk Symposium*, p. 31.

Since a large number of the existing Indian cows are poor in health and are of low breeds, the dry period in their case invariably extends to a year or more.

AVERAGE LIFE-SPAN OF CATTLE

The average life of a cattle in India has been computed at 5 to 6 years. This would in other words mean that the total cattle would replace themselves in a period of about 6 years. Annual additions as well as mortality on this basis also would be about 16 per cent.

As there is no scientific basis for fixing the average life of cattle at 6 years, it is quite possible that it may be a little more or less than this figure. Normal life of quite a healthy cattle is about 10 to 12 years and majority of our cattle are not healthy. Besides this the incidence of calf mortality is also quite large. The average of 6 years would under the circumstances seem to be quite fair. The higher limit of cattle mortality may thus be assumed as 16 to 17 per cent. This has been taken as the higher limit because the average span of 6 years can be considered as the minimum. The number of cattle that may be dying every year on this basis works out to roughly 25 million.⁴ With our assumption of births as equal to deaths, annual births can also be considered as near about this figure, which may seem to be quite reasonable according to our previous calculations.

ANNUAL PRODUCTION OF KIPS

Oxen type or cattle hides, that is hides of cows, bullocks, bulls and calves, are different from those of buffaloes and are called kips in trade. If some accurate estimate of the annual availability of kips can be made, it can give us a fairly accurate idea of cattle mortality rates in the country.

4. J. A. Voelcker (*Report on the Improvement of Indian Agriculture*, p. 113) estimated that "60 million cattle die or are slaughtered annually in India." This statement would obviously seem to be far from correct. The life-span would work out to hardly 3 years on this basis which is not correct. Maybe, he was referring to total live-stock. The total number of cattle deaths at the close of the last century, when he was writing cannot be so high. The total cattle population can be considered as near about the present levels. But the general health of the cattle must be strong because of better pastures and open spaces.

Such hides can be divided into two categories—fallen or slaughtered. In the case of slaughter, the data available are sufficiently reliable. Some discrepancies may, however, be there to fallen hides because cattle are also slaughtered outside the slaughter houses. But a rough idea about the number of cattle slaughtered annually can be formed. The production of fallen hides is directly related to the number of animals which die every year through disease or other causes. Deaths are recorded only in the case of certain diseases and the figures are far from complete. The *Report on the Marketing of Hides* after tapping all the possible sources of information have come to certain conclusions. Appendix 'B' gives the number of hides for the year 1948. Since we have already taken cattle population as constant over a period of time, the year of survey would be more or less immaterial. The table below summarises the available information for the years 1943 as well as 1948.

Annual Production of Hides in India
(in millions)

	1943		1948	
	Fallen	Slaughtered	Total	Total
Kips	14.7	5.3	20 (11.4)	14.2 (10.1)
Buffalo	4.4	1.3	5.7 (12)	4.8 (11.5)

Note: Figures in parenthesis represent percentage to the total cattle and buffalo populations respectively.

Source: *Reports on the Marketing of Hides and Skins* (1st and the 2nd Edition).

In most of the Western countries, where all the uneconomic cattle are slaughtered, the proportion of hides produced (or the number of animals annually killed) to the total cattle population is quite appreciable. In Italy and USA, for instance, it is as high as 44.6 and 44.4 per cent respectively. But it is the lowest in Africa with 9.2 per cent of the total.⁵ The pre-partition estimate for India is 11.5 per cent and the 1948 figures indicate that it was 10.1 per cent.

These 11 to 12 per cent figures for India are decidedly the lowest limit. The number of

5. H. S. Bawa: *Livestock Products*, ICAR, p. 10.

fall-n hides is only based on collections made by either individuals or some other agencies. The question of this estimate being an exaggerated one is, all the same, the remotest. On the other hand, there is clear evidence of its being an underestimate. The table below summarises the findings of a survey conducted in U.P.

<i>No. of Skins and Hides Produced in U.P.</i> (in thousands)			
	Fallen	Slaughtered	Total
Buffalo hides	370	190	560
Kip (cow hides)	1120	480	1600
<i>Total hides</i>	<i>1490</i>	<i>670</i>	<i>2160</i>
Sheep skins	130	450	580
Goat skins	400	1400	1800
<i>Total skins</i>	<i>530</i>	<i>1850</i>	<i>2380</i>

Source: *Report of the Animal Husbandry Re-organisation Committee, United Province, 1947*, page 73.

The total number of kips produced in U.P. comes to 1,600 thousands as against the Marketing Directorate estimate of 1,148 thousands (Appendix 'B'). This would indicate that U.P. figures are an underestimate to the extent of nearly 25 per cent. It is very difficult to say that All-India figures are also biased to the same extent. But even if they are raised by say 20 per cent; the lower limit of cattle mortality comes to near about the previous figure of 13 per cent.

MORTALITY RATE

The scattered as well as incomplete data analysed above give some broad indications about cattle mortality rates. The lower limit on the basis of this discussion can be fixed at 12 per cent and the highest one at about 17 per cent. Taking the mean of these two figures, we can reasonably assume that the rate of cattle mortality in India is approximately 15 per cent.

This can be further split up into various causes that are responsible for the total mortality.

Causes of Mortality: Mortality among

cattle may be divided into the following four classes:

- (a) Contagious diseases.
- (b) Other diseases and accidents.
- (c) Calf mortality.
- (d) Normal deaths.

Contagious Diseases: Veterinary departments of various State governments maintain records of deaths due to contagious diseases like rinderpest, halmorrhagic septicaemia, black quarter, and anthrax, etc. The available information for the period 1928-1938 is summarised below:⁶

<i>Cattle Mortality due to Contagious Diseases</i>		
Reported mortality from contagious diseases		No. of preventive inoculations
Year	(lakhs)	(lakhs)
1928-29	3.7	19.0
1929-30	4.2	20.3
1930-31	3.2	15.1
1931-32	2.7	15.8
1932-33	3.0	17.3
1933-34	2.9	22.3
1934-35	2.2	24.4
1935-36	2.3	31.4
1936-37	2.8	44.4
1937-38	2.4	48.5

With the total cattle population of 150 million, and quite negligible veterinary services, there is every possibility that the reported mortality may be much less than the actual figures. Rinderpest from among all the epidemics is the most fatal. It is said to be always present in some parts of the country and has waves of virulence from time to time which take three to four years to reach their crest.⁸ Madras and U.P. where reported coverage is comparatively better, mortality due to contagious diseases is of the order of 1.6 to 2 per thousand. This would seem to be quite a small

6. *Report on the Marketing of Hides*, p. 16.

7. It was reported that India spends only $\frac{1}{2}$ anna per annum per cattle, on matters relating to animal husbandry or cattle welfare, compared with more than Re. 1 per head in other countries like the USA—*Hide Report*, p. 17.

8. G. S. Priolkar: *Problems of Cattle Insurance*, p. 77.

figure as compared with the total deaths and obviously an underestimate. This can possibly be attributed to the absence of any regular agency for maintaining such records. It is very difficult to have a precise idea of actual mortality due to contagious diseases. Assuming that only 25 per cent of such deaths are reported, cattle mortality due to this factor may be of the order of 1 per cent.

No. of Cattle Slaughtered: Cattle are slaughtered both inside and outside the slaughter houses. As already pointed out while reliable information is available with regard to the number of cattle slaughtered inside the slaughter houses, nothing is known for those slaughtered in unauthorised slaughter houses or outside. It is quite possible that the number of cattle slaughtered has fallen after partition. Most of the animals slaughtered have no doubt been those which were old and unserviceable. Big cities like Madras, Calcutta and Bombay, have, all the same, been responsible for an indiscriminate slaughter of useful animals of all ages. Milch cattle after they are dry are sent to slaughter houses as they are uneconomical to maintain during dry periods.

The estimated number of cattle and buffalo, slaughtered before the Second World War was about 3 to 4 millions⁹ out of which roughly one million were buffaloes. The position has changed a little after partition and the estimated figure of cattle and buffalo slaughtered for the year 1948 was nearly 2.5 millions.¹⁰ Of this, 0.6 million were buffaloes. Cattle slaughter on this basis comes to about 1.4 per cent. Latest estimates for cattle slaughter place it at 0.9 per cent¹¹ and 1.4 per cent for buffaloes. Available information in this case is given in Appendix 'C'. Even if there is some little possibility for underestimation, cattle slaughter can be taken as nearly 1 per cent.

CALF MORTALITY

A large number of cattle die when they are quite young. Calf mortality could have

easily been worked out if life tables for cattle were available. It was only from 1935 that cattle population was divided into the following classifications:

- a. Youngstock—
 - Under one year.
 - One to 3 years.
- b. Cows over three years—
 - In milk.
 - Dry.
 - Not calved.
 - For work.
 - Others.
- c. Bulls over 3 years—
 - Kept for breeding.
 - Work.
 - Others.

Data in this respect are also not available for the whole of the country from comparable areas. Available information in this regard has already been given in Table 4.

In the year 1935, youngstock population under one year was 21 millions and between one and 3 years 26.5 millions. Assuming that during each of the previous two years calves below one year numbered 21 millions, youngstock population between one and 3 years should have been 42 millions. The difference of 15.5 millions (42-26.5) obviously represents deaths and slaughters. When the total slaughter among cattle has been estimated at 1 per cent, the one for youngstock may be considered as quite negligible. The loss of 15.5 millions of youngstock during a two-year period or an annual loss of the order of 7.8 millions can, under the circumstances, be attributed to deaths. It is possible that some of the youngstock under one year might have also died by the census time. If births and deaths are taken at 15 per cent as already concluded, the total number of annual births for a cattle population of the order of 160 would be around 24 million. This would mean that premature calf deaths at the time of the census can be computed around 3 millions. In other words, annual calf deaths were 10.8 or about 11 millions.

When from a total of 24 millions, calf deaths are calculated at 11 millions, on percentage basis, it would work out to 7 per cent from a total mortality rate of 15 per cent.

9. *Report on the Marketing of Cattle*, 1944, p. 19.

10. *Cattle Report*, 1956, p. 24.

11. *Report on the Marketing of Meat*, 1956, p. 22.

NATURAL DEATHS

Total cattle mortality as a whole has been computed above at 15 per cent. Of this, 9 per cent is the share of slaughter, contagious diseases and calf mortality. Normal deaths would accordingly be 6 per cent.¹²

If 6 per cent is taken as the normal death rate the average span of life of a normal healthy cattle will be about 16 years. A number of cattle have been observed to live in the country to this age. On this ground also, this would seem to be correct.

CONCLUSION

On the basis of this preliminary data, the following position can be summed up:

Mortality due to—	Percentage
slaughters	1
contagious diseases	1
calf mortality	7
normal deaths	6
Total	15

This would bring to focus very interesting points about the future cattle policy in the country. Contagious diseases, we have got to check, because they are a heavy toll on our precious and useful cattle. With all the cattle improvement programmes, calf mortality is also sure to be reduced appreciably. It is, quite possible that cattle-owners may not pay due attention to the upbringing of calves as is the case at present. Still with the improvement in the health of the mother, some of them are sure to survive. Even if calf mortality is reduced by 1.5 to 2 per cent and another 0.5 per cent are saved from contagious diseases, cattle population will start increasing at an annual rate of about 2 per cent. Cattle population in 1956 was 159 millions. In a period of 20 years, i.e., by 1976, it will go up to nearly 236 million heads or an absolute increase of 48.4 per cent. If so, this is going to upset all our future plans.

12. Incidentally Priolkar (*op. cit.*, p. 47) has also given the same figure for normal deaths. He has, of course, not adduced any reasons for it.

What the future of India needs is an improvement in the quality of our cattle and not in quantity. The only possible solution under the circumstances would be to increase slaughtering from the existing 1 per cent to at least 3 or even 4 per cent. May be that this is against our sentiments. But what cannot be cured has got to be endured. There does not seem to be any other escape in the larger interest of the nation.*

APPENDIX A

Cattle and Buffalo Population

	1956	1951	1945	1940
Total Cattle	158650a	155239	135960*	137929
1. Males over 3 years	64867	61804	55274b	54186
(i) Breeding	437	646	543	
(ii) Working	62475	58475	52132	
(iii) Others	1955	2633	2050	
2. Female over 3 years	49893	49873	43361c	43673
(i) Breeding	47218	46373	40275	
(a) in milk	20095	18960	17007	
(b) dry and not calved	27153	27413	23268	
(ii) Working	1837	2314	1616	
(iii) Others	808	1786	715	
3. Young stock	43803	43551	37324	40070
Total buffaloes	44916d	43401	40593*	40125
(1) Males over 3 years	6506	6798	5748e	5599
(i) Breeding	331	306	271	
(ii) Working	5953	6027	5159	
(iii) Others	222	465	290	
(2) Female over 3 years	22335	27850	19928f	19199
(i) Breeding	27669	21003		
(a) in milk	11811	10216	10648	
(b) dry and not calved	9858	10787	8566	
(ii) Working	421	559	396	
(iii) Others	215	297	192	
(3) Young stock	16072	14752	14916	15327

NOTE: Data for 1945 and 1940 are not comparable as the number of participant States in the two censuses was not uniform.

a. Includes 86200 for which details are not available.

* Includes one thousand for which details are not available.

* This represents the personal views of the author.

b. Includes 594 thousands for which details are not available.	Madhya Bharat	5.81	1.05	6.86
c. Includes 725 thousands for which details are not available.	Madras	29.20	57.55	86.75
d. Includes 1760 for which details are not available.	Mysore	7.22	12.36	19.58
e. Includes 28 thousands for which details are not available.	Orissa	2.64	1.31	3.95
f. Includes 126 thousands for which details are not available.	Pepsu	2.21	0.73	2.94
	Punjab	6.93	1.95	8.88
	Rajasthan	16.85	13.76	30.61
	Saurashtra	3.64	5.72	9.36
	Travancore-Cochin	1.40	1.89	3.29
	Uttar Pradesh	36.48	14.96	51.44
	Vindhya Pradesh	2.97	0.83	3.80
	West Bengal	14.14	2.26	16.40
	Others**	1.56	0.88	2.44

APPENDIX B

Annual Production of Skins in India (1951)*

(Production in lakhs)

State	Goat skins	Sheep skins	Total
Ajmer	1.26	0.76	2.02
Assam	1.82	0.04	1.86
Bihar	18.19	3.16	21.35
Bombay	31.85	23.35	55.20
Delhi	2.29	0.98	3.27
Himachal Pradesh	1.38	1.54	2.92
Hyderabad	11.50	5.21	16.71
Jammu and Kashmir	3.35	3.06	6.41
Madhya Pradesh	10.25	1.69	11.94

Total 212.94 155.04 367.98

* Report on the *Marketing Skins in India* (2nd Edition), Directorate of Marketing and Inspection, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India.

** Comprising Andaman and Nicobar, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Coorg, Kutch, Manipur, Sikkim and Tripura States.

APPENDIX C

Number of Cattle Slaughtered Inside and Outside Slaughter Houses in India, 1949

State	Cattle			Buffalo		
	Inside slaughter house	Outside slaughter house	Total	Inside slaughter house	Outside slaughter house	Total
Assam	....	29,281	29,281	...	3,000	3,000
Bihar	45,649	189,716	235,365	13,348	37,038	50,380
Bombay	115,702	49,298	165,000	47,055	7,635	54,690
Delhi	....	....	...	...	...	...
Himachal Pradesh	....	....	...	...	...	...
Hyderabad	66,140	21,712	87,852	7,340	4,545	11,885
Kashmir	....	....	...	...	...	...
Madhya Bharat	....	....	...	...	...	...
Madhya Pradesh	42,605	1,420	44,025	7,050	300	7,350
Madras	89,929	317,071	407,000	22,772	100,228	123,000
Mysore	....	....	...	...	...	...
Orissa	....	32,777	32,777	...	1,126	1,126
Pepsu	....	....	...	...	...	...
Punjab	....	....	...	...	...	...
Rajasthan	5,475	....	5,475	365	...	365
Saurashtra	....	....	...	...	...	...
Travancore-Cochin	3,552	8,952	12,504	1,221	1,576	3,088
Uttar Pradesh	56,585	....	56,585	202,106	75,846	278,042
Vindhya Pradesh	....	....	...	...	...	...
West Bengal	111,131	68,954	180,085	22,527	935	23,462
Others*	....	13,180	13,180	3,381	4,250	7,631
Total	536,768	732,361	1,269,129	327,246	236,773	564,019

* Includes Ajmer, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Coorg, Kutch, Manipur, Sikkim and Tripura States.

Source: *Report on the Marketing of Meat in India*, 1956.

APPENDIX D

Annual Death Rates of Animals at Different Ages

(Average death rate per 1000 animals)

Age in years	Bulls and bullocks	Cows	Calves	He-buffaloes	She-buffaloes	Calves
Below 1	....	....	263.2	....	....	385.6
1	....	....	84.5	....	....	194.7
2	....	....	55.2	....	....	154.3
3	60.9	85.9	....	149.3	83.2	....
4	60.9	85.9	....	149.3	83.2	....
5	60.9	85.9	....	198.7	74.9	....
6	41.0	94.1	....	198.7	74.9	....
7	26.6	94.1	....	151.8	88.6	....
8	26.6	126.0	....	151.8	88.6	....
9 above	128.6	174.4	....	164.4	136.4	....

Birth Rates for Cows and Buffaloes at Different Ages

Age of animal	Cows No. of calves per 100 cows	Buffaloes No. of calves per 100 buffaloes
3	27.82	20.15
4	40.04	52.000
5	44.59	
6	45.50	
7	}	44.98
8		36.66
9 and above	16.90	21.19

Source: *Second Report on the Poona Schedules of the National Sample Survey, 1950-51, p. 70.*



ENDS AND MEANS IN PLANNING

By SURESH RAM

→ Thank you very much
for your fine article

The country is now in the middle (rather, the latter half) of the Second Five-Year Plan. Naturally, they have begun to think of the Third Plan. But unlike the First Plan, the course of the second has not been a bed of roses. It has developed some serious trends which have directly provoked anxious thinking and indirectly pointed to the need of discussing afresh the vital question of our ends or aims in planning as also the no less vital one of the means of realising those ends. Specially, so, because the problem of people's co-operation remains as baffling as ever. It should be an object of positive concern why common man, the lay citizen of India, is not yet coming forward to lend his shoulder to the planning-wheel.

The First Plan began with the objective of economic and social planning, in order to "canalise the idealism and the constructive wages of the community into new lines of activity." Planning was regarded as the "purposive adaptation of resources to social ends." Its significance was to be judged "not merely by the results that were expected to materialise by the end of the plan-period, but by the new trends it sets up in the direction of ordered growth." Further, it held that people's "support and co-operation were the real sanctions behind the Plan."

The actual working of the First Plan, however, has, in one essential respect, viz., reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power, yielded not very flattering results. Sri Vaikunth Lal Mehta, former Finance Minister of Bombay and President of the All India Khadi and village Industries' Commission writes in the December 1957 issue of *Khadi Gramudug* as follows:

"During the period of the First Plan, the national income is shown to have risen

from Rs. 342.35 crores to Rs. 500.54 crores, giving an increase of Rupees Hundred crores approximately. Looking at income-tax statistics, we find that the taxable income have increased during the period from Rs. 342.35 crores to Rs. 500.54 crores, that is, by a little over Rs. 150 crores. If the increase in the taxable incomes is more than the rise in the aggregate national incomes, the presumption is that non-taxed incomes have gone down correspondingly. This may mean that those below the taxable limits are now actually worse off than they were at the commencement of the Plan period, a fact reflected in the diminution of the per capita national income, at current prices, from Rs. 265 to Rs. 252."

Obviously and certainly, this could not be the intention of the planners. These horrible consequences have emanated in spite of themselves. But the Indian masses with thousands of years of experience have an instinctive genius to read the writing on the wall and to recognise their well-wishers or friends. Little wonder, they did not feel it worthwhile to rise to the vague expectations of the planners.

The Second Five-Year Plan started under very happy auspices. It had before it the clearly-defined objective of "achieving the socialist pattern of society"—which means that the "basic criterion for determining the lines of advance must not be private profit but social gain, and that the pattern of development and the structure of socio-economic relations should be so planned that they result not only in appreciable increases in national income and employment but also in greater equality in incomes and wealth." It points out that in the process of reducing inequalities no damage should be done to the "productive system as would jeopardise the task of development itself, or imperil the

very processes of democratic change which is the objective of policy to strengthen. On the other hand, regard for democratic and orderly change cannot be allowed to become a sanction for existing of new inequities." The Plan envisaged "an increase in national income of about 25 per cent over a period of five years and of providing employment opportunities to ten to twelve million persons."

Very laudable things indeed!

But in the second year itself the Second Plan got into doldrums. In a recent study, Sri Asoka Mehta, than whom there is no greater, except perhaps the Prime Minister, admirer, expert and exponent of Indian planning, says:

"In that year the Government's savings dropped to a fraction of the previous year, and loans and small savings received a poor response—the Plan was kept afloat by deficit financing to the order of 70 per cent and external assistance of 15 per cent. In 1958-59, voluntary savings show buoyancy, but the Government has entered the phase of dissaving!"

Neither the resources position is encouraging. To quote Mehta again:

"The sterling balances with the Reserve Bank have come down from Rs. 746 crores at the beginning of the Second Plan (and Rs. 1750 at the end of the last War) to Rs. 180 crores (and that with a last War) to Rs. 180 crores (and that with a drawal equivalent to Rs. 95 crores from the IMF). The total deficit in the foreign exchange account will be nearer to Rs. 2,000 crores than to Rs. 1,100 crores, as was estimated when the Plan was drawn up. That means that nearly a third (32%) of the Plan outlay will come from foreign loans (23%) and running down of our foreign balances (9%). In the First Plan the comparative figure was Rs. 190 crores (3%)."

As regards the terms of trade, he says:

"India's favourable terms of trade during the First Plan resulted in a gain of Rs. 325 crores. During the Second Plan, in the First two years, the gains dropped

to Rs. 18 crores and a loss of seven crores, respectively.

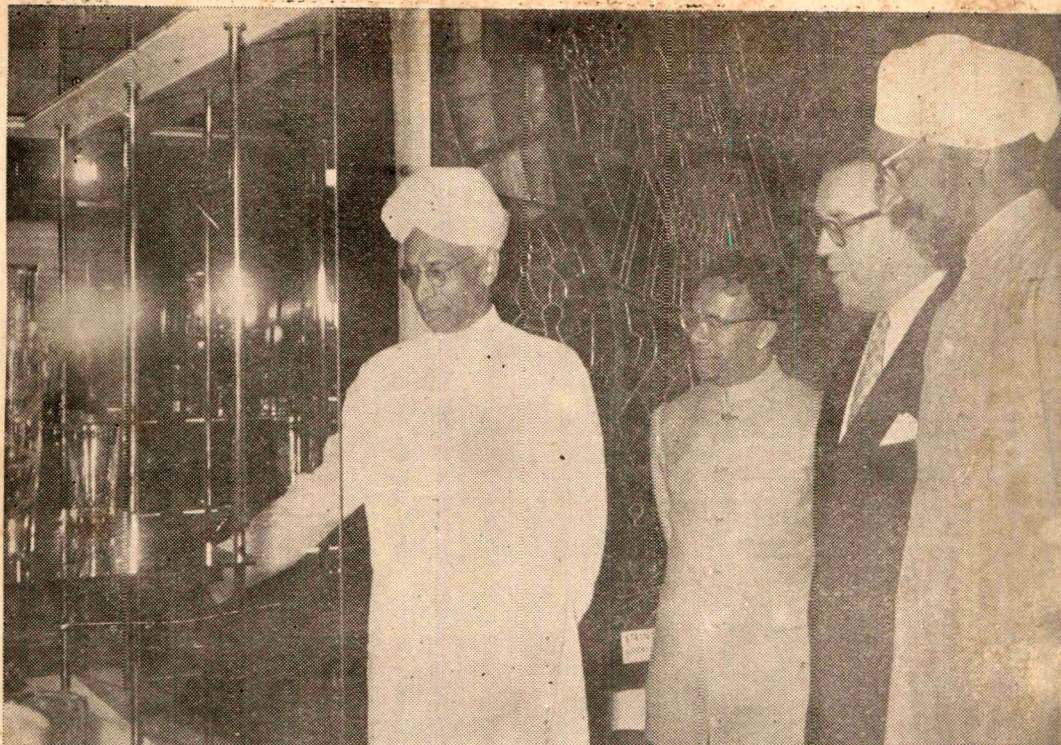
"Deficit financing for the first three years (1956-59) amounts to Rs. 917 crores or 37.4% of the Plan outlay during the period. During the remaining two years of the Plan, external assistance is expected to contribute Rs. 642 crores, deficit financing between Rs. 200 to 300 crores, and budgetary financing between Rs. 300 crores and budgetary resources Rs. 900 crores (of which over Rs. 600 crores will be from loans and savings)."

The layman is likely to be lost in these bewildering figures. But he understands one thing—daily prices of the goods he consumes. And in this sphere there has been a rise of 15 per cent during 1956-59 as against a decline of 7 per cent during the period of the First Plan.

Taxation also seems to know no bounds. Whereas the additional taxation in the First Plan amounted to Rs. 276.8 crores (Rs. 60.4 crores direct and Rs. 216.4 crores indirect), in the three years of the Second Plan, it has already reached Rs. 453.3 crores (Rs. 53.7 crores direct and Rs. 398.6 crores indirect). Even the huge taxations over and above the target set in the Plan has contributed little to the prosecution of the Plan. It has been absorbed in other channels. In its "Appraisal and Prospects," the Planning Commission itself observes:

"All this tax effort has, however, not provided resources for the Plan. A large part of it has been absorbed by other demands: defence, non-development expenditure and development expenditure outside the Plan. This means that despite the improvement in tax-receipts by Rs. 500 crores over the original Plan target, the revenue resources available for financing the Centre's Plan outlays are expected to show an improvement only Rs. 45 crores as compared to the plan estimate."

Further, external assistance is also going to cost us a lot. The loans have to be repaid. An idea of the repayment position up to 1967-68 can be had from the picture computed by a financial journal.



Dr. Radhakrishnan going round an exhibition of Modern Czechoslovak Glass in New Delhi



Sri V. K. Krishna Menon, in conversation with Mr. Willy Brandt, governing Mayor of West Berlin



The Prime Minister inaugurating a seminar on Architecture organised by the Lalit Kala Akademi



The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, watching a group of paratroopers

It is as follows (the figures being in crores of rupees):

Year	Capital repayment	Interest	Total
1957-58	9.42	3.06	12.48
1958-59	11.88	11.03	22.91
1959-60	21.02	23.37	44.39
1960-61	76.92	33.78	110.70
1961-62	107.70	42.42	150.12
1962-63	98.79	35.50	134.29
1963-64	59.91	41.54	101.45
1964-65	56.36	30.73	87.09
1965-66	54.76	28.28	83.04
1966-67	62.88	25.53	88.41
1967-68	62.38	22.35	84.73

Such stupendous commitments show how the country's resources have been mortgaged and what a tremendous pressure is this all going to put on our planning and development. This is why that the experts are never tired of (nor feel any qualms of conscience) telling us that taxation is bound to go higher and consumer is foredoomed to pay more. Over and above, the rate of the inevitable growth of population has belied the Plan estimates. Under such awful conditions the gloomy future is anybody's prophecy.

The natural question poses itself: How is it that, except for the upper strata, planning is not able to do the promised good or bridge the avowed gulfs? The reason is not far to seek. If we compare the Plan to a vessel containing our prosperity and wealth, it is easy to see that there are three big holes which do not allow anything to stay. They are: (i) An annual expenditure of about Rs. 300 crores on defence, (ii) of about Rs. 200 crores as the 5.6 million employees of the Central and State Governments and local bodies, and (iii) of about Rs. 100 crores on import of food. With these three serious liabilities, it is not surprising that the common man is unable to derive any advantage from planning or feel its glow.

The mounting expenditure on defence also indicates that say what we may, our socialistic pattern has its ultimate faith in

arms for its survival. No doubt we are a sovereign Republic and a democratic nation. Yet our Democracy requires supports in the form of arms for its maintenance. And as is with all armed nations, the more we spend on defence the more insecure we feel (for those whom we hold as our adversary also raise up their forces accordingly).

In spite of more production of goods, we find that there is not only a rise in defence budget but also an increase in the number of suits in our *taluka* and district courts as also of appeals in the Supreme and High Courts. This only shows that mutual relations between the people are getting less cordial and more bitter. Nay, distrust is aggravating. Besides, party politics is further embittering feelings and throwing salt over injury. In this connection it may be stated that almost in all advanced or developed countries of the West, crime is on the increase. The greater the prosperity and the higher the literacy, the more the crime. A sort of emptiness marks their life and they seem to suffer from want of direction. If riches and wealth could provide the key to prosperity, people of U.S.A., U.K., or U.S.S.R. would have been the happiest on earth. But they are not. There is a fear in their eyes which warps the even tenor of their course.

This brings us to the fundamental problems of ends or aims in planning. There is nothing wrong with socialism. The Second Five-Year Plan has well placed the four principal objectives before it:

- (a) A sizeable increase in national income so as to raise the level of living in the country;
- (b) Rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries;
- (c) A large expansion of employment opportunities; and
- (d) A reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power.

But this is not enough. It may have contrary reactions. True, an increase in the level of living is welcome. But what about the level of life? Socialistic pattern may provide one with a job, but what about one's relationship with the neighbour? A progress which does not induce us to share our neighbour's weal and woe may do more harm than good. Planning may indeed make us well-fed animals, but what about the human element within us? If only the animal spirit develops, entire progress many prove to be satanic.

Let us beware of this unfortunate trend in planning and development. It would be suicidal to copy the nations of the West or the East. We have to evolve our own method according to our genius.

Take for instance, production. Everybody is eager for more production. But let us not forget that production for profit is the basis of capitalism. Likewise, production for consumption or for the State is socialism or communism. But what is desirable is that the production should be for the neighbour. This is what Mahatma Gandhi called the *Swadeshi* doctrine and over which he was never tired of stressing.

The same is true for labour and wealth. In capitalism, labour is done by the labourer while the wealth produced goes to the owner. In socialism or communism, labour is done by the labourer while the wealth produced goes to the State. But what is required is that labour should be done by all and the wealth produced should also go to all. It is a wrong division making some people do labour and labour and letting others enjoy the fruit in the name of State or management.

The context will positively change when the production would be for the neighbour and all would take to labour. Mutual relationship will be transformed. The gulf between heads and hands would go. More cordiality and greater sanctity will mark our mutual life. Co-living will prosper.

Besides, service would then become real service. Today it is like a maid-servant in the palace of Dame Power.

Service looks to Power for patronage, help and even guidance. This is why there is not much of efficacy, honesty or substance in our service. Little wonder it does not impress the people at all. Whence it does not behove us to accuse the public of not co-operating with us or of not recognising our 'services.'

It needs little reflection to state that if the present trend of development continues, we shall be creating more problems than solving them. Production and bitterness would grow side by side. Growth in the latter is bound to affect the former. We shall be nowhere.

The contention that profit or money is the only incentive to work is horribly absurd. Had this been so, there would be nothing what we know as civilisation. Surely Kabir, Tulsidas, Nanak, Gyandeva Nammalwar, Virgil or Goethe would then have written no work. Nor would Archimedes, Newton, or Einstein have made any discovery. We would have neither sciences nor arts, nor literatures. The fact is that profit or self-interest is a very minor factor in one's life. The major factor everywhere is love and compassion. It should be the object of planning to awaken and encourage these human feelings and values.

Doubtless, U.S.A. or U.K., U.S.S.R. or China have not had this human aspect before them in their planning. Need we copy them? While some say, it is the fittest who can survive, others hold that we should live and let live. No, we must adopt the third course: Live in order to let live. Co-living should be the guiding principle of our life.

And because co-living is not the purpose behind our planning we have to resort to arms and greater arms and the gulf between mental work and manual labour knows no abatement. Call it a Welfare State, socialism, communism or fascism, they are birds of the same feather. For, they all worship at the same shrine of Armed Power. Our India is also caught in this vicious circle. We command neither the resources nor the know-how of the instruments of defence, which means

we would have to toe the line of either of the two power-blocs. For, the question is not of the quantity of arms with us but of their quality. Marshal Petain had promised France to fight Germany to the last drop of the last Frenchman. But he surrendered and not a drop was shed. Why? Simply because the quality of the then French arms was inferior to that of the German ones. Likewise, Japan lay prostrate before America because the former had no Atom bomb. Surely, in no foreseeable future shall India be able to afford to build up arms as those with U.S.A. or U.S.S.R. With inferior arms, we shall have to play second fiddle to either of them. That means subservience.

Hence if we have to save our planning and make it really effective we must gather courage to turn a leaf. Instead of following the 'advanced' nations in the circular groove, let us make a right about turn and adopt the new course. That is, non-violence should be the guiding factor of our planning and development. This view is also gaining ground in the West. In his remarkable book, *Defence in the Nuclear Age*, Sir Stephen King-Hall, the well-known British Commander and war-expert, has categorically stated:

"I have come round to the view that on the facts known to me and after endeavouring to assess the relative dangers of the risks inseparable from our present defence policy and those which seem to arise from the adoption of the alternative policy, I support the idea of changing the basis of our defence strategy from one of violence to one of non-violence."

This must open our eyes. A recourse to militarisation and its natural corollaries, centralisation and industrialisation, is no solution of our ills, nor a reliable defender of our Republic and planning. If India is to live, she must not imitate U.S.A., U.K., U.S.S.R., or China or any other power and must blaze her own trail.

It is only then that the problem of co-operation will be really met with. Even our Prime Minister has begun to feel its lack. In a recent message to the *Kurukshetra* morthly, he says:

"I regret to say that the Community Development Movement has only very partially succeeded. Why is it so? Why? I think that the only way to get a response is to trust the peasant and give him power and authority to go ahead. The argument is used that he does not know enough. That is why we may not give him the power and the authority.

"But this is fundamentally a wrong argument . . . Essentially authority and power must be given to the people in the villages."

This issue of response or co-operation is very ticklish. In fact, co-operation, like love, should never be demanded. Begin to co-operate and you will be co-operated with. That is the natural law and no logic or temptations can alter it. But that requires descending from the Ivory Tower of authority and power and a willingness to identify with the lowliest and the lost. And our unwillingness to quit the tower has landed us into awful misery and to try ridiculous solutions of serious problems.

Take for example, population. The more the merrier. For every mouth comes blessed with two hands. To us, on the other hand, the blessing is becoming a curse because we know not how to employ hands in useful productive work. Needless to state that any encouragement of artificial birth-control is destined to demoralise the whole nation of ours. The illustration of France is a pointer: The same France which preached Fraternity, Liberty and Equality to the world, has not known a stable Government for years and is now the helpless victim of a military dictatorship. The reason of this tragedy lies more in the emotional disintegration of her people than in any other economic or political excuse. Experts have advised our Government to levy a tax on birth and to legalise abortion. There could not be a more scientific device to ruin our mothers and sisters and thus the whole family.

Instead of going to the root of the problem we deal it on the surface. Who does not know that the greater the poverty in a community, the larger the rise in it

population? Happy and prosperous families do not generally tend to increase in number much. The situation calls for an immediate adoption of such means as can promise these millions work and food. Denying the same to them in the name of industrial revolution and nuclear progress is both criminal and unhuman.

Again, what are we doing to help a man lead a life of self-restraint? Is it not a fact that in spite of all advance, the woman's moral status, specially in the eyes of the male brute, is going low and lower? Our sensational films and high-pressured advertisements depict her, not as a respectable person equal to ourselves but as an object of lust to be possessed and want only treated like any other market article. The progress towards "nudism," regarded as a sign of advancement is an undoubted return to barbarism. And yet it is hailed as 'civilisation'. True, but of the nomadic variety!

Our unique experts have little knowledge of the Indian environment and tradition. Any figment of imagination—and they would like to impose it on us. Well, why blame them? They don't impose. They only suggest. It is our Government which accepts their recommendations and forces it down the people.

And it does so by the dint of law. It appears as if the whole edifice of socialistic pattern can be built by law. No sacrifice, no fellow-feeling, no voluntary sharing is in sight. Oh! if law or power could bring about a revolution or establish a certain mode of society, the world would have been different altogether and the wielders of legal might would have given it their cherished shape. Let us not forget the old adage that law is an ass and that it can make a horse reach the pond but can't pour water down its throat. Law has nothing to do with co-sharing, which is the cream of culture and life.

It is high time, therefore, that we re-decide our ends in planning. Objectives like the following should have a definite place in our planning:

- (i) Unilateral disarmament and resolve to disband all arms within the shortest time;
- (ii) Development of the feeling of co-living and readiness to share mutual sorrows and joys;
- (iii) Gradual decrease in the number of the Police and the staff in various offices;
- (iv) Positive bridging of the gulf between mental and manual labour, etc., etc.

It is only such objectives as these that can make our plan real and evoke the desired response in the people. And once we have the above ends in view, the means to reach the same are easy and clear:

- (i) Abolition of private ownership in land or property;
- (ii) Decentralisation of power from the top and its essential concentration at the village level;
- (iii) Generation of self-reliance in the people with regard to their basic necessities like fooding, clothing and housing;
- (iv) Resort to collective non-violent defence in case of internal conflict or external aggression.

All this may sound odd. Certainly it is not in the line of what is called fashion. It involves a radical departure from our current socio-economic values. It also means going against the popular current. But both the call of science and that of modern life necessitate the launching of some such step and rephrasing our ends and means accordingly. Perhaps this is the only way to save our people, our country and also this earth.



THE EMANCIPATION OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

By PROF. HARIDAS MUKHERJEE, M.A.

Historical scholarship as embodied at the present moment in the learned bodies and Universities in India is vitiated by some fundamental fallacies. First, it is believed almost as an axiom that for a scientific study of the past a sufficient chronological gap is not only desirable but indispensable. Time, it is argued, can reveal the whole view of a thing or situation only when the heat and passion of contemporary politics have subsided. Just as the view of the mountain can be best obtained only from a distance, so the true import of the past can be correctly understood by posterity alone. But a detached view of things does not necessarily result from a mere chronological gap; it is the outcome of careful mental training and intellectual discipline. An untrained mind, swayed by conservative instincts or racial pride, is often found revelling in the fancied greatness of his race in antique times; but at the same time instances are not wanting when even the contemporary study of stirring events has stood the test of time. The classical example is furnished by the work of Thucydides, the first scientific historian of the world. The works of Benoy Sarkar on the current problems and politics also verify the truth of the contention. Evidently, the chief determinant in the situation is not the time factor but the intellectual and emotional qualities of the researcher himself, his integrity and ability to look at things in a spirit of scientific detachment. But this truth is hardly appreciated by the general run of historical scholars.

Secondly, labouring under this long-cherished delusion, historical researchers in our country seldom undertake or are encouraged by their official guides to undertake the more recent phases of our national development for the purposes of serious historical study. Many factors

discourage such an academic venture. The path is perilous. Sources of information are not to be found collected and concentrated in one or two protected places in the Government Archives or Record Rooms, but lie for the most part scattered as widely and extensively as the Book of Nature. Hence a proper scientific research into a more recent historical phase is more painstaking, troublesome and difficult. The withholding of State papers and documents by Government, generally as a principle, from a researcher into the recent past renders the problem of research all the more difficult. The worker in that case has to gather up material from contemporary literature, including journals and newspapers, from the diaries, memoirs and letters of persons having direct experience of the period or the movement concerned, from the published and unpublished records and writings of eye-witnesses to the scene, and from personal interviews or correspondence with the surviving band of workers and leaders in that particular phase of the national evolution. Of the immense value of these unofficial sources the orthodox or traditional research scholars have remained as yet unconscious.

Persons with influence and standing in our academic world have often complained that in our country no proper or adequate arrangement has been made by Government for the collection and preservation of old Records (and by Records they invariably mean Government Records), but even these wise men have not yet felt clearly and sufficiently the supreme significance of careful collection and preservation of non-official source material for our modern national history. Even the best organs of resurgent Indian nationalism such as *New India*, *Sandhya*, *Yugantar* as well as *Bande Mataram* (of which Sri Aurobindo was the guiding spirit) are

perishing from cold neglect. True, at the present moment a few stray copies of Bipin Chandra's *New India* are to be found in the National Library, but they cover the years 1901-1902 when it was essentially an organ of moderate politics. After 1905 *New India* became one of the most articulate voices of revolutionary nationalism in the land, and of this strenuous epoch there is not even a single copy at present either in the National Library or any research institute of Calcutta. The Bangiya Sanitya Parishad of Calcutta preserves at present a few stray copies of the old *Yugantar* weekly, the organ of revolutionary terrorism of the Swadeshi Era, but they are too few in number. But not a single copy of *Sandhya* or *Bande Mataram* is to be found at present in the public institutions of Calcutta, whether Government or non-Government. Even the old issues of the *Dawn* which was once a powerful organ of non-political culture-nationalism have also virtually vanished.

It is indeed a pity that no honest or bold attempt has yet been initiated by the Government to recover these extremely precious journals from the possibility of permanent destruction. Research scholars of the orthodox type with their limited intellectual charities have also often gone to the length of doubting the unique importance of these journals in the growth of modern Bengal, nay, India as a whole. The preservation of Government Records is desirable by all means, but to ignore the necessity and importance of this non-official source-material for our new national history is not only blindness but philistinism. A careful study of the Government Records is undoubtedly essential to a proper understanding of the official view of things in relation to a public movement, but for the history of a national movement the nationalist organs, representing the views of the people, are far more important than the Government Records. This little bit of reality is very often lost sight of by our official *gurus* in historical research ('orthodox researchers' as they call themselves with a sort of triumph), and it is they who impart the

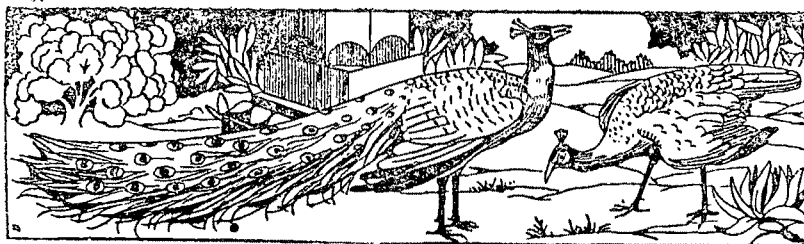
same sort of intellectual blindness to the pupils working with them. From generation to generation this bias is transmitted and the life of the kept-up fiction is prolonged. But a challenge to this old delusion is long over-due.

The history of a subject nation is not made up of the pious and impious doings of the foreign race ruling over it, but is revealed more truly in the hopes and endeavours, trials and struggle of the people. The temper of a national movement is best reflected in the best organs of the struggling people, not in the secret orders or repressive circulars issued by Government from time to time. The history of a foreign Government in a subject land is essentially different from the story of the subject people itself. Even half-a century ago Rabindranath Tagore could see the correctness of this proposition in his purity of vision, and so pleaded for the necessity of rewriting our history from the Indian point of view. But his appeal has to a large extent gone in vain. Even to-day, fifty years on, the orthodox historical researchers have not been able to outgrow the old habit of seeking illumination on our national history mainly from the official source. Exclusive or predominant reliance on Government Records, howsoever meritorious on other grounds or whatever be the nature of their authenticity, will never enable us to feel the beat in the heart of the nation, particularly in a subject land as India was circumstanced. The sooner the older generation of scholars are purged of their old-fashioned ways of thinking and get oriented to a more sober and realistic approach to the problem of historical research, the better for them as well as for the country.

Finally, it requires to be remembered that the senior scholars, themselves being interested and also perhaps being experts in their special fields of study, quite understandably discourage their students from taking up such subjects as lie beyond their extremely narrow fields of interest. If in spite of all this official discouragement, an ambitious young scholar, animated by the spirit of free thinking, ventures to

tread an unbeaten path, he will be at once dubbed a misdirected enthusiast or a horse on the wrong track, not because he is actually wasting his energies in vain pursuits, but simply because he has dared to assert his individuality by breaking open a new line of research. Uncritical belief in authority or unquestioned loyalty to tradition is the irreducible minimum that is normally expected by the academic seniors of their junior partners and collaborators. Free thinking is discouraged, and any sceptical disbelief in authority or tradition is viewed with suspicion and jealousy. Vested interests operate not only in the social, economic or political fields, but are also mightily in evidence in the realm of arts and letters, even in the matter of evaluating a man's real scholarship and literary contributions. Innocent young scholars working under these old-fashioned guides, each representing a vested interest of his own, can hardly expect the material fulfilment of their research dreams or promotion in service if their studies and investigations do not fit in with the set pattern which is only a form of intellectual ingenuity and nothing more. The Romanist spirit of papal infallibility is not yet dead in the modern world. Its survival is to be clearly seen even today in the realm of moral and intellectual values. Themselves the products of a mechanical and stereotyped system of education in which cramming is encouraged, both consciously and unconsciously, and in which the industry in compilation is mistaken for originality and profundity, the intellectual high-brows cannot, as a rule, tolerate

the spirit of unbending independence of the low-brows who question the validity of the fixed grooves of thinking. And this is precisely the chief reason why a creative genius like Benoy Sarkar was thought so little of by many of the demi-gods of our academic world. As he clearly stood head and shoulders over most of his contemporaries, he incurred their displeasure, jealousy and hatred. This alone explains the entire omission of his name from Chapters VII and VIII of *Hundred Years of the University of Calcutta* (Vol. I, January, 1957) which deal in part with the researches and publications of the University teachers and scholars during the long period from 1924 to 1956. Unable to carry on researches into modern developments, the orthodox scholars have often conveniently taken shelter in the untenable theory that the events of the distant past alone constitute the worthy themes of historical study and reflection. A scholar who has specialised in Ancient Indian History and Culture generally considers the researcher into the Modern History to be inferior to him and *vice versa*. Another scholar who is an expert in the Medieval Periods of Indian History, will treat the work of both these classes as pitifully insignificant compared to his own creation, while all of them will join in a chorus in crying down that researcher as a crank who has dared to carry on studies and investigations into Eur-American developments. Such wilful blindness and lack of tolerance and respect for the other man's deeds are things most damaging to the sanctity and purity of the intellectual world.



GENESIS OF THE PARTITION OF BENGAL (1905)

By DR. P. C. CHAKRAVARTI,

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Was the Partition of Bengal in 1905 motivated by administrative considerations or by political reasons? Was it just a "measure of administrative redistribution," as Valentine Chirol asserted, or was it a sinister design to curb the growing political consciousness of Bengal?

Opinions have widely differed on this question. By and large, British historians and publicists have maintained the view that the partition of Bengal was conceived and carried through to promote administrative efficiency. By and large, Indian politicians and publicists have held the contrary opinion that the motive behind the partition was political rather than administrative that what Lord Curzon and the British Government really wanted to achieve was to weaken and break the political life of Bengal under the cover of administrative improvement.

It is true that official discussion was going on since 1892 for some sort of administrative redistribution between Bengal and Assam. A proposal was mooted in that year to transfer to Assam the South Lushai hills and the Chittagong division "as soon as the settlement questions there had been completed." There was not much of a difference of opinion regarding the transfer of the Lushai hills, but on the question of the transfer of the Chittagong division official views seemed to be sharply divided.

In January, 1896, the Government of India referred the question to the Governments of Bengal and Assam for opinion.¹ The Government of Bengal sent its reply on the 13th of August, but along with the reply it forwarded a number of memorials, addressed to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India by the residents of Chittagong, Noakhali and Tipperah, and by the British Indian Association, the Indian Asso-

ciation and the East Bengal Association protesting against the proposed change.

In January, 1897, Mr. (later Sir) Henry Cotton, who had succeeded Sir William Ward as the Chief Commissioner of Assam for two months, was asked to give his opinion on this debated question; and in one of the ablest minutes ever written on the subject, Cotton expressed himself unequivocally and unreservedly against the proposed transfer of the Chittagong division to Assam. "He maintained that the administration in Assam was not so advanced as in Bengal; that the constitutional privileges exercised in Bengal are unknown in Assam; that self-government was not on the same footing in Assam as in Bengal; that the deprivation of the franchise for the election of a member in the Bengal Council would be a serious matter, and afford a just cause for complaint on the part of the electing public; that the loss of supervision of the Board of Revenue and the High Court would be a retrograde and mischievous departure; and that the work of the Bengal Government would not be seriously lightened by the transfer of Chittagong, whose capital was in every sense Calcutta, and which would, therefore, lose by its transfer to Assam, with which it was not homogeneous."

Sir James Westland, who had served in Bengal and been for a short time Chief Commissioner of Assam, also opposed the proposal to transfer "the settled territory of Eastern Bengal" to Assam. In his view such a measure would be contrary to the natural and proper course of the development of Indian administration. He testified to the accuracy of Mr. Cotton's statement about the very elementary way in which administration was carried on in Assam and stated that the continuation of such a system of administration, suitable for "a backward province of limited area," would become impossible if Assam were brought into real intimate contact with the outer world by

1. Home Department letter, dated 18th January, 1896.

having added to it the interests of such districts as Chittagong or Dacca.

Other highly-placed officials such as Sir Edin Collen also expressed themselves more or less on the same lines. They considered the question entirely from the administrative point of view, and were quite clear in their mind that administratively it would be an impolitic step to link up the more 'advanced' districts of Eastern Bengal with the comparatively 'backward' province of Assam. Faced with this solid volume of opinion, the Government of India determined, by the Council Order of 29 April, 1897, that the South Lushai hills should be transferred to Assam, but not the Chittagong Division.

And here the matter rested till it was revived in 1903 by Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, in collaboration with Lord Curzon, the Viceroy. The revived proposal, however, took a somewhat different form than the old one; it was not merely the Chittagong Division which was to be transferred to Assam, but Dacca and Mymensingh to boot. And the reasons advanced were much the same as before. Bengal with an area of 189,000 square miles and a population of 78,493,000 inhabitants was too heavy a burden for a Lieutenant Governor. Administrative efficiency demanded a redistribution of its boundaries.

But was that the sole or real reason for the proposed redistribution? In one of his minutes on the subject, Lord Curzon writes:² "Sir Andrew Fraser is very strongly in favour of the transfer. He has discussed the matter with me, and his feeling is that the influence of Eastern Bengal in the politics of the Province is out of all proportion to its real political importance, in so much that the Bengali altogether overshadows the Bihari, who is in everything save the use (or abuse) of language immeasurably his superior. Sir Andrew regards it as an object of great political and administrative importance to diminish this influence by separating one of its great centres from others. I understood Mr. Bourdillon, who took part in the discussion, to admit Sir Andrew's premises, but that he was inclined to think that

the links between Calcutta and Dacca were so strong, the influence of Dacca so powerful, and the certain opposition so intense that it was doubtful whether separation was practically possible. Mr. Fuller also hesitates; but his hesitation arises from a different consideration. If Sir Andrew Fraser thinks that Dacca is too powerful to be allowed to remain a portion of Bengal, Mr. Fuller wonders whether it is not too powerful to become a portion of Assam. He realises what is probably the fact, that the enlarged transfer would mean that Assam would be annexed to Eastern Bengal rather than Eastern Bengal to Assam".

In course of another note on the same subject, Lord Curzon approvingly refers to the reasons which actuated Sir Andrew Fraser in advocating the partition of Bengal. "There remains", he says, "an argument to which the incoming Lieutenant Governor, Sir A. Fraser, attaches the utmost weight, and which cannot be absent from our consideration. He has represented to me that the advantage of severing these eastern districts of Bengal, which are a hot-bed of the purely Bengali movement, unfriendly if not seditious in character, and dominating the whole tone of Bengal administration, will immeasurably outweigh any possible drawbacks."

That political motives were dominant when the question of partition was revived in 1903 will also be apparent from the following note, dated June 19, 1903, of "A.T.A." (A. T. Arundel), a member of the Viceroy's Council. "I fully concur with the proposal," he writes, "to transfer Chittagong to Assam. It is a change which is essential to the proper development of the Assam Province. The reasons for transferring Mymensingh and Dacca are not so conclusive as in the case of Chittagong as regards development, *but I am impressed with the political reasons for severance* which are similar to those which assign Berar to the Central Provinces and which lead me to demur to the political union of the Uriyas."³

2. Home Department Procs., Dec., 1903, Nos. 149-160.

3. The proposal was to unite the Oriya-speaking peoples, distributed between the three administrations (*viz.*, Madras, Central Provinces and Bengal) into one province, *viz.*, Bengal. Italics mine.

When the plan for partition was virtually decided upon, H. H. Risley, Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, was called upon to formally communicate it to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal. Risley prepared the draft of that communication on the basis of Lord Curzon's own minute; but the Viceroy almost lost his breath in amazement when it was put up before him for approval. "I regret to say," he wrote, "that if the letter to Bengal were published in its present form, it would create absolute consternation When I wrote my minute for the confidential information of my colleagues, it never occurred to me for a moment that its contents could be or would be practically reproduced to be dissected by every newspaper scribe, English or native, in Bengal. What I could safely say in the privacy of the Council Chamber is not necessarily suitable for proclamation on the housetops."

"Secretary, in his anxiety to respect the form as well as the substance of what I wrote," he added, "has produced a draft which even my knowledge of Bengal—so much less than his—is sufficient to tell me would be disastrous. I have, therefore, revised it from beginning to end."

"Neither do I propose," he concluded, "to send a copy of my minute home. . . . It will be sufficient to send a copy privately to the Secretary of State to explain *the inner meaning of that it has not found altogether advisable to say in the letter to Bengal.*"⁴

Why this hush-hush? This secretiveness? Why this inordinate anxiety to keep back from the public facts regarding the partition scheme mentioned in the original draft of the letter to Bengal as prepared by the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, on the basis of Lord Curzon's own minute? Obviously these facts were such—and Lord Curzon himself admits it—as could not be permitted to

see the light of the day. Obviously, there was something sinister about the scheme which could not be given out.

The leaders of Bengal were not, therefore wide off the mark when they interpreted the partition scheme "as a subtle attack upon the growing solidarity of Bengali nationalism." The planners of the partition conceived of a two-pronged *modus operandi* to stem the rising tide of political consciousness in Bengal. First break the solidarity of the Bengali Hindus, who constituted the vanguard of the national movement, by dividing them into two provinces, and secondly, widen the gulf between Hindus and Mussalmans by holding up before the latter prospects of special advantage and domination in the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Regarding this second prong, there could be no hide-and-seek, for Mussalmans could not be won over unless the new prospects were forcefully placed before them. Hence the famous peroration of Lord Curzon on February 18, 1904, about the old glory of Muslim Dacca and the new glory that she was likely to achieve if the partition plan was carried through.

"Will anyone pretend", Lord Curzon asked "that Dacca is anything but a shadow of its former self? Is it not notorious that for years it has been lamenting its downfall as compared with the past?" When the new proposal for partition is carried through, he assured, "it would make Dacca the centre and possibly the capital of a new and self-sufficing administration which must give to the people of these districts by reason of their numerical strength and their superior culture the preponderating voice in the province so created, which would invest the Muhammadans in Eastern Bengal with a unity which they have not enjoyed since the days of the old Mussalman Viceroys and Kings, . . . and which would go far to revive the traditions which the historical students assure us once attached to the kingdom of Eastern Bengal."⁵

4. Quoted from Lord Curzon's minute, dated 10.11.03. Home Dept. Procs., Dec. 1902, Nos. 149-160. Italics mine.

5. *All About Partition*, ed. by P. Mukherjee, (Calcutta, 1906), p. 39.

A TRIP TO NEPAL

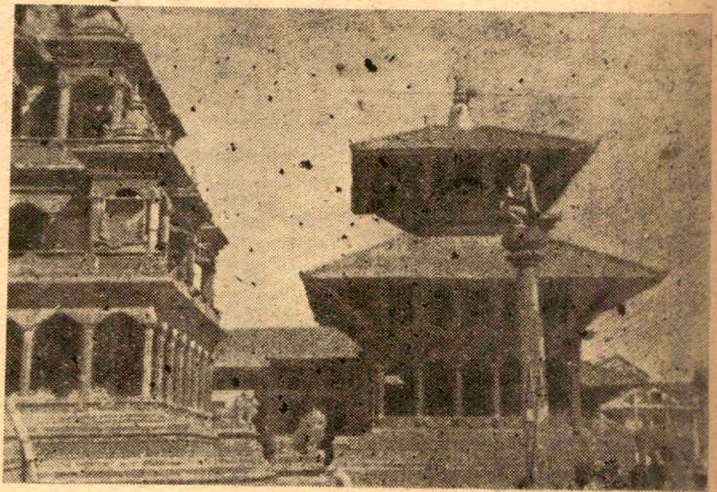
By D. V. REGE, I.C.S. (Retd.)

NEPAL was the only kingdom which retained its independence when the rest of the Indian sub-continent came under foreign domination. I had, therefore, a long-standing desire to go there, but the journey to Nepal was until recently a nightmare as it involved tedious journey by rail and road including 18 miles of hill-crossing on foot. Though the recently constructed 80 miles long Tribhuwan Rajpath linking Raxaul on the Indian border with Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, has made the road journey much easier, the best way to go to Kathmandu is to fly from Patna in 55 minutes. From the cockpit of the plane, one gets a magnificent view in a semi-circle of the Himalayan peaks such as Mt. Everest and Kanchan-junga.

Nepal is 56,000 square miles in area, but the valley which is generally visited by the tourists and is the most interesting part of the State is nearly 300 square miles and is known as Nepal in common parlance. Before the Gorkha conquest in 1769, there were four Newar principalities in the valley with their capitals at Kathmandu or Kantipur, Patan or Lalitpur, Bhadgaon or Bhaktapur and Kirtipur. Kirtipur which offered the stiffest resistance was almost razed to the ground and the noses of its adult inhabitants were cut with the result that the place is known as Naskatpur since then.

Kathmandu derives its name from Kashtha-Mandap, a wooden structure erected by Raja Lakshman Singh Mall in 1597 for housing poor people. The most important place in Kathmandu is the temple of Pashupati Nath. Pashupati Nath, i.e., Lord Shiva, is considered as the real ruler of Nepal and is styled 108 Shree and the King who is Panch Shree, rules as his regent. On the Shivratri Day, cannons are fired from the famous Tundishel parade-ground in honour of Lord Pashupati and the King visits the shrine on foot in

procession. The temple is situated on the river Wagmati and the one great desire of a Hindu is to breathe his last on the steps of the ghat with his feet lapped by the water of the sacred stream. The legend says that when the Pandavas went to Kedarnath, Lord Shiva, in order to test their devotion, took the form of a buffalo and stood with his head thrust in the ground. At the importunity of the Pandavas, Shiva remained with his hind portion in Kedarnath and the head appeared in Nepal as Pashupati Nath. The image is lovely and looks resplendent after Puja is performed. Above the three-feet high Linga are four faces facing the four directions. Only the four priests who are selected invariably from the south of the Narmada can enter the sanctum



Durbar Square, Patan

sanctorum. The temple which is double-storied was built about 700 years ago. The walls and floor are of marble, the doors are covered with silver plates and the picturesque pyramidal roof is gilded. In front of the great sanctuary is a huge image of a kneeling bull (Nandi) in heavily gilt copper, and the courts are filled with images and shrines.

The two most famous Buddhist Chaityas in Kathmandu are Swayambhūnath and Baudhanath. The former is situated on a hill 400 feet high and is one of the holiest Buddhist shrines in Nepal. After climbing over

500 steps, the first striking object which confronts one at the top is a huge metal thunderbolt of Indra resting on a stone pedestal with representations of 12 animals in bold relief carved round it. They are said to depict the 12 months of the Tibetan year. Beyond, amidst a mass of small structures stands the main temple whose majestic size and simplicity of outline together with its gilded conical spire produce a gorgeous effect. The basement of the spire is covered with plates of metal and

'little Tibet' of Nepal is theoretically under the Dalai Lama's administration.

Of the secular buildings in Kathmandu, the most important is Hanuman Dhoka, the old palace of the kings of Nepal. The palace derives its name from the sitting figure of Hanuman covered with vermillion in front of it. There is a big bell in front of the palace which used to be rung in the past for collecting people in times of crises. Now the purpose is served by blowing a bugle from the Bhimsen tower. Coronation of Nepal kings takes place in this place. Inside there are several squares and it was in one of them that the massacre of 1846 took place. The window from which the then queen directed the massacre is still seen. In another square is the temple of Taleju who is the protecting deity of the ruling family. The temple which is imposing in appearance is opened only on the 9th and 10th day of the Navaratra. Another famous building is the Singh Durbar built by His Highness Chandra Samsherjung, the then Prime Minister of Nepal, for his residence and subsequently sold by him to the State for the Prime Minister's residence. It has about 700 rooms and now houses the secretariat. On the first floor is the Prime Minister's glittering Durbar Hall with a beautiful ceiling, multi-coloured chandeliers and costly wall decorations. Adjacent to this building is the Assembly hall with 24 big gilded pillars and paintings of the Prime Ministers on the walls.

The museum in Kathmandu is unique in some respects. In one building arms, some seized from the old Newar capitals and some belonging to the various Prime Ministers are artistically arranged in a circular shape on the walls. There are also large life-size paintings of all the Prime Ministers in their ceremonial dress. In the other buildings are kept exquisite samples of Nepalese art including beautiful brass statues of Hindu Gods, Buddhas and Bodhisatvas. The famous Bir Library is located in Trichandra Arts College near the clock-tower. It contains about 24,000 valuable manuscripts in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, etc., which were brought from India during the Muslim invasions. Kathmandu is a city of palaces and there are about 50 palaces of Ranas which are veritable museums as they contain paintings, rare books and various objects d'art.



Durbar Chauk, Bhadgaon

has two eyes of Buddha painted in crimson, white and black colours on each of its four sides. Baudhanath is another marvel of simplicity and unadorned beauty. Its main feature is the great pair of impassive enamelled eyes on each face of the square base of the spire. The temple which is one of the most celebrated places of Buddhist pilgrimage outside Tibet is said to have been built even before the incarnation of Lord Buddha. This

Seven miles from Kathmandu is the famous Pagoda of Changu Narain which is the richest of all the Nepali Pagodas in carving, colour and embossed metal. The entrance to the Central Pagoda which is surrounded by subsidiary shrines built by devotees is "one mass of hammered brass beaten up into angels and devils, reptiles and fishes, winged creatures and floral forms. Two large and imposing stone elephants pose on pedestals in front of this rich colour scheme." From Changu Narain almost the whole expanse of the valley is visible and above the surrounding mountains are seen the soaring peaks of the Himalayas, reminding one of the famous line "Hills peep over hills and Alps on Alps arise." Balaji which is two miles from Kathmandu is known for its fish-ponds and display of fountains. Over 20 dolphin-headed spouts throw out water in a tank beneath. Close by in a small water reservoir is a ten-feet long carved stone figure of Narayan reclining on a nine-hooded Sheshanaga. The steady ripple of water almost suggests the movement of breath. Four stone pillars in the four corners apparently supported a canopy in the past and the image now gazes calmly into the waving tree-tops and the sky. Buddha-Nilkantha, seven miles from Kathmandu, is an enlarged edition of the Narayan image in Balaji. Tradition has it that if ever the ruler of Nepal should visit Buddha-Nilkantha, he will die almost immediately.

Patan which is about three miles from Kathmandu was founded by Emperor Asoka in commemoration of his visit to Nepal and he erected four stupas at four corners of the city. It is a city of conquered Newars and vanquished Buddhism and proclaims the fact that its glory has departed. It is noted for old palaces and temples, wood-carving, sculpture and metal work. In the Durbar square is the famous Krishna Mandir renowned for its architecture. In front of it is a metal statue of the Malla King Joga Narendra on a stone pillar. In the city there is a temple dedicated to Matchindranath, the patron saint of Nepal. In the Mahabuddha temple every brick has an image of Buddha in it, the bricks below being bigger than those above. There are about 15 large Vihars or monasteries in Patan which have now become merely secular establish-

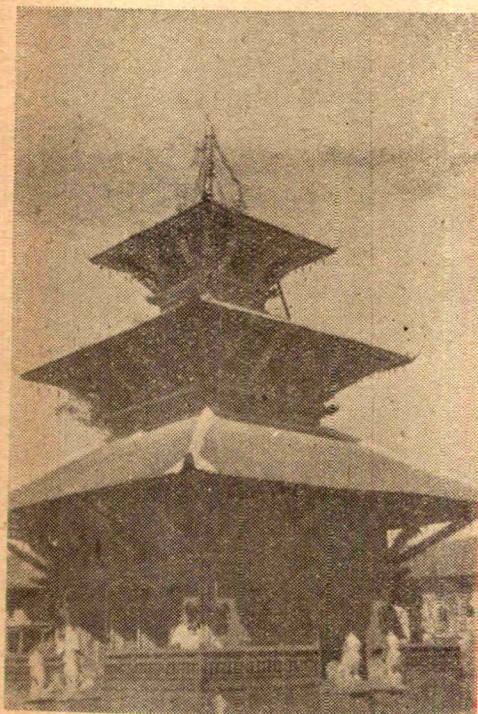
ments solely for the encouragement of trade, though a portion is reserved for the priests in charge of the temple to which the Vihar is attached. The oldest and most interesting Vihar is the Hiranyavarno Maha Vihar. A crowded fantasy of gilded Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Garudas, rows of metal deities and massive bronze bells strikes one's eyes as soon as one enters the Vihar which is undoubtedly one of the weirdest sights in Nepal.



Golden Gate, Bhadgaon

Bhadgaon is seven miles from Kathmandu and is the most picturesque place in Nepal. About the Durbar square and the famous golden door, Mr. Percy Brown writes in his book *Picturesque Nepal*, "On a high stone column surrounded by an immense lotus kneels a magnificent metal effigy of Raja Bhupendra Mall, the greatest of the rulers of Bhadgaon, surmounted by a metal umbrella or a canopy of snakes. Immediately in front of the statue is the entrance to the Durbar, a doorway of brick and embossed copper gilt, the richest

piece of art in the whole kingdom and placed like a jewel flashing innumerable facets in the handsome setting of its surroundings. To adequately describe this feature, either from its artistic or religious aspects, is an impossibility and no reproduction can give an idea of its gorgeous effect owing to the brilliancy of the material in which it is executed. Complete volumes of Hindu and Buddhist thought are embodied in its design. The artificer of this wonderful doorway has proved in his great



Matsendra Nath Temple, Patan

work that he was not only a past master of his craft but a high priest of his cult. This "door of gold"—molten, graven, hammered and rolled—forces the other beautiful and absorbing features on the various buildings in the square into comparative insignificance by its depth of meaning, richness of design, wealth of material and the excellence of its workmanship. As a specimen of man's handicraft it creates a standard whereby may be measured the intellect, artistic and religious, of the old Newars."

In an adjacent square is the Nyatapal deva or the temple of five stories erected by Raja Bhupendra Mall. It stands on five terraces

served by a fine flight of steps. Colossal figures carved in stone stand on each side of the stairway. The lowest of these statues are of two wrestlers, Gog and Magog, who are the historical giants of Newars. On the higher stages in succession are two elephants, two lions, two griffins and two deities, Sitsini and Vyadhini, reputed to be the most powerful of all. A temple of great antiquity in Bhadgaon is that of Shri Dattatreya. The image which has a conch in one hand, a *chakra* in another and two hands on the heart stands between the images of Shankaracharya on the right and Swami Satchitanand Sarasvati on the left.

The bulk of the population in Nepal are Newars who are the original inhabitants. They are carpenters, masons and metal workers but excel in metal and wood carving. Some Newars profess Hinduism while others follow Buddhism. Patan is a stronghold of Newar Buddhists while Bhadgaon is populated mostly by Newar Hindus. The ruling family claims its descent from the Udaipur rulers of the Sisodia clan and its ancestor Dravya Shah conquered Gorkha, a place 50 miles to the West of Kathmandu, in the 12th century and settled there. The term Gorkha is not limited to any particular caste or class and is applied to all those whose ancestors inhabited the country of Gorkha. Brahmo-Buddhism is the religion of Nepal. Being unaffected by Islam, Nepal presents an ideal, though fast-changing, picture of the middle-ages of the East. As has been rightly remarked by Kirkpatrick, one of the earliest European historians of Nepal, the valley consists of nearly as many temples as houses and as many idols as inhabitants, there not being a fountain, a river or a hill within its limits that is not consecrated to one or the other of the Hindu or Buddhist deities. It is often necessary to walk carefully in the streets lest one breaks one's shins against an image of Buddha.

As my wife and I were in Nepal during Diwali, we had an opportunity of observing the celebration of the festival which lasts for five days. First day is Kaka-tyohar, i.e., festival of crows when they are worshipped and fed. The second, third and fourth days are observed as Kukkuri, Goru and Gai tyohars respectively when dogs, bulls and cows are similarly honoured. Bhai-tika is on the fifth

day when sisters invite their brothers to their houses, apply tika on their foreheads and treat them to sumptuous meals.

Nepal has decimal coinage system and our 100 rupees can be exchanged for about 175 rupees of Nepal currency. For entering into

Nepal, it is necessary to have a certificate of nationality and character from the District Magistrate concerned and an exit visa which can be obtained from the Indian Embassy is necessary to get out of Nepal. We returned to Gwalior after spending six memorable days in the fascinating vale of Nepal.

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INDIAN HANDICRAFTS : CREATING NEW DESIGNS FOR OLD

Handicrafts continue to be the chief means of livelihood of several million craftsmen in India. In 1947, when India became free, the new Indian State found, among the many immediate problems before it, the problem of putting a stop to the process of disintegration of the handicrafts, of giving them a legitimate place in the national economy and of helping them to organise themselves in a manner capable of meeting changing trends and conditions.



A traditional potter giving shape to new designs in pottery at the New Delhi Design Centre

Government of India set up the All India Handicrafts Board in November 1952 to take up this task.

The fillip given in the last five years to the handicrafts by the All India Handicrafts Board has resulted in a growing demand for handicrafts not only in this country but from all over the world; and to meet this demand emporia have been started all over the country and skilled craftsmen are being employed in large numbers to meet the growing demand. One of the chief considerations is to put in the market quality goods of a certain standard. For this designing is very essential.

Constant supply of new designs is a key problem. What distinguished the old crafts of India was the high artistic standard and excellent workmanship. Beauty and utility were wedded together in all these crafts, whether they were common cooking utensils or a decorative piece of jewellery.

The skill of the craftsmen is still there but many of the old traditional patterns, which they have been creating so far, have, for many reasons, become degenerate and crude. To raise the artistic quality of the crafts and to put in the market highly finished products, it was found necessary to start regional Design Centres under the direction of imaginative and skilled artists.

This required improved equipment and techniques, new training facilities, raw materials in adequate quantities, easy access and available at reasonable rates, financial support, marketing facilities and a constant supply of new designs. The object of the Design Centres being not only revival of the traditional forms but also creation of new designs, with emphasis on both the decorative and utility aspects of the craft, the Directors (who are artists also) of the Design Centres are, therefore, expected not only to revive the

old and dying arts and crafts along the right lines but also to introduce original new designs and objects to meet the demands of the present-day markets. It is also necessary that experiments in new techniques and new raw materials should be carried out at these centres and widely circulated so that the present-day craftsmen have at their disposal the advantages of the latest scientific researches.

Four Design Centres

Four such regional Design Centres, started by the All India Handicrafts Board at Delhi, Calcutta, Bangalore and Bombay, are functioning today. Uttar Pradesh Government has started another at Lucknow. The Delhi Design Centre has taken up a number of crafts. Raffia work, so very popular among the refugee women of Faridabad, was taken up first, experimentally, with the idea of helping this craft both from the point of view of im-

displayed in exhibitions in Bombay and Delhi and the exhibitions proved very successful.



A traditional craftsman of Delhi shaping utility objects in metal at the New Delhi Design Centre



Copper wall plate—an exquisite metal-ware displayed at the exhibition in Delhi

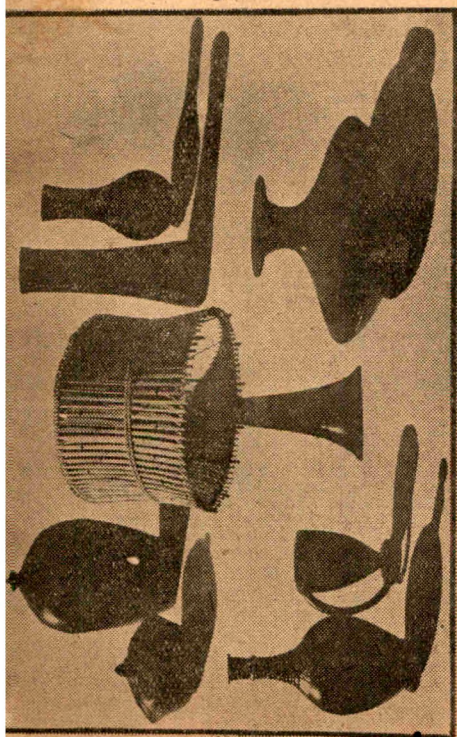
proving their skill as well as acquainting them with the present-day needs in designing. Articles like divans, long oval seats, tabletops, waste-paper baskets, purses, etc., have been designed and executed by these women. Such Raffia works were

Metal work, an old traditional craft of Delhi, neglected for a long time, is another craft taken in hand by this Design Centre, and it has already produced a number of utility objects like copper jugs, fruit bowls, flower vases, lamp-stands, tumblers, scent bottles, finger bowls, etc.

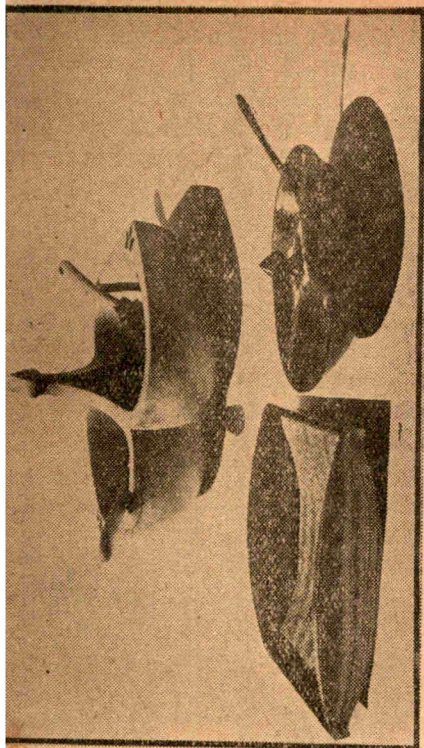
The third craft is wood work and articles like fruit bowls, rice bowls, cruet sets, fruit trays, salt and pepper cellars are being designed, some of them decorated with ivory inlay. On the furnishing side, tables, coffee tables, and centre tables have been designed and produced.

Black pottery typical of Nizamabad in Uttar Pradesh—and pottery as such—is another craft in which the Delhi Design Centre has created a number of useful articles such as lamp-stands, tumblers, surahis and flower vases. To these two more, stone-carving and jewellery, are being added.

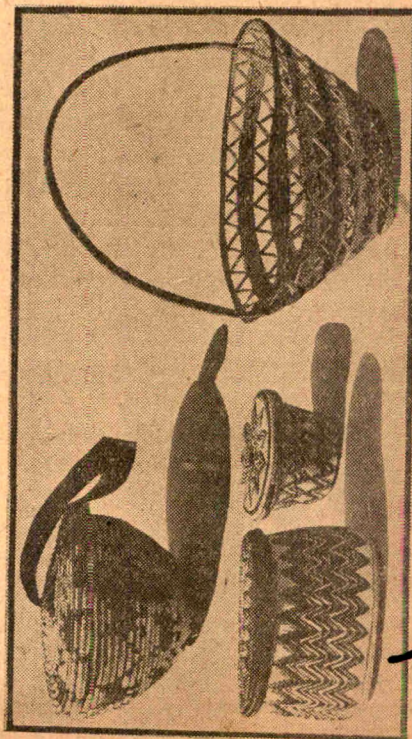
The regional Design Centre, Bombay specialises in metal-carving (embossing and shape-making), batik and print-work, wood carving and terracotta. And the Calcutta Design Centre has taken up, so



Black pottery typical of Nizamabad in Uttar Pradesh



In wood-work, the New Delhi Design Centre has created a number of articles, such as fruit trays, cruet sets; rice bowls, etc., some of them decorated with ivory inlay



A number of utility articles (Raffia work) such as table tops, waste paper baskets, fruit baskets, etc., have been designed and executed at the Design Centre



In metal work, the Design Centre has produced a number of utility objects like copper jugs, fruit bowls, plates, etc.

far, textiles, earthen pottery and clay-modelling, terracotta, metal-crafts, wood carving and artistic weaves. Similarly, the Bangalore Design Centre has specialised in bronze-casting, wood-carving, decorative wood-work, glass and lacquer work, pottery and ivory work.

Nearly two lakhs of rupees were spent last year on the Design Centres run by the All India Handicrafts Board. In the current financial year grants amounting to over Rs. 4 lakhs have been sanctioned by the Government of India for maintenance, reorganisation and expansion of these Centres and for providing assistance to Design Centres run by States and other institutions. For the Lucknow Design Centre Uttar Pradesh Government has been given by the Centre a grant of Rs. 2 lakhs.

A fundamental difficulty of the Indian

craftsman today is that, while he can turn out an exact replica of any sample of craft that is put before him, he is unable to effect the same result from a paper design or a blue-print. To obviate this disadvantage, it is necessary that demonstration units should periodically visit the villages of the craftsmen and craftsmen's colonies to show to them the nature of the new techniques and the kind of articles that are expected from them.

The regional Design Centres are being linked up with several Production Centres according to the nature of the crafts designed through a suitable machinery being brought into existence by the Marketing Section of the All India Handicrafts Board. Easy and quick marketing of the handicrafts is another essential aspect to be taken care of by the Marketing Section.—P.I.B.

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SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY YEAR OF U.S. CIVIL SERVICE

THE United States is giving special recognition this year on the 75th Anniversary of the Civil Service Act to several million Federal employees whose steady work assures efficient operation of the National Government.

Signed into law in 1883, the Act established a merit system that guarantees workers' jobs on the basis of ability without regard to race, religion, national origin or politics.

Of nearly 2,400,000 Federal Government workers, 86 per cent are under Civil Service. Many of the remaining 14 per cent are employed in jobs established by Act of the U.S. Congress and requiring qualifications similar to those in Civil Service. Under Civil Service operation, the Government continues to operate efficiently during changes in administration from one to another major party.

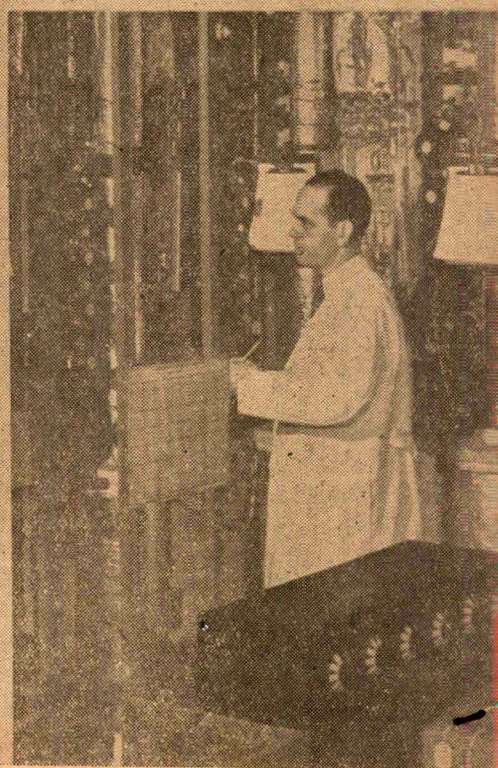
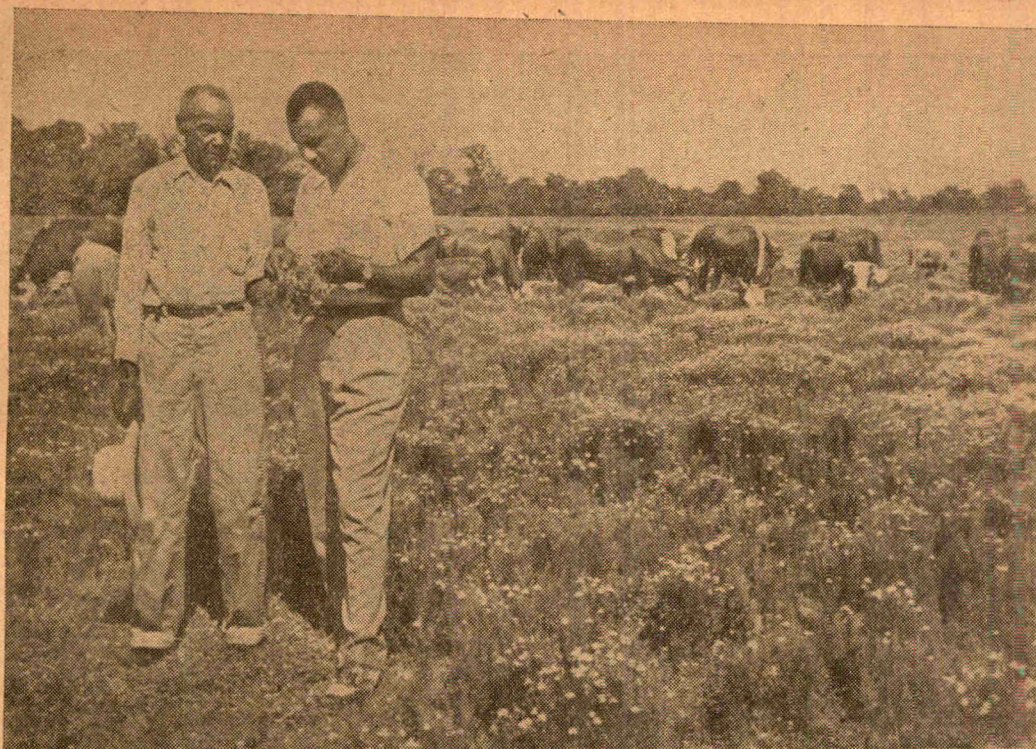
Only several thousand of the more than 2,000,000 total leave the service when administrations change. These are agency heads, their special assistants and a relatively few engaged in formulating policy. The reason for this turnover is due to the fact that during national elections, both major parties make definite pro-

misises to the American people. One effective way to fulfil these commitments is to bring to Government service those who will help the elected party officials carry out the promises.

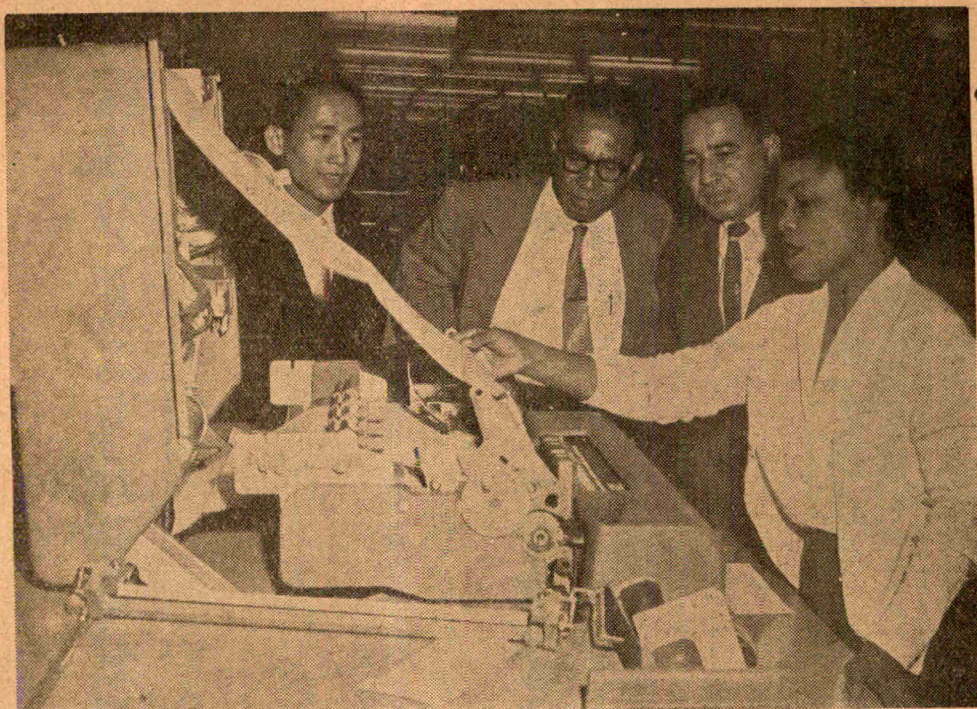
A corps of well-trained Government employees carry on their work regardless of who is making decisions and determining policies. These are the workers in agencies in Washington and throughout the country and employees engaged in services to the people such as delivery of mail, regulation of airplane flights, or completing a long-term health or scientific study.

Under merit system employment, competitive examinations are open to citizens throughout the country to assure selection of the best qualified people available for public service. It requires of these workers high standards of conduct and loyalty as well as competence in their work.

In recognition of aid given in the 19th century by other nations in establishment of the U.S. Civil Service System, the Civil Service Commission has set up a training program for overseas visitors to study the present opera-



Top: An agent of U.S. Department of A.E.S. advises an old farmer; *Lower left:* A meteorologist; *Lower right:* A chemist



Mrs. Mahely Butler, a tabulating machine operator, at the U. S. Bureau of the Census in Washington

tion in various parts of the nation. Since its inauguration in 1953, more than 1,000 persons from 71 other countries have participated. During 1957, 225 visitors studied at Headquarters in Washington, D.C., and in field offices in other cities.

In courses of study ranging from a single day to a full year, these visitors were given a general orientation of the Federal Government, history of the Commission, and growth of federal employment. They also visited other Government agencies outside Washington.

Civil Service workers are in 16,000 different occupational skills that vitally affect many phases of American life in the United States and overseas. They staff more than 70 departments and agencies operated by the Federal Government throughout the nation and its territories and are U.S. representatives in other countries.

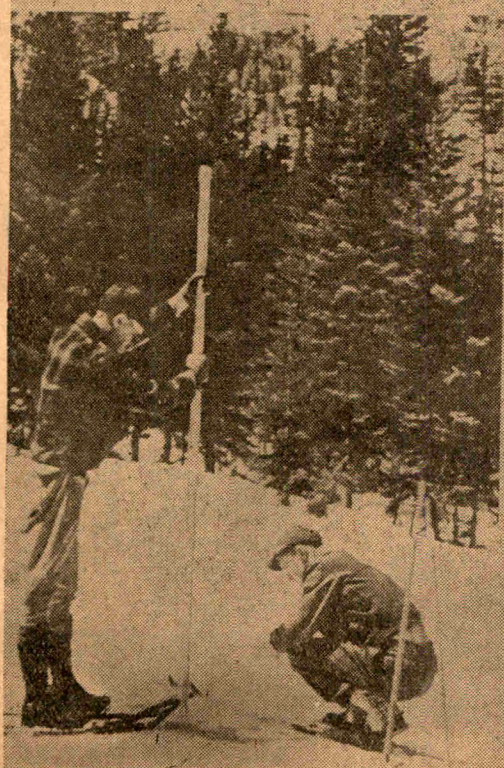
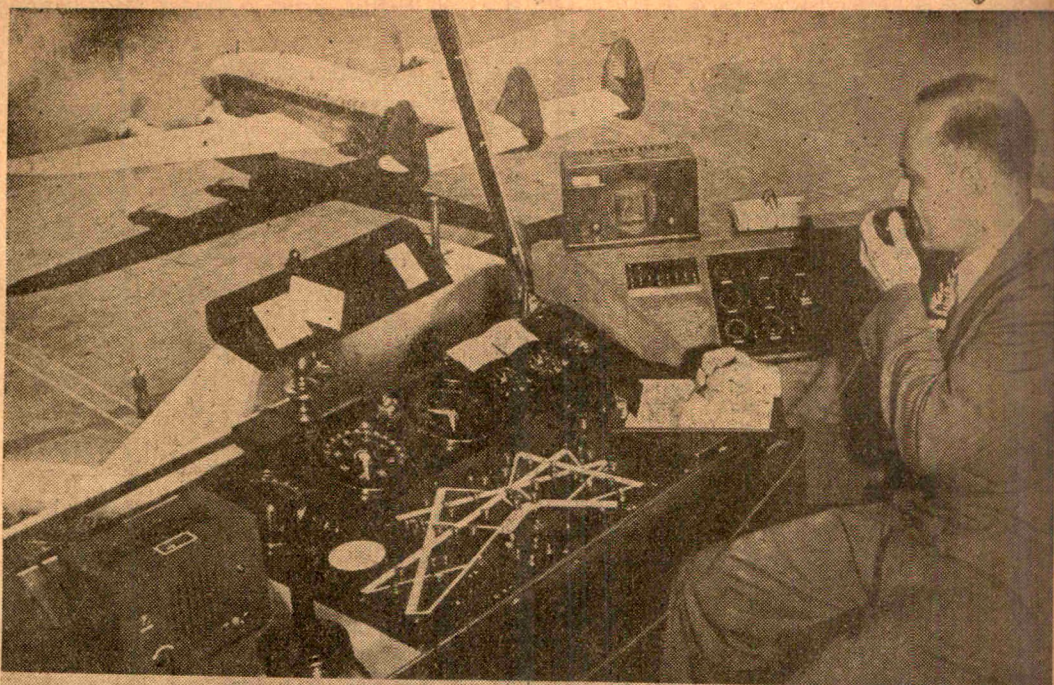
Government workers print and mint money, regulate immigration, collect taxes and duties, help conserve land and revitalize unproductive agricultural areas, extend electricity into rural

homes, enforce Federal laws and administer social security. They forecast weather, protect national parks and forests, and conduct research in physics, electronics, meteorology, geology, metallurgy and other scientific fields which have far-reaching effects on the health, welfare, economy and security of the nation.

Also they control the nation's airways, standardize weights and measurements, handle relations with other countries, develop flood control measures and perform hundreds of other services required by the American people.

On the whole, Federal employees are a cross-section of the U.S. population—most could be considered "average Americans" except that they work for the Government instead of private employers.

Vacant positions are filled on the basis of highest grades in competitive Civil Service examinations. The Commission directs recruitment and examination programs but the Government agencies do the actual hiring. A thorough investigation of the character and fitness for



Top: A worker at the central tower of Washington National Airport; *Lower left:* Two forest rangers; *Lower right:* A welder at Navy yard

overnment employment is made of each applicant.

After selection of employees on merit, the government pays and promotes them on the same basis. When jobs in higher grades become vacant, or new ones are set up, the general practice is to fill them by promoting employees in lower grades who are qualified for more difficult duties. The usual Government work-week is 40 hours.

The Government has a liberal retirement system to which employees contribute a percentage of their salaries. The compulsory re-

tirement age after at least 15 years' service is 70 but earlier retirement on a voluntary basis is permitted upon attainment of the age and service requirements specified in the retirement law. Workers also participate voluntarily in a life insurance plan.

An incentive awards program provides recognition for outstanding Government workers and stimulates interest in Federal service. Awards are given to those who contribute notably useful ideas for Government operation and to those employees whose performances are considered superior.—USIS.

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A DECADE OF MONETARY DISCIPLINE IN INDIA

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Ever since the adoption of economic planning as a 'creed' and 'philosophy' of India's national life no other policy has merged out with greater departures and innovations than monetary management and no other institution has been called upon to shoulder greater and more varied responsibilities than the Reserve Bank of India. It is only during the last ten years, coinciding broadly with the inauguration of a series of development plans, that a relatively active monetary policy has been in operation, and with the task of economic development assuming a new urgency and impetus, in the wake of the Five-Year Plans, the Bank's developmental and promotional activities have assumed great importance, besides the growing significance of traditional functions. Monetary discipline during all these years was governed by the twin considerations of 'assisting a growing economy' and 'restraining inflationary pressures'. A rapidly developing economy like ours would require continuous increase in money supply and bank credit, and in view of the excess demand, which has been lately reflected in the sharp and continuous rise in commodity prices, with a noticeable increase in speculative and hoarding tendencies and also in a heavy deficit in balance of payments, the need for restrain-

ing monetary expansion has also been paramount. The monetary discipline has thus been characterised as one of 'controlled expansion'.

Reorientation of Policy

At the time the First Five-Year Plan was set into operation in 1951 immediate remedy of inflationary forces, thanks to the Korean War, was necessitated to embark upon the development programmes. To encounter these forces, besides augmenting domestic supplies by focussing attention on projects yielding results with a minimum time lag, and on increased imports of food and raw materials under American Wheat Loan and Colombo Plan, expansion of purchasing power with the public was prevented through a reorientation of monetary policy. The Reserve Bank in mid-November, 1951, announced the increase in its Bank Rate—a traditional instrument of monetary discipline—to 3½ per cent from 3 per cent, at which level it had remained since November, 1935. Simultaneously with the raising of the Bank Rate, the Bank made an important change in its open market policy: the Bank announced that henceforward it would not, save in exceptional circumstances, purchase Government securities from banks to meet their seasonal requirements of reserves, but that it would, as a normal practice,

make **advances** against Government and other approved securities specified in Section 17(4) (a) of the Reserve Bank of India Act.

The new policy, coming as it did at the start of the busy season, put an effective check on credit expansion, the busy season increase in money supply with the public amounting to only Rs. 8 crores. Secondly, it enabled the Bank to influence the pattern of bank advances; since banks had to resort to borrowing from the Reserve Bank to meet their seasonal demands, they had to exercise greater caution in their lending operations. The total borrowings of the scheduled banks from the Reserve Bank decreased by 19 per cent from Rs. 200 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 163 crores in subsequent year, the outstandings having been reduced by as much as 33 per cent. Thirdly, the new policy put an effective check on monetisation of debt that was going on in the post-war years. Whereas during the period January 1948 to November 1951 the Reserve Bank had bought, on its investment account, securities for a total of Rs. 210 crores, it made net sales of Rs. 46 crores during the period December 1951 to March 1956. The Bank thus acquired a greater measure of control than it ever had over the banking system. The immediate effect was, however, the hardening of the structure of interest rates and a stoppage of the automatic expansion of liquidity in the system by suspending the erstwhile practice of purchases of the Government securities from the banks.

New Device of 'Pseudo' Bills

As a consequence of this, the capacity of scheduled banks to meet trade demands had been unduly strained and it was feared lest the seasonal requirements of the money market should remain unfulfilled. To allay such fears a device of usance bills, called in some quarters as 'Pseudo' bills, for advances to the scheduled banks was introduced in January, 1952 under what has been popularly known as the Bill Market Scheme. Under this arrangement the Reserve Bank undertook to make demand loans to scheduled banks, having deposits of Rs. 10 crores or more,

under Section 17(4) (c) of the Reserve Bank of India Act, on the security of usance promissory notes of their constituents. With a view to popularising the scheme, the Bank charged on such advances a concessional rate of 1/2 per cent below the Bank Rate (then 3 1/2 per cent) and, as a further incentive, also undertook to bear half the cost of stamp duty incurred by the borrowing banks in converting demand promissory notes of their borrowers into usance promissory notes. The scheme was subsequently extended by stages and since July 1954, at the recommendation of the Committee on Finance for Private Sector, to all scheduled banks in possession of a license under Section 22 of the Banking Co., Act, 1949 as well as certain approved scheduled banks which are not required to hold a license have become eligible to avail themselves of the facilities under the scheme.

Evidently, the scheme achieved the twin objectives of imparting flexibility to the operations of the Bank, as lender of the last resort, in meeting the seasonal requirements of the money market, and developing the use of bills by popularising the 'usance' paper. In the context of economic planning the former was more important and, as expressed by the Shroff Committee on Finance, 'it has been a welcome addition to the money market and has been of substantial help to the commercial banks. It has succeeded, by and large, in fulfilling the purpose for which it was started.' The maximum outstandings of total borrowings and of borrowings against usance bills during the first 8-month period since the inception of the scheme on January 16, 1952 were respectively Rs. 56 crores and Rs. 30 crores. Even after this banks availed themselves of the arrangement in an increasing manner; during 1955 gross advances against usance bills amounted to Rs. 225 crores as compared to Rs. 148 crores in the previous year. Advances against Government securities totalled Rs. 200 crores during 1955, showing only a nominal increase over the preceding year; while advances

under the scheme showed a substantial increase of Rs. 75 crores, the percentage to total borrowings being about 53. Outstandings at the end of 1955 under the scheme were Rs. 19 crores as against those on Government securities at Rs. 0.32 crore.

Thus, the device of usance bills helped the Bank in imparting greater elasticity and autonomy to the Indian money market without losing control over the inflationary forces. On the other hand, it supported the disinflationary factors that were already in operation internally as well as internationally. The improvement in the supply position at home, the contraction of international demand, following the adoption of dearer money policies in several countries and the easing of tension in international relations together with monetary discipline in the country resulted in the price-fall, and by March 1953, the general index of wholesale prices (Base: August, 1939=100) had fallen precipitously to 385 as against pre-Korean figure of 393 for May 1950. The average index of wholesale prices for 1952-53 was 12.4 per cent lower than the average for 1951-52 and 1.2 per cent below the average for 1946-51.

Towards Disinflationary Goal?

With the continued price-fall traders developed an eagerness to reduce their stocks and improve their liquid position. A lull in the export market and the arrival of large consignments of American and Egyptian Cotton accentuated the price-fall. Also, the slack season set in and money supply started contracting as usual. This combination of circumstances stretched the disinflationary policy a little too far and presented symptoms of disinflation developing into a dangerous recession. To prevent the situation from going out of control fiscal measures were adopted: quotas and destination restrictions on a variety of exports were abolished and export duties, which had been raised as an anti-inflationary measure, were drastically curtailed; the duty on hessian was cut down from Rs. 1500 to Rs. 750 per ton in February and to Rs. 275 per ton in May

1952 and the duties on raw cotton and jute sacking were halved and those on ground-nut oil, oil-seeds and raw wool were abolished. These measures together with liberal advances by the Reserve Bank against Government securities and usance bills contributed to a reduction in nervousness and the price-fall was arrested. The Economic Adviser's general index of wholesale prices for 1953-54 (Base: Year ended August 1939=100) was at 394 with a rise of 2.3 per cent as compared to a rise of 2 per cent in 1952-53. Similarly, the average for the year recorded a rise of 4.4 per cent as against a decline of 12.4 per cent in the previous year.

But the position did not sustain for long and rising trends in prices were sooner than later overcome in the subsequent year by a downward price movement, which was caused by the increased pressure of supplies resulting from bumper crops and growing industrial output and a larger volume of imports, and accentuated by dishoarding of accumulated stocks consequent upon elimination of controls over a wide sector. Except for a short-lived rise between July-September 1954, when the index number (Base: Year ended August 1939=100) went up from 381.6 to 384.4, prices showed an uninterrupted decline to 342 in May 1955 when they registered the lowest level since April 1948. The fall in prices during the year, as a whole, showed a fall of 10.2 per cent as against 6 per cent in 1953-54 and it was the sharpest in the case of 'food articles' (20 per cent). To a casual reader this would appear that inflation had, by and large, disappeared and that the fall in prices could provide a base for more rapid economic development. But the situation in subsequent months unfolded quite a different and difficult picture.

However, it can be said that the measures of monetary discipline were fairly successful in the First Plan period (1951-56): this is brought out by the fact that as compared to an increase of 18 per cent of national income, the rise in money supply with the public was of the order of 10 per cent and there was a 15 per

cent decline in the general index of the combined deficit of the Central and wholesale prices. It should be pointed out that the fall in commodity prices represented, besides the judicious monetary and fiscal measures, the working off of the Korean boom and there was also a series of good harvests, particularly of foodgrains.

The Second Stage Sets In

With the commencement of the Second Plan, the economy was subject to rather severe strains mainly because of increased investment outlay in the public and private sectors, budgetary deficit on Government account, rising trend of prices and the heavy deficit in balance of payments. The marked stepping up of the rate of investment in the private sector and the rise in commodity prices (the general index of wholesale prices, with year ended August, 1939 as base, rose by 16.7 per cent from 345 at the end of June 1955 to 402 at the end of June 1956) led to a sharp increase in the demand for credit by the banking system and a phenomenal rise in its borrowing from the Reserve Bank. In these circumstances monetary and credit policy had to be attuned to the objective of 'controlled expansion': while facilities from borrowing from the Reserve Bank were liberalised for those sectors wherein development was being hampered by inadequacy of credit facilities; on the other hand, restraint on credit expansion was also exercised to checking the inflationary pressures generated by a development programme with a substantial amount of deficit financing.

Facility for Deficit Financing

To provide for necessary finance to meet the increasing deficits of the Government caused by the rising scale of investment outlays on development schemes, the Reserve Bank, as a storehouse of currency and credit, was called upon to shoulder additional responsibilities. Plan outlays had moderately risen from Rs. 259 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 273 crores in 1952-53 and Rs. 340 crores in 1953-54, or a total of Rs. 872 crores in three years. There was a substantial stepping up to Rs. 475 crores in 1954-55 and Rs. 600 crores in 1955-56;

the combined deficit of the Central and State Governments during 1951-56, as measured by the actual net addition to the Treasury bill holdings of the Bank and draft on Government cash balances, being about Rs. 400 crores. Developmental outlay in 1956-57, the first year of the Second Plan, was Rs. 635 crores with an actual deficit of Rs. 250 crores against a projected deficit financing of Rs. 500 crores out of an outlay of Rs. 861 crores in 1957-58 and Rs. 1200 crores, or 25 per cent of the total outlay, in the Second Plan period.

Keeping in view the requirements of monetary policy in this context, the Bank assumed for itself, under the Reserve Bank of India (Amendment) Act, 1956, the needed flexibility in note-issue, effective October 6, 1956, which was hitherto seriously hampered by Section 33(2) of the Act requiring the Bank to maintain not less than 40 per cent of the Paper Currency Reserve in the form of gold or foreign securities with gold of not less than Rs. 40 crores in value at Rs. 21.3.10 per tola. The Bank now assumed powers to maintain a minimum holding of Rs. 400 crores in foreign securities, subject to the minimum of Rs. 300 crores in exceptional circumstances, and of Rs. 115 crores in gold revalued at the rate agreed to by the International Monetary Fund, namely, Rs. 62.50 per tola. This was an enabling measure to the Bank to adapt to the policy of deficit financing, which, according to the Bank, 'was not only desirable but essential for economic stability.'

Subsequently, out of the necessity to withdraw foreign assets from Paper Currency Reserve to meet the yawning gap in balance of payments position, emergency was felt to further relax the condition of minimum foreign currency reserve. The fall in the foreign assets of the Bank in 1956-57 was of the order of Rs. 244 crores, from Rs. 656 crores to Rs. 412 crores, the maximum average weekly rate of loss being Rs. 7.93 crores in July-September, 1957. Further the quantum of foreign assets was reduced to an appalling figure of Rs. 171 crores on the last Friday of March 1958, the lowest level ever held with the

Bank. This led the expert circles to believe that the main purpose of foreign exchange reserves with the Central Bank was not to support the note-issue as to enable the country to meet deficits in the balance of payments, and, according to this belief, the aggregate value of gold and foreign securities held in the Issue Department of the Bank was reduced by an Ordinance, subsequently replaced by legislation, to Rs. 200 crores with a minimum of gold worth Rs. 115 crores at Rs. 62.50 per tola. This was done in keeping with the general trend of central banking legislation in recent times to delink foreign reserves from the note-issue and to adapt to the monetary policy in the framework of Second Five-Year Plan.

This gave a recognition to the policy of deficit financing in the context of economic planning and the Bank got a 'free hand' to 'create' currency to fit in this policy. But the authorities of the Bank were not unaware of the dangers inherent in such a policy. In their Report to the Central Government under Section 53(2) of the Reserve Bank of India Act, they observed, "Deficit financing provides no easy substitute for sustained and substantial efforts to mobilise resources for development. It is a double-edged weapon which may be employed, within limits, to help Government, but may hinder it, if used to excess In such a context, the essential function of the banking system should be to provide the necessary expansion in bank credit to facilitate the growth in productive activity, while preventing, at any stage, a lapse into undue credit expansion and inflation."

To avert such gloomy possibilities the Bank also assumed powers, under Section 42 of the Act to vary reserve requirements of scheduled banks within the range of 5 to 20 per cent in respect of demand liabilities and 2 to 8 per cent in respect of time liabilities. Though this power has not been used by the Bank so far, this serves as a 'control lever' in the armoury of the Bank to hold in check the possible inflation in bank credit as a result of money supply released in terms of the amendment in

Section 33(2) of the Reserve Bank of India Act. The ground was thus well prepared to meet the discipline of controlled expansion to the monetary needs of the Second Plan.

Uptrends in Money, Credit and Prices

In the earlier stages of the Second Plan there became visible the perceptible signs of an all-round expansion of paper currency, money with the public, bank credit and borrowings from the Reserve Bank and the rising prices. This was due to high capital outlay envisaged in the Plan, the larger volume of deficit financing contemplated therein and the increasing tempo of the development schemes started either during the First Plan or undertaken in the current programmes. The paper currency in circulation increased from Rs. 1486 crores in October 1957 (when the Reserve Bank was given a free hand to issue notes on the bare minimum of Rs. 200 crores in gold and foreign securities) to Rs. 1507 crores in December 1957 and with an uninterrupted increase throughout touched the highest level of Rs. 1619 crores in April 1958. Similarly, the money supply with the public during 1956-57, the first year of the Second Plan, was Rs. 2313 crores, an increase by Rs. 129 crores of 5.9 per cent over that of the preceding year, and as compared to Rs. 264 crores or 13.7 per cent in 1955-56 and Rs. 127 crores or 7.1 per cent in 1954-55. The slower growth in money supply in 1956-57, it must be noted, resulted not from any slowing down of the tempo of development—which in fact showed a rise—but from increased investment expenditure abroad on imports, which tended to reduce internal money supply.

The broadening of demand for bank credit to cater to the needs of development was also reflected in the expansion of scheduled bank credit, which excluding inter-bank transactions, increased by Rs. 164 crores over the year (July 1956-June 1957) as compared to Rs. 142 crores in the preceding year. The substantial rise in imports was an important factor in the sharp rise in bank credit. Even during the slack season (May-October 1956) bank

credit recorded a small net rise of Rs. 4 crores. The rise in the net deposits of scheduled banks at Rs. 178 crores was, however, much larger than in 1955-56 (Rs. 101 crores), the increase being largely connected with the import of U.S. surplus agricultural commodities under P.L. 480. Though, unlike in 1955-56, the expansion of deposits was as large as rise in bank credit, in view of the already over-extended position of banks at the beginning of the year 1956-57, the pressure on the liquidity of banks and monetary stringency in general were intensified, to meet the demand for credit, the scheduled banks resorted to heavy borrowing from the Reserve Bank, the average of such borrowings for 1956-57 being Rs. 64 crores, more than twice Rs. 25 crores in the preceding year. Total advances taken by scheduled banks from the Reserve Bank both on usance bills and Government and other eligible securities were of the order of Rs. 1017 crores during 1956-57—the highest ever taken by them. The advances against usance bills were the highest—Rs. 560 crores—ever since the introduction of the scheme and so was the case with the advances against the Government securities—Rs. 457 crores; the outstandings being respectively Rs. 72 and Rs. 32 crores.

As a result of increasing money and credit, the price situation was, very naturally, characterised by an almost continuous uptrend, the general index of wholesale prices, with year ended August 1939 as base, rose by 16.7 per cent from 345 at the end of June 1955 to 402 at the end of June 1956. The price situation continued to cause concern and the general index of wholesale prices (Base: 1952-53=100) rose further by 8.3 per cent between June 1956-June 1957, the average index for 1956-57 was higher than in 1955-56 by 12 per cent. The rise in prices was shared by all the major groups but was particularly in 'food articles' (10.4 per cent) and 'raw materials' (7.4 per cent). This price uptrend was due mainly to the rising impact on demand of the incomes generated by the heavy investment under the Plan and the rela-

tive shortfall in agricultural production. The situation was also aggravated by an increased tendency to hold food grains with the help of bank credit.

Measures of Controlled Expansion

To combat such a situation the policy of controlled expansion was adopted: wherein the expansion of money and credit was fully recognised, an excessive expansion to jeopardise the financial stability of the economy was not permitted. The Reserve Bank sought to administer monetary discipline through temporary liberalising the Bill Market Scheme, on the one hand, and by raising the cost of credit together with selective monetary control, on the other.

As the bank credit expanded and the scheme of usance bills became popular, the Bank considered it no longer necessary to continue to allow the concessions granted in respect of advances under the scheme. The Bank, therefore, stepped up in March, 1956 its lending rate under the scheme by $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent raising it to $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. The benefit of re-imbursement of a portion of the stamp duty was also withdrawn. In spite of these measures the contraction of scheduled bank credit was unusually small during the slack season of 1956 (Mid-May to September-end) and, therefore, the Bank further raised its lending rate under the scheme by another $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent in November, 1956, bringing it on par with the Bank Rate, which was also the rate of advances against Government and other approved securities. While the cost of borrowing under the scheme was thus increased, the minimum amount that could be borrowed at any time and the minimum amount of a bill were liberalised and reduced from the initial figures of Rs. 25 lakhs and Rs. 1 lakh to Rs. 5 lakhs and Rs. 0.70 lakh respectively. Despite the increase in the cost of borrowing, the popularity of the scheme, it may be noted, went on unabated; the advances under the scheme in 1956-57, being Rs. 560 crores as against Rs. 228 crores in the preceding year and as compared to Rs. 457 crores under advances against Government securities. It is thus clear that the device of usance bills has gone a long way in ensuring

that *bona fide* trade and industry will not suffer for want of adequate assistance from banks.

Bank Rate Redefined

Consequent upon the stepping up of the usance bill rate to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and upon the simultaneous raising of the stamp duty on usance bills to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, the virtual cost of borrowing under the Bill Market Scheme stepped up from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 per cent, effective February 1, 1957. A Communique was, therefore, issued by the Bank in the evening of January 31, 1957 purporting to increase from 1st February, 1957 its lending rate against Government and other approved securities, under Section 17 (4) (a) of the Reserve Bank of India Act, from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 per cent. Earlier in the day the Bank had announced that the Bank Rate remained unchanged at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Here is a testimony to the flexibility of a policy of qualitative control as opposed to Bank Rate Policy. This was the first time that a distinction had been made in India between the Bank Rate and the rate of advances against approved securities. Rather, the Bank Rate was redefined as not including the rate of interest on advances against eligible securities. This was done, it must be said, with a purpose of monetary discipline. If scheduled banks had continued to enjoy the option to borrow on Government securities at Bank Rate, *i.e.*, $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, when the cost of borrowing against usance bills had been virtually raised to 4 per cent, with the increase of stamp duty, they would have increasing preference for the former mode of replenishing their resources and the Bank would be faced with the risk of being loaded with large blocks of Government securities, as had actually happened in 1951-52; and the Bill Market Scheme would have suffered a setback. Failure to adjust the rates would have put an unhealthy premium on borrowing from the Bank and contributed to the intensification of inflationary pressures.

Subsequently, effective May 16, 1957, the Bank Rate, *i.e.*, the rate at which the Bank was prepared to buy or rediscount bills of exchange or other commercial paper eligible for purchase under the Act, was raised from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 per cent. Immediately then the stamp duty on usance bills was lowered to 0.20 per cent, and with this, the effective rate for borrowing under

the Bill Market Scheme has been 4.20 per cent. The raising of the various lending rates of the Bank was mainly by way of realignment with the trend of money market rates and also directed to making the structure of lending rates of the Bank internally more cohesive, both of which are necessary adjuncts to monetary discipline in any country.

Selective Credit in Operation

Another measure of monetary discipline adopted to control the uptrend in prices, especially food-grains, was the selective credit management, designed to regulate the flow of credit into developmental uses by preventing it from going to the illegitimate sectors. With the substantial expansion of money supply and prices tending to rise because production and economic activity are lagging behind, as was perceptible in our economy during early stages of Second Plan, the risk of anti-social use of credit became particularly serious. It became profitable for producers and traders to hold on to their stocks in a rising market and if bank credit was freely available to them for financing such carrying of stocks, hoarding and profiteering would be encouraged and the tendency of prices to rise would be aggravated. In the context of planning and development canalisation of bank credit to socially desirable and economically useful purposes befitting the broad objectives of the Plan was, therefore, particularly important.

A beginning was, thus, made on May 17, 1956 when the Reserve Bank, in exercise of its powers conferred on it under Section 21(2) of the Banking Co. Act, 1949, issued a directive asking all scheduled and two State-associated non-scheduled banks not to increase any credit limit in respect of advances against the security of paddy and rice beyond Rs. 50,000, to raise their existing margins by 10 per cent and to achieve a reduction in their aggregate advances to a level not more than 25 per cent above that of the corresponding week last year. The directive was a monetary approach to arrest the strong uptrend in rice prices which had ascended from 72 in April, 1955 (Base: 1952-53=100) to 92 in April 1956, representing a rise of 28 per cent. The rise in rice prices was, *inter alia*, due to speculative holding of stocks with the help of bank credit: the advances of scheduled banks against paddy

and rice being Rs. 26.5 crores in April, 1956, just before the issue of the said directive, as compared to Rs. 11.3 crores in April, 1955, the increase being 135 per cent. The directive had a favourable response and was withdrawn in November, 1956 when the level of advances reached the figure of Rs. 4.4 crores in October, 1956. But the restrictions were re-imposed in February, 1957 when bank advances against paddy and rice again touched the level of Rs. 20 crores.

Similar action was taken on September 13, 1956, against advances on wheat and food-grains, grain and other pulses and cotton textiles including yarn. Although production of most food-grains was lower in 1955-56 than in 1954-55, advances against wheat and other cereals and pulses were higher in 1955-56 by about 50-55 per cent as compared to the corresponding period of the preceding year, the advances in August, 1956, being Rs. 19 crores as against Rs. 12 crores in August, 1955. In June, 1956, advances of scheduled banks against wheat, gram and other pulses were to the tune of Rs. 23 crores—the highest in the past five years. As a consequence, price of wheat was 27 per cent higher in July, 1956, over that in 1955, while prices of jowar, bajra and gram showed increases of about 120 per cent, 24 per cent and 43 per cent, respectively over the year. The sharp rise in prices was, besides a shortfall in production, was accentuated by speculative hoarding of stocks facilitated by the higher level of bank credit; and thus action on bank credit was called for.

The control thus introduced at the appropriate time served its purpose effectively as indicated by the fall in bank advances against food-grains from Rs. 23 crores in June to Rs. 4 crores in October with the result that the restrictions were withdrawn in November to facilitate movement of crops and marketing of harvested grains. But the situation again worsened after April, 1957, when the advances against food-grains reached the level of Rs. 21 crores in May, 1957. In view of this situation a stricter directive was issued on June 7, 1957, designing not only to curb bank finance for speculative holding of stocks but also to bring down substantially the level of advances

against these commodities. On June 29, 1957, the Governor of the Bank had to write a letter to all scheduled banks drawing their attention to certain aspects of the monetary situation arising out of the large-scale expansion of bank credit and seeking their co-operation in achieving a positive reduction in the level of bank credit without diminishing assistance to the essential sectors of the economy. This resulted in the decline of advances, which came down to Rs. 9 crores in November, 1957, from Rs. 21 crores in May. Consequently, directive of June was replaced by another on December 11, 1957, relaxing the restrictive conditions from regulation through *margins* to regulation of the *aggregate level* of advances against specified commodities with additional relaxations in the interests of production and trade.

But in view of the resumption of the rising trend of food prices since February, 1958, the Bank decided, early in June, to continue till October-end the restrictions on advances against food-grains; and in view of the rising trend of wheat prices the restrictions were further tightened in September, 1958.

Thus the operation of selective monetary control has been marked by flexibility aimed at assisting the developmental sectors without hindering genuine credit requirements. Though, as admitted by the Governor of the Reserve Bank, 'the administration of the selective credit control has not, in practice, proved an easy task,' but the discipline did have a salutary effect in curbing the forces leading to price-rises with the help of bank credit. Paying a tribute to the role of the Reserve Bank, Shri G. D. Birla, Chairman of the United Commercial Bank Ltd., said in his presidential speech:

"It is a matter of pride to hear the Indian Central Banking Institution being described as one of the most efficient in the world. This is no exaggeration for the selective monetary control instituted by the Bank has succeeded in keeping at bay the inflationary pressures which the country had to face . . . By timely directives, the Reserve Bank has played a considerable part in imbuing the Indian economy with stability and in preventing the price situation from getting out of hand."

The Fourth Dimension !

To make selective credit really effective, the Reserve Bank made an innovation in convening the conferences of the bankers and explaining them the efficacy of monetary discipline in an expanding economy. At a Conference of leading bankers convened on August 20, 1957, the Governor of the Bank gave a stern warning to the bankers that "if the banks in the country did not bring down the advances by Rs. 75 crores to Rs. 800 crores by October, 1957, without diminishing the flow of credit to essential sectors, the Reserve Bank would give them less financial assistance than it did in the previous busy seasons." This may be interpreted as the fourth dimension to the three-dimensional policy of monetary management, the three dimensions being the bank rate, open market operations and the directive method. The warning did not go in vain. The bank credit was subsequently brought down to Rs. 840 crores by the middle of November from a level of Rs. 938 crores in early June. The supervision of some developments, such as the bank-employee strike in Calcutta and the increase in advances to the textile industry following the accumulation of stocks with mills prevented a further reduction. The Governor of the Bank, in his Press Conference after a month from the aforesaid bankers' conference, expressed his satisfaction that "the banks were actively giving effect to the directives and a few banks had already reported having reached the levels demanded."

Latest Trends—'A Phase of Contradictions'

As a national consequence to the measures of monetary control adopted during the early period of the Second Plan, the latest trends speak of easy money conditions; the expansion of money supply with the public being Rs. 75 crores as compared to Rs. 129 crores and Rs. 264 crores in the two preceding years. There is a phenomenal growth in the deposits of the scheduled banks, deposits recording a rise of Rs. 276 crores, mostly in time deposits—Rs. 249 crores, four times the rise recorded in 1956-57. As against this sharp rise in deposit resources, bank credit during the year (1957-58) recorded a moderate expansion of

Rs. 63 crores, less than half of the rise in the preceding year. The slowing down of investment activity in the private sector, a flagging off in the rate of expansion in industrial production caused by mounting difficulties of foreign exchange leading to severe import restrictions, the declining trend of agricultural production, all have led to a marked slowing down in the demand for credit and the expansion of money supply. Developmental expenditure on Government account, financed through a substantial increase in Reserve Bank credit, was, in fact, stepped up during the year, deficit financing incurred of about Rs. 500 crores in 1957-58, but its impact on monetary expansion was neutralized to a considerable extent by a large external deficit and also by a phenomenal growth of time deposits. Consequently, banks today have a surfeit of funds, their liquid position is very comfortable and, indeed, their problem is to seek avenues of profitable investment of their surplus. In this situation, they have increasingly invested in Government securities, their investments, including Treasury Bills, having gone up from Rs. 332 crores to Rs. 572 crores over the year. In fine, money is prominently easy.

On the other side, private investment and industrial production appear to have touched a plateau after the sustained and substantial increases in the preceding few years, agricultural production, too, has shown a drop, and will further go down in view of the present devastating floods in various parts of the country. The balance of payments is also in serious deficit. Despite the policy of general restraint on bank credit and money there is a perceptible uptrend in prices, the wholesale price index number (Base: 1952-53=100) having gone up to 120 in case of food articles.

In the face of such apparently contradictory developments, there awaits the advancement of plan expenditures in the public sector, thanks to the foreign aid, to be followed by increases in private investments. Deficit financing of Rs. 220 crores in 1958-59, it might be actually more, on the top of Rs. 500 crores of deficit occurred in 1957-58, will surely aggravate the inflationary pressures. To control such a situation the monetary discipline desired will be that of restraint on bank credit

and mopping up surplus funds by attracting the savings of the people. As far as selective monetary control is concerned, the Reserve Bank has shown itself to be keenly aware of the manner in which such credit restrictions have to be imposed; the Bank, latest on September 10, 1958, having directed all scheduled banks to tighten credit against the security of wheat to prevent hoarding of this food-grain with the help of bank credit. But what about the surplus purchasing power? Will the selective monetary control be able to mop up the surplus purchasing power that is likely to be released with the acceleration of intensive efforts on development programmes? The Reserve Bank agrees that "when the balance of payments situation will remain a source of concern the tenor of monetary and credit policy would have to be absorption of the available liquid assets for urgent financing of the plan projects and maintenance of stringent control on expansion of credit facilities in general."

Correct Approach

To achieve this objective, it may be cautioned, in a developing economy, high bank rate, as prescribed in some quarters, will prove to be detrimental because it will affect production and restrain gainful investment. The feasibility of high interest rates is probably held out on the assumption that they help in securing austerity in living, higher savings and speedier development through less inflation. Also, that costlier credit presents a disincentive to investment at a time when expenditures,

which are not likely to add to production in the short run, are already at a high level. But this is a fallacy. The point precisely is that in a developing economy, such expenditures are unavoidable and if such productive endeavours are curtailed, the continued lack of sufficient production will itself be accentuating inflation. The cost of production is made higher and the consumer prices are also higher. Besides, a high bank rate has a deleterious effect upon Government borrowings. No gilt-edged market was ever in a cheerful mood during a period of high bank rate. There is, of course, a possibility of gain from the higher interest on the gilt-edged issues, but the capital depreciation in existing issues is more than the gain. So, if market borrowing is resorted to for raising considerable resources, as has been done in the recent past, a high bank rate cannot be sustained. And, in an expanding economy, it is highly essential that market borrowings are maximised, because to the extent additional resources are thus raised the corresponding reliance on deficit financing will be reduced, and, on the other side, the surplus resources in the market will be mopped up, for as Mr. Iyengar has put it, basically, "The objective is to mop up liquid resources to the maximum extent practicable and thereby to keep down the pressure on any of the goods in relatively scarce supply."

So if the monetary discipline, in the context of developing economy, agrees to selective credit control, let it also consider the question of rate of interest without restraining the productive endeavours.

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ANCIENT NOTICES ON KASMIRA

By BHAWANI SHANKAR SHUKLA, M.A.

THERE is hardly a state in India today which has not undergone considerable changes in its area, shape and population from the ancient days. The states of U.P. and Bihar, for example, were not exactly the same a few centuries ago as these are today. But Kasmira is an exception to it. Situated on high altitudes and surrounded by lofty mountains she has always occupied a unique position in India. Its swiftly flowing streams, hot springs and icy glaciers have given peculiar characteristics to its climate. Its soil produces rice, precious saffron,

sweet fruits and fragrant flowers; its ponds grow lotus and lakes yield vegetables. Yet, it is a poor state loved by gods and men alike but despised by the goddess of wealth Lakshmi. Kasmira is the finest place in the world for its scenic beauty to the tourists, the loveliest for the poets and artists and the holiest for the *yogis* for the purpose of meditation. It is for these reasons the goddess of learning has chosen this part of India to be her permanent abode. Kalhana, the greatest of chroniclers of Kasmira, is right when he says: "Kailasa is the best place

in the three worlds; the Himalaya—the best part of Kailasa; and Kasmira, the best part of the Himalaya.”

It is a pity that Indian literature has very scanty notices of ancient geography of Kasmira. It may be due to the fact that Kasmira is practically cut off from the Indian soil owing to mountaneous barriers. But we are, however, happy that the indigeneous records of this place provide ample material to study its ancient geography and history. Foreign records too are very helpful for our purpose. As far as the latter source is concerned we naturally expect to get some information from the historians of Alexander who provide for the first time the true geographical notices of north-western Indian States. But the mountain barriers of Kasmira did not permit an outsider to enter the valley, and, therefore, Alexander's historians gave no information regarding Kasmira proper, despite the fact that the great conqueror marched through the neighbourhood of the valley.

Thanks to Ptolemy to indicate the situation of a country called Kaspeiria which is as a matter of fact our own Kasmira. The country of Kaspeiria, as described by Ptolemy, includes a part of Punjab, North-West Frontier Provinces and Central India. It sometimes appears on the basis of Ptolemy's other notices that the city of Kaspeiria was situated on the confluence of Jhelum and Satlej.

Next to Ptolemy were Dionysos and Nonnos who mention Kaspeiroi as a tribe who had fast feet among the Indians. We know that Kasmiris were famous for their fast feet. The undulating ground of their country had made them swift in walking. Both Kalhana and Alberuni mention this characteristic of Kasmirans.

It is also very probable that the great historian Herodotus means Kasmira when he refers to Kaspatyros. Herodotus was the historian of Alexander and as such he accompanied the latter to his Indian campaigns. He mentions the city of Kaspatyros 'as the place at which the expedition under Skylax of Koryanda, sent by Darius to explore the course of Indus, embarked.'¹ Hekataios thought that Kaspatyros

was situated in the region where Indus first becomes navigable. The date of Hekataios is considered to be 549—486 B.C. Wilson and later other scholars believed that Kaspatyros is identical to Kasmira. According to him Kaspatyros is a derivative from the Sanskrit name Kasyapapur which he believed to be the ancient name of Kasmira, named after the famous sage Kasyapa. Dr. Stein, however, does not agree to this derivation.

The real information regarding Kasmira is first derived from the Chinese writers who visited India via this State. We shall not discuss here what they actually wrote about Kasmira but confine ourselves only to their notices on Kasmira. These Chinese travellers were Buddhist pilgrims who had come to India for pilgrimage and studies. Kasmira was at that time a great centre of learning and a beautiful resting place, as it is today. Kasmira was known to the Chinese as Ki-pin at least in the Wei dynasty. But in the 7th century A.D. during the rule of Tang dynasty Ki-pin signified Kapisa (Kafiristan). The first of such records can be dated in the sixth century A.D. During this period Kasmira had close cultural relations with China. An Indian envoy was present in the court of Tang rulers who has given a description of a country which closely resembles Kasmira. He describes the northern part of India as a country "situated at the foot of the snowy mountains and enveloped by them on all sides like a precious jewel." M. Panthier rightly refers this description to Kasmira.²

Yuan Chwang furnishes the best information on this subject. He came to India through Kasmira in the 7th century A.D. He entered the valley from Urasa (modern Hazara district). As he stayed here for two years he could know this country very intimately. He calls this country Kia-shi-mi-lo and informs us that "the kingdom of Kasmira is about 7,000 li in circuit and on all sides it is enclosed by mountains. These mountains are very high. Although the mountains have passes through them, these are narrow and contracted."³ Here he obviously refers, according to General Cunningham, to the

1. M. A. Stein: *Ancient Geography of Kasmira*, p. 9.

2. Quoted from as above, p. 14.

3. *Si-yu-ki* (trans. Beal's), Book III, p. 148.

'extended kingdom of Kasmira, and not to the valley, which is only 300 miles in circuit.'⁴ About the capital of Kasmira Yuan Chwang says:

"The capital of the country on the west side is bordered by a great river. It is from the north to south 12 or 13 li, and from east to west 4 to 5 li. The soil is fit for producing cereals and abounds with fruits and flowers."⁵

Yuan Chwang visited several places in Kasmira, e.g., Ursha, Sinhapura, Parnotsa and Rajapuri, etc. The boundaries of Kasmira had extended far and wide in the seventh century A.D. when Yuan Chwang visited this country. It then included 'the whole of the hilly country between the Indus and the Chenab to the foot of the Salt Range in the south.' The Ravi was probably the eastern boundary of Kasmira.⁶ Beyond it was the empire of Harshavardhana, the ruler of Kanyakubja and Thaneshwara. But after the death of Harsha the kingdom of Kasmira extended farther up to the Sulej.⁷ This happened towards the end of the ninth century A.D.

As mentioned above the Tang dynasty of China had ambassadorial relations with Kasmira. We, therefore, find references to Kasmira in its dynastic records. Although these records are based on Yuan Chwang's descriptions, yet, here we are more informed about the capital of Kasmira.

A few years after Yuan Chwang's visit to India another Chinese pilgrim Ou-K'ong also visited the valley of Kasmira. He came to Kasmira in 759 A.D. and stayed here for a long time. He gives a longer description of Kasmira. He also tells us that the kingdom of Kasmira was surrounded by lofty mountains. These mountains are natural fortification-walls of the valley. The valley according to him was accessible only by four roads which were strictly guarded at their gates. One of these roads was opened only for the march of the royal army.

4. Sir A. Cunningham: *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 104.

5. *Si-yu-ki* (trans. Beal's), Book III, p. 148.

6. Sir A. Cunningham: *The Anc. Geog. Ind.*, p. 103.

7. Kalhana: *Rajatarangini*, V, 144.

Chinese records are almost silent after Ou-K'ong, though cultural relations between India and China were continued. But on this occasion, of course, after a good number of years, Mohammedan writers came to our help. The early accounts of Al-Mas'udi, Al-Quzwani, Al-Idrisi provide a very brief information about Kasmira. These accounts clearly show that Mahommedan writers did not know much about Kasmira. It was so because they had no access to the valley and Islam was not penetrated into Kasmira. The big rocky barrier of Kasmira did not allow Mohammedan conquerors to enter the valley. It is, however, interesting that in spite of these handicaps Alberuni in the first quarter of eleventh century A.D. (1017-30) gives a vivid description of Kasmira. Alberuni came to India accompanying Mahmud of Ghazni. He was a great scholar and was greatly interested in Hindu sciences. As Kasmira became a big centre of art and science at his time he naturally turned his attention to Kasmira. He tells us that when Mahmud invaded India proper, oppressed Hindus migrated to distant places, e.g., Kasmira and Banarasa where Mohammedans still could not reach.⁸ However, he had some personal contact with Kasmira, probably through Kasmiri pandits. Besides giving geographical situation of Kasmira Alberuni accounts for its political divisions also. He refers to a few Kasmirian forts and cities and describes an important gate to enter Kasmira. He further says that along with Jhelum valley "you enter the plain and reach in two more days Addishtan, the capital of Kasmira, passing on the road the village Ushkara." Dr. Stein believes that by Addishtan Alberuni meant Srinagara.⁹

So far we have discussed only foreign sources. Indian and local notices are still untouched. Indian notices, as already said, do not provide sufficient material for our study. Indians, perhaps, had very little intercourse with Kasmira. The seclusion of Kasmira may be one of the reasons for lack of its relations with India proper. Panini, however, mentions

8. Alberuni's *India* (trans. Sachau), I, p. 22.

9. *Anc. Geog. Kasm.*, p. 25.

the name Kasmira among the names of various Gazas in his *Ashtadhyayi*. Patanjali, the commentator of Panini's grammar also refers to this land. The Mahabharata and the Puranas are also generally silent except for a brief mention of the kingdom of Kasmira among the nations situated in the north of India.¹⁰ Indian writers sometimes showed their utter ignorance of even Kasmira's location.¹¹

Kasmira's own local accounts are the best source of our subject. India has always lacked historians in the past with the exception of the authors of the Puranas. But this statement does not apply to the case of Kasmira as she can boast of her many historians who kept a continuous record of her history. In their accounts they supply numerous data regarding ancient history and geography of Kasmira. Fortunately these records are still extant. Thanks to the isolated position of Kasmira that saved these precious records from great political upheavals of India.

Among various indigenous records of Kasmira top priority must be given to *Rajatarangini* the immortal work of Kasmira's greatest historian Kalhana,¹² who wrote it in the middle of 12th century A.D. (1148-49). *Rajatarangini* is an excellent book on Kasmira's history and geography. It was on the basis of this work scholars like Sir Alexander Cunningham and Sir Aurel Stein carried out their great researches on the topography of ancient Kasmira. Information derived from *Rajatarangini* is manifold. Firstly, numerous places have here been referred to as the *Tirths*. "Considering the great attention," writes Dr. Stein, "which the worship of holy places has at all times claimed in Kasmira we may well speak first of the notices which appertain to the *Topographia sacra* of the valley. Kasmira has from early times to the present day been a land abundantly endowed with holy sites and objects of pilgrimages. Kalhana duly emphasizes this fact when he speaks . . . of Kasmira as a country

'where there is not a space as large as a grain of sesamum without a Tirtha.'

"Time and even the conversion to Islam of great majority of the population has changed but little in this respect. For, besides the great Tirtha which retain a fair share of their former renown and popularity, there is scarcely a village which has not its sacred spring or grove for the Hindu and Ziarat for the Mohammedan."¹³

Secondly, several places, famous gates (drangas), roads and forts, etc., have also been referred to in *Rajatarangini*. Thirdly, the work gives the name of those places or rivers where or along which monuments such as temples, viharas, bridges and other buildings were constructed by the rulers of Kasmira. Fortunately, numerous springs and rivers have also been mentioned. Thus we find that in order to have a proper understanding of Kasmira's history and geography *Rajatarangini* is indispensable.

Next to Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* come the works of Jonaraja and Bilhana, Srivara, Prajñabhatta and Suka. These works are of later dates and are inferior to *Rajatarangini* in every respect. However, these works give almost correct information about Kasmira's topography.

Besides the above-mentioned historians great poets of ancient Kasmira have also written about their country. Among the works of such poets *Lokaprakasa* of Kshemendra deserves notice. Kshemendra flourished in the middle of eleventh century A.D. His *Lokaprakasha*, as it is found today, is definitely not genuine for it contains Persian words which were probably added to it in the 17th century A.D. However, some of its passages are really the composition of Kshemendra. *Lokaprakasa* gives a list of Kasmiri parganas. Another work of Kshemendra is *Samayamatika* which provides the names and topography of various places of Kasmira.

Still going back to olden times we get another important work that provides ample material. This is Nilamata Puranam. Prof. Buhler believes that in its extant form Nilamata Puranam could not be older than the sixth century A.D.¹⁴ This Purana refers to the names

10. *Bhag. Pur.*, XII, 1; also *Vayu Pur.*, XLV, 120; XLII, 45; *Padma Pur.*, I. VI., 48; etc.

11. Varahamihira: *Brihatsamhita*, XIV, 29.

12. Kalhana was a native of Kasmira. *Rajatarangini* gives an authenticated history of Kasmira.

13. Stein, M. A.: *Anc. Geog. Kasm.*, pp. 31-32.

14. Buhler: *Report*, p. 40.

of sacred places and springs for pilgrimage. Besides, this Purana provides the remotest glimpses of Kasmira's history.

In absence of epigraphic records in Kas-

mira, the literary sources, as mentioned above, become very important. But sometimes local traditions fill up the lacunae caused by the absence of epigraphs and literary sources.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

INDIA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM OR THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT (1905-1906): By Haridas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee. Published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. Calcutta. 1958. Pp. 256. Price Rs. 7.50.

This is another valuable joint literary venture of the two young historians who seem to have specialised in unfolding the history of the glorious part played by Bengal in the early decades of this century for the freedom of our motherland. It deals with the origin and progress (1905-06) of the once-famous Swadeshi Movement in Bengal which, as the authors rightly observe (Preface p. 8, cf. pp. 200-06), may be taken as India's first fight for freedom in the sense that it involved the substitution of the goal of complete independence and the method of non-co-operation and passive resistance for the old ideal and technique of the Indian National Congress. The work shows the characteristic qualities of the authors, their complete mastery of material, both primary and secondary (in so far as it is available), their careful sifting of the evidence and their presentation of arguments and conclusions in a lucid style. The scope of the work may be judged from a summary of its contents. After showing how the partition of Bengal was launched by an arbitrary act of Lord Curzon on August 7, 1905 (Chapter I), the authors trace in meticulous detail the stirring history of events in the two Bengals from August 7 to October 16, 1905 (Chapter II called 'The Emergence of the Swadeshi Movement'), from Octo-

ber 16 to December 31, 1905 (Chapter III entitled 'The March of the Movement') and during 1906 (Chapter IV bearing the title 'The Growth of Extremism'). Then follows a concluding summary and estimate (Chapter V entitled 'The Ideas of 1905'). In the course of this survey the authors have done ample justice to the various facets of the movement (political, economic and educational) as well as the very valuable contributions made by its leaders from the start. The critical acumen of the authors is best reflected in the concluding chapter which contains (pp. 206-14) an able refutation of the charge brought by Valentine Chirol and repeated by some of our foremost publicists down to our own times that the movement assumed in course of time the character of a religious reaction. The notes at the end (pp. 215-37) show how well the sources including the Intelligence Branch records in the State Government archives, the issues of contemporary newspapers as well as unpublished diaries and memoirs have been utilised with discrimination by the joint authors. Three valuable appendices containing extracts from the writings of the late Satish Chandra Mukherjee and Aurobindo Ghose and a useful index have added to the value of this work. An appreciative foreword is contributed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. A chronological statement of events will be very welcome if and when a second edition of this fine work is called for. The second volume of this monograph continuing the history of the movement up to 1911 will be awaited with great interest.

U. N. GHOSHAL

REBELLION, 1857: *A symposium of articles by a number of writers including Shri Talmuz Khaldun, K. M. Ashraf, P. C. Joshi, Gopal Haldar, Benoy Ghosh, P. C. Gupta and others. Published by People's Publishing House, New Delhi. Pages 355. Price Rs. 12.*

The centenary celebrations of the tremendous struggle of 1857 have produced a spate of literature on that eventful chapter of our national history. The above is a new addition to this.

The book is not a finished writing by one author driving at certain conclusions, but a symposium of several articles. According to the publisher also, the book is a "collective effort to probe into the causes, character and effects of that searing outburst of national anger." Therefore, conflicting views on the same question have been expressed by different writers of the book.

The book is divided into three parts—dealing with the character of the revolt in Part I, its effect on literature in Part II, and the reactions in foreign countries in Part III.

Part I of the book is by far the most important. It contains four articles of which the articles by Talmuz Khaldun and P. C. Joshi deserve special mention. These authors belong to what is called Marxist camp. According to them the revolt was not the sporadic outburst of a number of sepoys in different parts of the country, but it symbolised a sort of national outburst for the liberation of the country from 'Firangi Raj', and broad masses of the people participated in this revolt along with the sepoys. They have taken long pains to trace the economic exploitation of the country by the Company, ruin of agriculture, chronic famine and breakdown of social communes—the classical form of Indian village life. The motive power of the revolt was provided by these causes and our countrymen stood behind the sepoys in throwing away the foreign yoke at that early period of our history.

But in delineating the theme, several writers have so much contradicted themselves, that it is difficult for the reader to come to a definite understanding on any aspect of the matter. Take as an instance, the role of the feudal princes who led the revolt. Criticising the views of Nehru that "essentially it was a feudal outburst . . . and not by fighting for a lost cause, the feudal order, would freedom come," and the views of Dr. Sen that the feudal princes "waged a counter-revolution," P. C. Joshi has commented that "it comes to this that the British Government though alien, was effecting

a "social revolution" and the leaders of 1857 were staging a "counter-revolution." He comments further "one wonders then why did the Indian people force the British rulers to quit India, why did not press them to stay on another hundred years to complete the 'social revolution' and build socialism for us" (pages 180-181). But the truth is this that even Karl Marx has admitted that the British rule had a regenerating influence on Indian society in spite of its naked exploitation. Moreover, Joshi should have considered that the question of 'building socialism' at that distant past did not arise at all. So he could refrain from uttering a cheap gibe at the national movement that grew afterwards. Even Gopal Haldar trying to explain why Bengali intelligentsia did not welcome the revolt has said, "An intelligentsia as mature as that we know, could not allow itself to be swerved from its liberal bourgeois policy by what it conceived to be an adventurist, haphazard and spontaneous *feudal-reactionary* military rising" (page 260). So, Gopal Haldar has sided more with the views of Nehru and Sen than Joshi.

In spite of all these defects, the book makes an interesting reading and will be a welcome addition for understanding the significance of one of the most eventful and glorious chapters of our national history.

X

THE ILLUSION OF THE EPOCH: *By H. B. Acton. Published by Beacon Press, Boston.*

This book is an exposition of the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism based on the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and at the same time it is a detailed criticism of its main tenets. Prof. Acton has eminently succeeded in offering a rational understanding and critical discussion of the difficult subject. He has been critical of Marxism-Leninism but nowhere has he raised his voice in anger. A notable feature of the book is the attempt to compare Marxism-Leninism with other philosophical outlooks. The author has very ably explained and distinguished between the politico-legal superstructure and the ideological superstructure of Marxism. He has pointed out the hollowness of the Marxist view that no one who does not actively promote the proletarian cause has succeeded in gaining a scientific understanding of society. Prof. Acton has given a masterly analysis of Marxist ethics. He concludes that for all that Marxists say about their views being based on observed

facts in the capitalist world, in fact, their future Communism is ever more out of touch with human realities than are the speculations of the Utopians whom they criticise. Marxism is Utopianism with Communist Party as a visible and authoritative interpreter of the doctrine striving to obtain supreme power. Young people who cherish Communist ideals will profit from a study of this well-balanced and remarkable book.

D. B.

FRENCH

LES MIGRATIONS DES PEUPLES: ESSAI SUR LA MOBILITE GEOGRAPHIQUE: By Max Sorre. Flammarion, Paris, 1955. Pp. 261. Price 675 frs.

"Drop anchor anywhere and the anchor will drag—that is, if your soul is a limitless, fathomless sea, and not a dogpound." Civilization is so new a thing in history that many of man's deepest instincts are still primitive. There is a lurking nomadism in most urban dwellers, a restlessness and a desire to throw off the monotony of a settled life although this migratory impulse sometimes conflicts with the deeply felt need to put down roots, to fix oneself to the soil.

"Migration" covers a variety of things—from the seasonal movement of tourists after the sun to the rural exodus of workers to towns in search of work or a movement of people who wish to effect a permanent change of residence from one State to another. Max Sorre who is a professor at the Sorbonne approaches the subject as a geographer and ecologist; he, therefore, takes as his starting point the classic Greek concept of the "oekumene"—the space occupied by man. Thus, while he studies in detail migration in all its aspects, permanent and temporary, voluntary and forced, rhythmic and seasonal, his basic thesis is that migration is in effect man's reaction to his material surroundings and at the same time a product of each individual's migratory impulse. However, startling it may sound, in any broad study of mankind the truth seems to be that movement alone is a reality and the impression of a fixed habitat of a community is illusory. There is always a tendency towards disequilibrium between the cohesion of a group and its needs. Needs

vary with the standard of living and this itself varies with the aims of the group.

Apart from the vast disorganised panic movements in time of war, invasion, famine, religious proselytism, the motive behind most currents of migration is economic. Before people move, as Sorre emphasises, the would-be migrants develop an impelling conviction that there is a happier existence elsewhere and their present misery is insupportable.

No doubt, the need to search for food, accentuated in later times by the nomadic form of agricultural practice, just as encouraged in earlier times by the geological conditions of the receding Ice Age, has been the determining cause of migration. Climatic factors have been in the past, as today, one of the factors behind migration. It has often been said that the hordes of nomad Mongols from the deserts and the steppes of Central Asia which swept in waves eastwards and westwards for centuries were set on the move by a progressive drying up of their pastoral lands. Professor Sorre does not find support for the view, either in geography or in history, that changes in climate have caused migrations; he rather believes that climatic factors have merely influenced migrations.

Can population pressure be relieved by migrations? Professor Sorre has found that historically long-term demographic problems have rarely been solved by migration. Ireland is practically the one country where emigration combined with a high fertility rate has actually led to a constant decline in population for a century. Puerto Rico with free immigration into the United States had not succeeded in raising its standards of living as it was burdened by a large and increasing population until very recently when a slow decline in the natural increase became evident.

In spite of the many barriers to it, political and social, migration is taking place all the time. It raises formidable problems, racial, cultural and economic. It has far-reaching effects on the wage-structure in the native as well as in the adopted countries. It has a distinct influence on economic factors such as accumulation of capital. For a proper appreciation of the economic implications one can

do no better than turn to the recent publication *Economics of International Migration* (Proceedings of a Conference held by the International Economic Association) edited by Brinley Thomas. But Professor Scree has not approached the problem from the standpoint of an economist. He has taken the whole of mankind as his field. The conclusions tend naturally to be broad and on humanistic lines. The object of his book appears to be an impassioned plea for world-wide action to aid international migration.

MARGARET BASU

SANSKRIT

VEDANTA PARIBHASA OF DHARMA-RAJA ADHVARINDRA. *Translated and Annotated By Swami Madhavananda, Second Edition. The Ramakrishna Mission Sarada Peetha, Behur Math, Dt. Howrah. Price, Rs. 3.*

VIVEKA-CHUDAMANI OF SRI SANKARACHARYA. *Text, with English Translation, Notes and Index. By Swami Madhavananda. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, D. Almora, Himalayas. Price. Rs. 3/-.*

The Ramakrishna Mission in the midst of its various useful social activities is doing much laudable work in popularising important aspects of Indian culture in different ways. One of these is the publication of well-known Sanskrit books especially of a philosophical and spiritual type with text, English translation and Notes. The publications of the Advaita Ashrama deserve special mention in this connection. Some of these have passed through a number of editions indicating their popular appreciation. Among these works of translation we have several including the two under review from the pen of Swami Madhavananda. The Swamiji has taken upon himself the hard task of translating and making accessible to the general reader who does not possess sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit difficult but important philosophical texts composed in the sacred language of India. His translation of the Nyaya-Vaisesika treatise *Bhasa-pariccheda* with the *Siddhantamuktavali* was a valuable contribution in this line. This is followed by the *Vedantaparibhasa* which is a well-known manual very popular among students of Vedanta. The work is rather terse and full of abstruse discussions. The learned translator is to be congratulated on his commendable attempt

to make its contents clear to the inquisitive reader as far as possible through translation and notes.

The *Vivekachudamani* which is running through its fifth edition was first published in book form in 1921. Another translation accompanied by the text was published by the Theosophical Publishing House of Adyar, Madras, in 1932 and it was noticed in these pages in January, 1935. The Swamiji's translation is generally lucid and the edition is handsome and useful to the general reader in making acquaintance with an exquisite work containing the gists of the tenets of Advaita Vedanta.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

JEEVANA KI PAHELI: *By Annie Besant. Pp. 81. Price 12 annas.*

RAJAYOGA KE MULA TATWA: *By R. S. Bhagawat. Pp. 202. Price Rs. 1-12.*

Both Published by Ananda Prakashana Ltd. Banaras, I.

The first is a new Hindi translation by Shri Jaleshwara Prasada of *The Riddle of Life* by Annie Besant, the great Theosophist. The riddle is "solved" in accordance with the ancient philosophy of theosophy, otherwise known as the Divine Wisdom. Accordingly, Re-incarnation, *Karma*, man and his bodies, etc., such are the basic themes expounded in the book.

The second is a Hindi version, jointly by Shri Mahesh Chandra Sastri and Shri B. Keshawachandra of the author's original, in Marathi, on the subject of the fundamentals of *Yoga* and its practice. The emphasis is rightly laid on *Rajayoga*, as contradistinguished from *Hatha-yoga*.

Both the books are life-chastener and comforter.

G. M.

GUJARATI

BAPUNE PAGLE PAGLE: *By Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1957. Rupees Two and annas eight only.*

This is the Gujarati translation, rendered from Hindi by Karimbhai Borah, a book of reminiscences of Mahatmaji divided into 36 sections. Dr. Rajendra Prasad's reminiscences of Mahatmaji will always carry an importance

with it. 'Tracing the footsteps of Gandhi' will therefore be read with interest not only by the adherents of Gandhiji but also by the student of the modern history of India for whom the years 1915-47 are packed with significant facts. Dr. Prasad has already detailed them in his

autobiography, but they bear being re-told from this special view-point, in which Gandhiji and his theories have been in more detail than in ordinary.

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Indian Periodicals

Science and Human Wisdom

Professor Sidney Hook writes in the *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture*:

The key words of modern times are 'revolution' and 'crisis'. 'Revolution' signifies transformation; 'crisis' an acute situation requiring choice and resolution. Revolutions are usually the preludes to crisis. Whether we deplore it or welcome it we are living in the greatest era of revolutionary transformation in human history. This revolutionary transformation is the effect of a convergent series of related revolutions—political, national, economic, and technological.

The political and national revolutions are the most dramatic but not the most fundamental. The political revolution expresses the principle that all adults, who are affected by the decisions of government, should have some voice in influencing those decisions. The national revolution is expressed in the principle of national self-determination. It repudiates the view that any nation has the moral or political authority to be the arbiter of the destinies of another.

The economic revolution of modern times is based upon the conception that the welfare of the entire community is a charge upon the government. It must be planned along certain strategic lines with reference to the available and potential resources. Such planning would be inadequate, and sometimes impossible, without the technological revolution. The technological revolution confronts us at every turn. Yesterday's miracle is today's commonplace. Benjamin Franklin and Karl Marx defined man as a tool-making animal, but the difference between the technology of primitive man and the modern man is that modern technology is based on science and therefore invention is accelerative and cumulative. Invention itself, as Whitehead puts it, becomes institutionalized. Napoleon the Great, in all his pomp and glory, could not travel from Rome to

Paris faster than Julius Caesar did almost two thousand years before him. Since Napoleon's day the time has been reduced to an hour.

GROWTH OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

At the basis of all these revolutionary changes is the scientific revolution, by which I mean the reliance upon the pattern of experimental inquiry to discover truths about the nature of Nature, the nature of society, and the nature of the human body and mind. By saying that the scientific revolution is at the basis of all these changes either directly or indirectly, I do not mean to deny reciprocal influences among them. However, an analytical and statistical study of the complex of changes will, I am convinced, establish the fact that the scientific revolution, whose beginnings are found in the seventeenth century, is by far the strongest component in the complicated pattern of modern life.

This scientific revolution has changed man's picture of himself and the conception of his role in the universe. He no longer sees himself as a creature who necessarily must suffer in a world of divine decree. He is no longer a passive, contemplative spirit, whose vocation is to make a survey of all time and all existence. The conception of man, which emerges from modern science, is one of a creator, a maker, and a doer. No longer a pawn of fate, he is a focus of genuine novelty in the world. By virtue of the fact that scientific knowledge is experimental, the universe, in the most literal sense, is changed whenever the frontiers of knowledge are widened. Scientific knowledge is therefore transformative. The increase of knowledge entails increase of power and therefore of objective responsibility. Man acquires the role of a kind of minor deity, capable of changing parts of the physical and social world, by commanding and transforming the natural elements at will. The late Dr. John von Neumann predicted that in the near future man, like the Homeric deities on Mt. Olympus, would be able to control even the weather—a power, which in the long

run, may turn out to be of greater fearfulness than any nuclear weapon. A 'cold war' would take on a new meaning if one could design a local 'ice age' in which to cool off a restless enemy.

But for all their power, will men be any wiser than the Homeric gods who acted like Greek children? It is obvious that since the seventeenth century, growth in human power and scientific knowledge has not been commensurate with growth in human wisdom. Will it be any different in the future? Indeed, there are voices, like those of Aldous Huxley, who prophesy that it will be worse. They assert that all knowledge does is to add to human power and that scientific knowledge of man's body and mind, combined with our knowledge of the physical world, will merely extend the power of man over man. They predict that the scientific revolution will result in a most terrible tyranny over man, because it puts into unwise hands the power to condition, recondition, and 'brain-wash' the human mind. By the use of chemicals, of subconscious and subliminal persuaders, as well as by overt propaganda, mankind can be manipulated like sheep. It is argued by some critics of science, whose eloquence borders on hysteria, that a civilization based upon science and which views scientific knowledge as the most reliable kind of knowledge, must be one of ruthless exploitation, in which all humane values are doomed to disappear.

This raises the crucial question, can the logic and ethics of scientific method itself develop an attitude of reasonableness, which will enable men to solve the human and social problems created by the impact of scientific knowledge on the world? Can the same generic *pattern* of solving problems, that has proved so successful in the solution of technical scientific questions, be applied to human affairs? I propose to answer these questions affirmatively. In passing, however, I wish to point out that until now we have not made a unified effort to approach these problems scientifically and that the methods which have been used—revelation, intuition, authority, metaphysical speculation—have not been conspicuously successful. Indeed, we face the problem because all of these alternative methods have failed.

Let us begin by examining the claim that science can give only knowledge of fact and that some other discipline—custom, religion and metaphysics—is the source of wisdom.

THE NATURE OF HUMAN WISDOM

There is a difference between knowledge and wisdom which we all recognize. We know that a man can be a learned fool, and we sometimes meet a sage who is by no means a scholar. It is not so easy to state the precise difference between knowledge and wisdom, however. Wisdom, we are tempted to say, is found in the use of knowledge. Yes, but there is a wise use of knowledge and an unwise use. We must be knowledgeable about *something* in order to tell when use is wise or not. I conclude, therefore, that wisdom is a kind of knowledge, after all. It is knowledge about the nature of human values. A man is wise who knows what is of most worth in human experience, who knows the ways of the human heart—what gives it enduring satisfactions, the costs and consequences of its choice in happiness for himself and others. A man is wise who knows what we are likely to regret, what is better overlooked and what should never be overlooked. A man is wise who knows when to fight, when to avoid fighting, and above all, how to remove the conditions which provoke conflict and to create those which give human beings a vested interest in preserving peace.

If this is what we understand by wisdom, then the basic questions are whether value is an affair of knowledge, and if it is, whether that knowledge can be achieved by methods comparable with the methods pursued so successfully in other fields. The technological developments of recent times make these questions more momentous. They do not raise new questions of principle.

For obvious reasons, we cannot hand the gift of technology back to anyone or stem its further advance. Yet its further advance is Janus-faced—one face encourages hope of greater survival, quantitatively and qualitatively—the other face threatens human survival absolutely. No matter how ingenious the mechanism of any invention, it will never have a built-in governor or regulator guaranteeing its

use rather than abuse. Indeed, both 'use' and 'abuse' in this context are, strictly speaking, not terms applicable to technology at all. They are moral terms.

No intelligent moral judgement about the use or abuse of technology today can be made without the relevant knowledge, which only the technologist or natural scientist can supply. However, it would be a gross mistake to believe that this necessary condition is a sufficient one. To be knowledgeable about the ways of matter—about the ways of things—is not the same thing as being wise about the ways of men, their emotions and fears, their behaviour in crowds and as creatures with historical memories.

HOW SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE MAY INFLUENCE HUMAN JUDGEMENT

There are some who go from the true proposition that wise statesmanship in the modern world is impossible without informed awareness of the discoveries of modern science, to the false proposition that scientists must be considered the chief 'advisers to humanity', invested with authority and responsibility in judging the human affairs affected by their discoveries. This is a dangerous error and based on a false conception of scientific method. The pattern of scientific thinking is the same in every field, but we know that there is no automatic transfer of training or power from one field to another, that not only are subject-matters and techniques different in different fields but specific criteria of evidence. Scientists, who have no preparation in politics and history, are hardly more qualified to discuss what Churchill once called the secret of Soviet policy (or the secret of Middle Eastern or Far Eastern policy) than historians and lawyers as such to discuss the secrets of the atom.

There is sometimes a hidden premise behind this assumption that the thinking of the natural scientist gives us the paradigm of rationality in human affairs. This is made explicit in an article by the gentle Max Born, a Noble Prize-winning physicist. Natural scientists, he claims, should be used in politics and administration because they are 'less dogmatic and more open to argument than people trained in law or classics.' The evidence he offers, as well as the evidence he

ignores, betrays the unscientific character of his generalizations. Not only is it true that, as a rule, scientists in the past have rarely been in more agreement with each other about questions of foreign policy than others; the record shows that with respect to some questions on which they were pretty much agreed—for example, their expectation of Soviet behaviour after the war—they have been demonstrably wrong. With respect to the nature of Communism and developments in foreign affairs involving Communism, the record shows that the leaders of American labour have been far wiser, by and large, than the leaders of American science, of whom (with some notable exceptions) Einstein was representative. The leaders of labour had a double advantage. They knew something about the subject and they also had some first-hand experience in dealing with Communist duplicity. Workers' freedom is freedom to strike—workers realize that they are subjected to forced labour or slavery under Communism.

Again, with some exceptions, scientists tend to exhibit the defects of their virtues when they go from the field of scientific research to the field of politics, which requires decisions and rarely permits the luxury of suspended judgement, until the decisive evidence is at hand. The initial assumption which the scientist makes of integrity and good faith in accepting a report in order to check it he cannot always make in politics. It is true that lawyers professionally are not interested in establishing the truth but in winning a case, and they care little which side of the case it is. However, as judges and jurists, lawyers have shown great wisdom in reconciling the inescapable conflict of legitimate claims. The nature of the juridical concern—its sensitiveness to history, to intent and motive, to individualization whether of judgement or punishment, to the dual values of justice in the individual case and certainly in the community—brings law closer to politics than physical science. Law as a system of thought and decision is open to argument and change, as its history shows, but for obvious reasons it cannot abandon a principle as readily as a scientist can discard a theory. Whether scholars trained in the classics or humanities are less open to argument and less tolerant of intellectual difference

than scientists would be hard to establish, unless we specified more carefully in what fields and on what questions.

In the quest of wisdom, it seems to me absurd to fall victim to vocational or professional imperialism and to make invidious distinctions between the different disciplines. In every field of knowledge, we can distinguish between good and bad thinking, between scientific and unscientific thinking. Wisdom is found in the recognition and solution of life's problems. It is the bearing it has on these problems which determines whether the knowledge of a field is relevant to its solution or not. Our best hope of gaining wisdom is to bring the clearest thinking from every relevant field of knowledge to bear on the problem at hand. If this is true, it is just as mistaken to believe that statesmen by themselves can solve the great questions of war, peace, and human welfare in this age of explosive technology, without consulting technologists, scientists, jurists and psychologists, as it is to believe that scientists can go off by themselves in a special huddle and return with Jove-like pronouncements about what mankind must believe or practise in order to be saved.

SYSTEMATIC INQUIRY IN THE SOLUTION OF HUMAN PROBLEMS

It is a commonplace of formal logic that we cannot deduce what should be from premises which describe only what is. However, it is a fact of experience that our value commitments are embedded in the problems which we are called upon to solve; part of the solution consists in discovering what those commitments really are, whether we can induce others to share them, and whether they are worth sustaining in particular situations. Wisdom consists not in being wise only about means, or only about ends, but about ends-and-means in their togetherness, whenever we are asked or ask ourselves, 'What should we do?' When we ask such a question in a concrete historical context, then the only way we can answer it is by inquiry into the probable consequences of alternative modes of action. Facts alone do not determine policy because value commitments are involved in every policy. Once this is recognized, what else can or should 'determine' policy if not the facts in the case? Can a reasonable man, in

hold a policy including the consequences of holding the policy, no matter what the facts are? ('Determine' here of course, does not mean 'logically entail'.)

The basic challenge to this view comes from those who deny that we can be wise or intelligent or even rational about our ends. 'There is no such thing,' says Bertrand Russell, 'as an irrational end except in the sense of one that is impossible of realization.' Surely not all ends that are possible of realization are therefore rational! Is there no wise or foolish choice among ends all of which are possible of realization? Why is it necessarily irrational to pursue an end that is impossible of realization? This assumes that in normal circumstances, once we understand that we cannot get what we want, it is not worth pursuing. This is not a strictly logical proposition. It is not self-contradictory to pursue an impossible end, but we may discover that the pursuit of an unrealizable end is not worthwhile, because it is too time-consuming and frustrating. We then abandon our aim. Let us suppose our end is possible of achievement and we discover that the effort necessary to achieve it costs us too much, hurts us too much, bores us too much, in short, gets in the way of our other ends whose desirability we had taken for granted. Would it not then become as irrational to pursue as the end which is impossible of realization? Is it not perfectly natural way of speaking to assert sometimes that a man's ideal is an illusion, his goal mistaken, his desire undesirable? Russell mistakes a purely logical point for one of ethics. However, where there is no *summum bonum*, where there is no one all-sanctifying and final end, the logic does not apply. If we recognize that we are committed to plural ends, that we take our problems one at a time, that the situations in which we make decisions are located within a historical process, we can be rational or intelligent about ends as well as about means.

If we cannot be intelligent about our ends, there is neither wisdom nor foolishness. If we are unwise about our ends, then more often than not we will regret our choices and make those we love regret them, too.

One thing seems to be unquestionable.

of foolishness may end life in this world once and for all, but there can be no corresponding great piece of wisdom which will save us the trouble of further thinking. So long as vision outstrips reach, ambition, desire, resources, so long as men find greater satisfactions in commanding and controlling men, than in co-operation to create and discover new occasions for shared joys, men will have troubles and problems. They will need to be solved daily not so much by inherited or revealed wisdom as by earned wisdom, which is won only by scientific inquiry.

What does it mean to be scientific or rational about the subject-matter of wisdom? It means that we must first locate our moral problems in relation to specific and concrete situations of moral choice.

It means that we must relate our ends to the consequences of the means used. We must in turn test these consequences by their relevance to human interests. We must approach the problems which call for wisdom on at a time. There is no guarantee that universal agreement will be reached in every case. However, a solution may be objective and relative even if it is not universal. Because human beings are alike, or want to be alike, or have compatible differences within a common human nature, shared experiences may lead to commonly-accepted conclusions. Whether such conclusions are universal or not they are justifiably considered scientific, if they are won by following the underlying pattern of inquiry described above.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Sputnik's Questions

Stewart Meacham writes in *Unity*, November-December, 1958:

Univac, the electronic brain, and Sputnik, the man-made satellite, come from opposite sides of the Iron Curtain, but they have much in common. Both represent great technological achievement. Both are portents of change in human society.

Univac promises the automation age, when factories, offices, and transportation systems, staffed only by a few skilled technicians, will operate by push button. Sputnik promises the outer space age, when space platforms, trips to the moon, journeys to Mars, and no one knows what else, will be commonplace. Univac answers the most difficult questions at lightning speed. Sputnik asks the most difficult questions at 18,000 miles per hour.

Some of Sputnik's more obvious questions reflect our own frustration. Why did Russia "beat us to the punch"? Was it because of rivalry among the armed forces? Is this the price we must pay for belittling and harassing scientists as eggheads and subversives? Is more money needed for research and experimentation? How much political hay will the Democrats make at the expense of the Republicans, and *vice versa*?

Other questions are less obvious, but possibly more important. We are told that we must be prepared for economic sacrifice and belt-tightening if we are to "catch up." If this is true, who will sacrifice what? Will airplane, rocket and munitions makers sacrifice some of their cost-plus profit margins? Will the steel industry, the automobile manufacturers, the appliance companies, and the food processors sacrifice their skyrocketing prices? Will the oil companies sacrifice their special tax concessions? Will the loan companies and the banks sacrifice their recent rate increases on mortgages?

Or is the sacrificing all to come from the working people, some of whom already are being forced to sacrifice jobs and sav-

ings until new defense appropriations are made, or rockets replace aircraft on the assembly lines, and they are rescued from the ranks of the unemployed? Or is the sacrificing to be done by the people with fixed incomes whose small salaries and pensions shrink as prices spiral upward?

What about diplomacy and our friends overseas? Will winning the race to the moon solve Asia's economic problems? Will it feed Pakistan's landless villagers? Will it build hydro-electric dams in India? Will it bring self-government to the people of Kenya or the Belgian Congo? Will it end the terror in Algeria? Will it solve the question of Middle East oil? Will it set the slaves of Saudi Arabia free, bring free trade unions to Spain, protect freedom of press in Formosa, or provide security from the police to the legislators of South Korea? Just who will be remembered and who forgotten as we race Russia into outer space?

During the days of our supposed pre-eminence in weapons, we felt that our "position of strength" made diplomacy unimportant. We became masters of "brinkmanship" which is another word for bluff and bluster with a loaded gun. Today, in the period of our supposed deficiency in weapons (it would take us all of three hours to wipe out every city in Russia!) our "position of weakness" makes diplomacy impossible. We must play it tough until we can catch up.

At this rate when does diplomacy become possible? One day we are so strong we do not have to bargain. The next day we are so weak we cannot afford to. Where does this process lead?

And what about that troublesome word "morals"? What kind of morality is it where right and wrong are decided by the fastest rockets and the biggest warheads? If this is morality, what is immorality?

These are Sputnik's questions. But Sputnik, a man-made thing, can do no more than pose them, fling them far out into space and fly on. The answers must come from man himself, reached in terms

of faith in God and belief in humanity and justice, which alone can provide the freedom and security for which the people of the world are hungry today.

Germany's Largest Industrial City

Dr. Wilhelm Bornert, President of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Berlin, observes the following in the special Berlin issue of *The Magazine of the German Federal Republic*:

More than 300,000 men and women work in West Berlin's industries. Seen in terms of employment figures, West Berlin is the largest industrial city of Germany. The diverse manufacturing programme of its industries enables it to offer a wide variety of investment and consumer goods. Berlin has always specialized in supplying products of high quality. The city is interested more than ever in sending these products to all parts of the world, for it is from these that it must earn its living. As a result of the partition of Germany, Berlin no longer receives the reward of its services in her capacity as Germany's capital, so that industry is to-day her principal basis of existence. The success of the reconstruction drive after the war, and which was greatly assisted by American credit aid, can best be expressed by the trend of West Berlin's industry which, after attaining a turnover of 1,800 million DM in 1950 will probably amount to 7,000 million DM in 1958. Exports, of which industrial sales accounted for 11 per cent last year, rose from 100 million DM in 1950 to 850 million DM in 1957. There are numerous firms in West Berlin which export a very considerable part of their production and are, in fact, specially equipped for operating in the export field.

Electrical engineering is the most important of West Berlin's industries and is primarily devoted to the supply of investment goods. Its programme ranges on one hand from heavy turbines and generators to the finest of measuring devices and on the other, from deep-sea cables to high-quality communications equipment. Since the steel and metal-working trades account for more than half of West Berlin's industrial turnover and about three-fifths of all industrially employed persons work in capital goods, these products take first place in exports. The extensive programme of the machine-building industry, includes machine tools, office machinery, conveyors, motors, printing machinery, machines for the food industry and

paper working and also includes many interesting new developments which have had remarkable success. Precision mechanics and optics, surgical and hospital apparatus, microscopes, photographic requirements, control and measuring equipment as well as laboratory furnishings have also been able to report good export results. The pharmaceutical industry is another important exporter. Paper products, musical instruments, glass and ceramics, costume jewellery, confectionery, beer and spirits are evidence of the fact that West Berlin can offer a very wide variety of consumer goods. West Berlin has once again become the leading fashion centre. With its fashionable creations, the ladies' ready-to-wear garment industry is making great efforts to win its place in foreign markets. The fact that a large number of local firms have been able to plan and erect complete production plants abroad has been of great significance for the development of exports generally.

Whoever wishes to know what West Berlin can supply and be informed about the products of individual firms is invited to call on the Berlin Marketing Council. This is a non-profit organisation set up jointly by business people and the authorities with the object of facilitating contact with West Berlin's manufacturers. The Berlin Marketing Council (Berliner Absatz Organisation—BAO), which is affiliated with the Berlin Chamber of Industry and Commerce, charges no fees for its services. The numerous enquiries from German and foreign customers are passed on to suitable firms for appropriate action. The Suppliers Directory Service of the BAO with its wide-experience has proved of great value to foreign businessmen as well as to Berlin manufacturers. If a foreign Company should wish to take up representation of one of West Berlin's firms, the BAO will gladly act as go-between. A number of efficient West Berlin companies are as yet without representation in certain countries and are still able to add exclusive agents to their network of distributors.

West Berlin itself is an interesting market. 2.2 million people live here, of whom 1 million are gainfully employed. Direct imports during the past year amounted to 640 million DM. The purchasing power of West Berlin's population is considerably strengthened by subsidies granted by the Federal Republic, a net amount of about 1,500 million DM of purchasing power being directed annually to West Berlin. This fact is of major importance in the economic life of the city. As a result of

this added purchasing power, West Berlin is in a position to buy more goods than it sells to West Germany and other countries. The assistance rendered by the Federal Republic is contributed by West German taxpayers, thus helping Berlin to fulfill its political role. Whoever buys in West Berlin does his share in strengthening the economy of the city which is the only metropolis cut off entirely from its hinterland. West Berlin is intended to be the show-window of the Western world. For this reason particular emphasis is placed on the exhibitions which are held there, especially the German Industries Exhibition as well as the Agricultural Exhibition. Foreign exhibitors are always well represented at these events.

Hours of Work in Agriculture

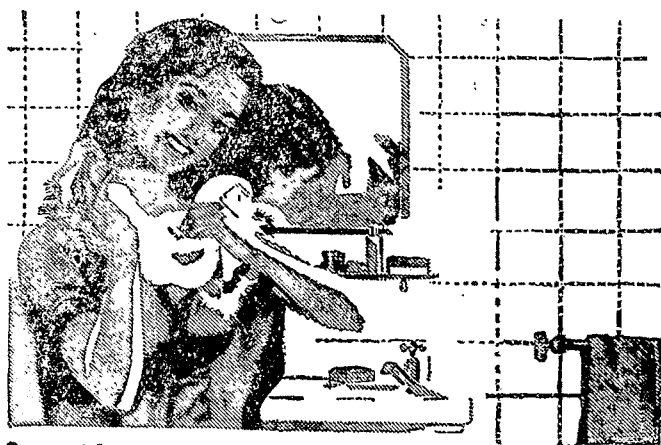
The following extract is taken from the *International Labour Review*, June, 1958:

Over the past quarter of a century, hours of work in agriculture have tended to fall, partly because of the technical revolution and the changed outlook in the countryside, and partly also because of statutory regulation in an increasing number of countries. Today there are over 40 countries with regulations which in one way or another curtail hours of

work either for all wage earners in farming or for certain classes only.

It is also interesting and significant that the practice of regulating hours of work in agriculture should have continued to spread steadily in recent years. Thus, restrictions were imposed in 1948 in Austria, Bulgaria, France, Haiti, Norway and Yugoslavia; in 1949 in the German Democratic Republic and Hungary; in 1950 in Rumania; in 1951 in India (plantations), Indonesia and Israel; in 1952 in Belgium; in 1953 in Viet-Nam; and in 1956 in Tunisia.

Some countries have also tightened up their existing regulations, e.g., Belgium, where the maximum of 2,850 hours per year, which had been fixed in 1952, was lowered to 2,700 by order of the appropriate joint committee on 3 February 1954; Bulgaria, where normal hours of work, which under the 1948 ordinance had been fixed at ten a day, were lowered to eight under the 1951 Act, although a decree was issued in 1952 permitting a normal ten-hours day during certain peak periods; Sweden, where the new regulations passed in 1957 stated that the total annual maximum will be reduced to 2,350 hours in 1958 (from 2,420 previously), to 2,300 hours in 1959 and to only 2,250 in 1960;



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Poland, where the annual total for workers on state farms was recently lowered from 2,850 hours to 2,400; and lastly Yugoslavia, where a decree was issued in December 1957 establishing an upper limit of 2,400 hours as against 2,750 hours laid down in the 1949 regulations.

The extent of these regulations proves that it is now very often possible to reduce the number of hours worked in agriculture subject, however, to various qualifications discussed earlier, namely natural and particularly climatic conditions, which circumscribe farming everywhere; the state of the employment market and the labour supply, which may make it necessary to work longer hours if labour is scarce; the size and type of holdings, which have a direct influence on the distribution of work over the year; mechanisation and modernisation, which can cut the time needed for any given operation; economic conditions, variations in which lead to rises or falls in hours of work; and finally social conditions, for a people who are satisfied with a low standard of living will not exert themselves as much as a people with greater needs.

Although the regulations only apply to wage earners, independent farmers also feel their effect because they and their families also try to find room for some leisure, if only to counteract the tendency of family members to leave the farm, and in practice their hours of work are therefore shorter than they used to be.

To sum up, modern techniques when properly applied make farming less time-absorbing than in the past and hours of work are becoming more or less comparable with those expected in other occupations.

Agriculture is feeling the impact—though with a considerable timelag—of the world-wide social upheavals brought about by progress in all its forms. As a result, it can no longer be looked upon as a way of life but rather as an occupation, which cannot be allowed to fall behind in the advance of social evolution.

The shortening of working hours will certainly not be enough to make farming either a prosperous or a sought-after occupation, but it will certainly be a major factor in keeping enough people on the land to supply the world's vital needs.

U. S. Specialists in India

American Labour Review, April, 1959 writes:

A group of American business specialists in the production and marketing of consumer goods was invited by the Indian Government to visit the country. The invitation was issued

at the recommendation of the U.S. Trade Mission to India in 1957.

The Indian Government has been responsive to suggestions on a broader American market, and has wasted little time in acting upon informed and valid recommendations.

At the Indian General Consulate in New York early in 1958, Egil E. Krogh, a prominent American retailer, suggested to the Consul General that Indian trade with the United States might be substantially increased if Indian handloom and handicrafts makers could get on-the-spot advice, in India, on producing and marketing goods for American consumers.

Mr. Krogh was an active member of the U.S. 1957 Trade Mission to India and his suggestion developed from his earlier experience with Indian trade. He observed that retailers, importers and manufacturers—individuals who had solved U.S. marketing problems in connection with the products of other nations—would be able to get down to the barest marketing essentials, such as product specifications, sales organization, and market potential of specific items.

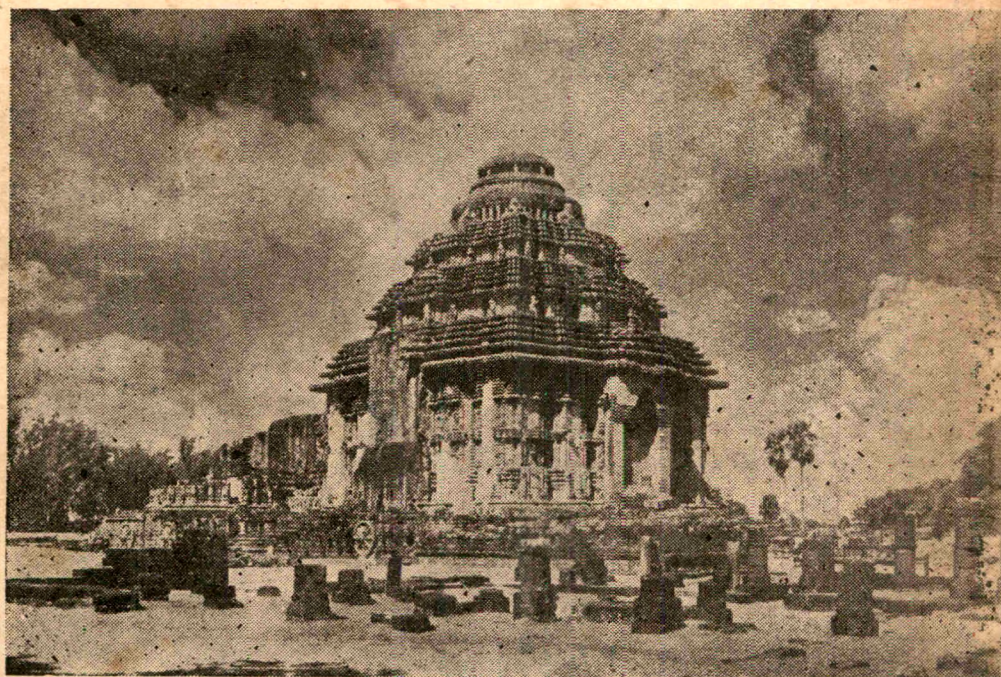
The Indian Government acted quickly on Mr. Krogh's recommendation, and chose Amos Parrish & Co., to organize a consumer goods trade mission and report on its activities. Members of the mission were chosen, and under the chairmanship of Mr. Krogh and the administrative direction of consultant Bert Kaiser, toured India for 5 weeks in October and November 1958.

In Delhi, Agra, Srinagar, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Mysore, Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, and Banaras, the American group worked closely with manufacturers, designers, merchants, and exporters. The group completed its tour impressed with the tremendous variety and considerable potential of Indian handicrafts and handlooms for American consumption, but also aware of significant distribution and production problems.

Greater stress will be laid upon the realities of selling to Americans in a forthcoming report. The opinion of all Mission members is that Indian producers and exporters are almost totally unaware of the tremendous sales effort which must be made to successfully market new products in such a complex and competitive market as the United States. The report, soon to be completed by Amos Parrish & Co., will recommend ways and means of familiarizing American buyers with Indian products, improving relations with importers, and encouraging aggressive promotion and selling by Indian firms.



Main building of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore



General view of the chariot-like monument at Konarak Temple



FROM THE WELL OF LIFE
By R. K. Sharma

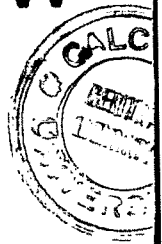
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NOTES

The Tagore Centenary

The date line for the completion of the programmes, Central and Statewise, for the Centenary Celebrations in memory of Rabindranath, is approaching fast. And with it comes the idea in our mind that the call to the public, particularly to those who have had a long and close association with the departed Poet and Sage, to take part and to prepare to celebrate the centenary, is a superfluous and purely routine gesture. The elements that are always "on the wake," in cash or otherwise, in all official or semi-official occasions, have already deeply infiltrated into the official organisation. We mean that they have managed to implant their ideas into the minds of the Powers-that-be, at New Delhi and in Calcutta. We do not know how far the other "Centres of Culture" in India have proceeded in the matter. In any case the official mind proceeds to function in stereotyped fashion all over India and we do not believe there would be any new departure from the programmes set-out in New Delhi.

Tagore's memory is going to be perpetuated in the terms of bricks and mortar or ferro-concrete and steel. Naturally, for otherwise how could those who procure and secure contracts cash-in, and how else could the kith and kin and the satellites of the Great be provided with useless but juicy jobs?

We have seen the design of the Memorial at New Delhi and we are reproducing it elsewhere in this issue of the review. Likewise we are giving the announcement of the West Bengal Government plans for the centenary.

And all we would like to say at this juncture is that we are not impressed—indeed on the contrary.

We say that Rabindranath was an Immortal, but today there are thousands who are actively engaged, here in India, in proving beyond doubt that he and his works were but transiently mortal and therefore capable of decay and distortion.

Rabindranath's music, like his literature, was based on a foundation of classics. He was trained in his early youth by the great Yadu Bhatta and other masters of Dhrupad and Khayyal. Some of his devotional songs are on pure classical model, as was publicly acknowledged by great masters of the day. Even the great Vishnu Digambar Paluskar took down the words and the notations of twenty-six of them as brilliant examples of modern composition in pure classical form. Today, thanks to the A.I.R., and hundreds of self-styled Rabindra-Sangeet teachers—some of them in Santiniketan itself—his music is being debased and bowdlerised to such an extent that even an ignoramus could impugn it freely and copiously in a premier daily. Yet there is no attempt to tape-record the pure music from the few that still treasure the originals in purity.

His literary works are being distorted in the translations and selections. There is no attempt at setting up of a real Authority in this matter. His paintings, dance-dramas and the manifold expressions of his genius, all are being subjected to a process of decomposition. And we are going hasten this process by setting up "memorials."

Public Versus the Private Sector

As India has adopted socialism in a democratic set up, difficulty has naturally arisen as to what should be the relationship between the private sector and the public sector. Prime Minister Nehru the other day extolled the virtues of public sector and affirmed that notwithstanding all faults, the public sector was superior to the private sector. The supporters of the private sector will no doubt grudge this statement of the Prime Minister. But a dispassionate view will convince them that there can be no other conclusion to the controversy that is raging in this country between the respective scope of the public sector and the private sector. The controversy lacks proper appreciation of the real situation in the country and it is that under the avowed goal of socialism, the existence of the private sector is by the sufferance of the public sector. For the story of the private sector since independence is the story mostly of black-marketing, profiteering, tax evasion, sending development finance underground, cheating foreign importers and the like. Certainly, there are good and honest industrialists and businessmen in the private sector, but their number is insignificant and they wield little or no influence over the private sector. Hence this conclusion.

Those who are the mightiest today in the private sector do not always pursue the national interest and honesty goes with them at a discount. Whether it is tea or sugar or cotton textiles, the consumers will vouchsafe to the truth that profiteering is the basis of all private trade today. Quality tea today is just a memory, although price is so high that it may be likened to a penalty for drinking tea. Leadership in industrial field has been sacrificed for temporary personal gain and the concept of social good is almost [^] Greek to the industrialists. Therefore those who fight for the private sector will fight for a lost cause. They fail to read the red light in the political horizon of the world where State socialism in some form or

other is inevitably, though slowly, bound to appear.

The private sector today lacks initiative and enterprise in nation-building industries and other activities. The initiative and leadership has naturally passed to the public sector which is embodied in the State. The State today has command over manifold resources and it can mobilise such resources from inside and outside the country. It can mobilise the unifying, morale-building achievements of a national programme of economic development. The public sector, that is, the State will provide the binding link to the people fragmented by diverse interests and bewildered by the conflicts of ideologies. When the State has assumed the responsibility for economic upliftment of the people it will have more powers and its sphere of activities is bound to be all-embracing. The lovers of individual liberty may mourn the loss of liberty of the people, but the powers of the State will continue to widen and the sphere of individualism will continue to shrink.

It is no use pitting private enterprises against the State ones. The public enterprises to-day are not faultless, they do not in any way stand for efficiency. But the public enterprises are needed for the welfare of the people and that is the only criterion by which their utility will be judged. The State will carry out the basic investments which are beyond the scope and resources of the private enterprises. Such basic investments include housing, water-supply, power and transport and generally such investments cannot all be made by private individuals since their yields spread through the community and do not readily take the form of income to the investor.

But there is another side to the question. Does Socialism then mean the total extinction of private enterprise as in the Communist World?

Pandit Nehru must be clear on this point as he has indirectly supported the totally unjustifiable campaign that is now being carried on by his myrmidons against the smaller enterprises. The campaign of course is primarily to extort bribes.

Oil Policy

Explaining the broad policy of the Government of India in the matter of mineral oils, Shri Nehru said on May 14 that primary importance would be accorded to the State participation in the field of oil exploration. The Government was not yet in a position to shoulder the entire responsibility for exploration and would, therefore, concentrate work on the best fields. In other fields, private firms might be allowed to operate provided their terms were attractive enough. The Government had also decided to set up a State undertaking for the distribution of oil to be produced in the public sector refineries in Gauhati and Barauni. He added that the Government had no intention of nationalising the system of distribution of oil and the proposed State organization would chiefly provide for Government requirements or those of specified areas. The idea of a further extension of State participation in distribution was not however altogether ruled out. The very fact that the Government had decided to enter the field was of some importance because ten per cent could become thirty, forty or even hundred per cent in course of time, the Prime Minister said. He added that a new statutory oil commission would soon be constituted with wider powers than those enjoyed by the existing Oil and Natural Gas Commission. In the meanwhile, the existing Commission would be vested with much greater authority within the limits of law to look after the work of the State-owned refineries and the distribution system.

The Government's decision will be widely welcomed because it promises to make the first breach in the foreign-monopoly over the production and distribution of oil in India. The price of oil charged by these companies has little relation to the cost of production. The price is calculated upon the cost of production in America though the oil comes from the areas bordering the Gulf of Persia where the cost of production is much lower. Last year the oil companies operating in India agreed to certain ad hoc reductions in their selling prices of certain major petroleum products. Simultaneously, the Chief Cost Accounts officer of the Government of India started an examination on the quantum and propriety of all

charges included by the companies in their selling prices of each product in the past, with a view to evolving a new price formula to cover all petroleum products marketed in, or from, this country and to arriving at an agreed break up of the items to be included in that new price formula, and the quantum of each such item. The significance of this examination can be measured by the fact that consumers in India have to pay almost two times the landed cost of imported oil and oil products which is estimated to be Rs. 95 crores. Freight, excise duties and income-tax (amounting to Rs. 45 crores) and distribution charges and companies' profit (amounting to Rs. 50 crores) account for this increase. It is the second slab (distribution charges and profits) that the official accountant was asked to examine. The report of the officer, which was to have been submitted to the Government by the end of March last, should be greatly helpful in providing a firm basis for fixing up a more rational price schedule for petroleum products in India.

Underwriting by Commercial Banks

The proposal that commercial banks in India should undertake to underwrite shares and debentures of industrial concerns may be traced to the recommendations of the Shroff Committee in 1954. Although the matter has not progressed from the stage of proposal, the issue being important often raises its head as to its possible realisation in no distant future. Recently the matter was discussed in the Indian Parliament. The proposal to set up a combine of banks to underwrite shares and debentures of industries in the private sector is reported to have been rejected by the Union Finance Minister at a meeting of the Consultative Committee of members of Parliament on April 28.

The Union Finance Minister is understood to have pointed out to the meeting that the proposal had originally been mooted by the Shroff Commission under different circumstances. At present, besides the Industrial Finance Corporations, financing of industries is also being done by the Life Insurance Corporation of India

and the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India. In view of all these institutions there is no need, nor is it considered desirable by the Government to allow banks directly or indirectly to underwrite shares or debentures beyond limits which they are now permitted to do. The progress of the Refinance Corporation was also reviewed at the meeting. The Finance Minister is reported to have told the members that the financing of medium-sized industries which have been licensed and approved by the Government, would be done by the Refinance Corporation.

It may be recalled that the Shroff Committee on Finance for the Private sector recommended in April 1954 the formation of a consortium of commercial banks for the purpose of underwriting or investing in new issues of shares and debentures of industrial concerns. The consortium is to be formed under the leadership of the Imperial Bank of India (now the State Bank). It further recommended that banks should be encouraged to invest about 5 per cent of their deposits in such shares and debentures. At that time the Reserve Bank of India was in favour of forming such a consortium with a view to augmenting the resources of the country for the purpose of financing new industrial concerns.

To further examine the proposal of the Shroff Committee, another committee was appointed consisting of the representatives from several leading banks of the country under the chairmanship of Mr. Handoo, the then Managing Director of the Imperial Bank of India. It was reported at that time that with the memory of the disaster that befell the Tata Industrial Bank during the years of the first world war, the commercial banks did not support the idea of undertaking the underwriting business. As a result, the State Bank was entrusted with some pilot scheme on an experimental basis of providing finance to some small-scale industries in the country. The matter practically lapsed in 1954 as commercial banks did not show their enthusiasm and

support over the proposal of what may be termed as mixed banking.

This time the Government rejected the idea of underwriting business by commercial banks. The Government view is that since the recommendation of the Shroff Committee in 1954 many developments have taken place which now dispense with the need of underwriting business by commercial banks. The most important development is that the Life Insurance Corporation today has come forward to underwrite shares and debentures of industrial concerns. In conjunction with the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India and also the Industrial Finance Corporation of India, the LIC last year underwrote shares of some industrial concerns. The position of underwriting business has further improved recently with the establishment of the Refinance Corporation. As regards investment in shares by commercial banks, it is reported that the Reserve Bank now does not favour such a move. Its general view is that it is neither necessary nor desirable in the existing circumstances to induce or encourage commercial banks to invest to any large extent in the debentures and shares of joint stock companies.

That Government decision in not allowing commercial banks to underwrite on a larger scale will be widely regretted both by the banking world as well as by the industries. The argument put forward by the Union Finance Minister in support of his decision is hardly tenable. The establishment of the Refinance Corporation does not in any way obviate the necessity of underwriting business on a larger scale. The scope of the Refinance Corporation is quite limited to medium-sized industries and it has nothing to do with large-scale industries that are now being set up in the private sector. India today needs large-scale industrial finance. The authorities often accuse the private sector in not being able to develop large industrial concerns. But they forget that finance—that is, development finance, is the life-blood of industries and unless that

can be arranged, industrial development will remain handicapped.

Germany in the post war years has made remarkable progress in industrial development and that has been possible on account of the development of mixed banking system in that country. Indian private industrial concerns require about Rs. 300 to 400 crores a year as development finance. For lack of institutions which are in a position to supply this amount, the pace of industrial development has slowed down in the country. Under the Third Five-Year Plan greater burden would be imposed on the private sector for the development of industries. But adequate measures for augmenting the financial resources of the country are not being taken by the authorities.

The Life Insurance Corporation undertakes underwriting as a side business and in that respect underwriting of shares and dvventures of industrial concerns is a mere subsidiary business of the Corporation. Its achievement in the field of underwriting is none too encouraging. It is however a happy augury that it has stepped into this new venture which, if followed vigorously, will remove a gap in the financial need of the country. But neither the Life Insurance Corporation nor the Industrial credit and Investment Corporation is sufficient enough to meet the requirements of finance for the industries in the private sector. Their resources are limited and their performance is also bound to be inadequate. To rely on them and also on the Finance Corporations will not solve the problem of lack of industrial finance in the country.

The combined resources of the commercial banks will provide a huge amount and the collective risk taking on a consortium basis will minimise the risk that is involved in mixed banking. A consortium of commercial banks can easily provide Rs. 100 crores a year as development finance which will accelerate the pace of industrial development in the country. The Banking Companies Act allows underwriting business and there is no reason why this should not be followed in practice within limits. Up till now the achievements

of the Industrial Finance Corporation, the Life Insurance Corporation and the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation are none too encouraging. Practically mixed banking has been allowed in India on an institutional basis. The participation in the share capital of the Industrial Finance Corporation of India and also the Refinance Corporation by commercial banks involves mixed banking, although in an indirect way. But that does not matter. It is mixed banking in reality and there cannot be any objection to such type of banking on a larger scale on the basis of collective risk taking through the formation of a syndicate or consortium.

Ours is an under-developed economy and for the purpose of development new ideas should be put into operation for quick action. The objection against mixed banking is based on the tradition of British banking which does not allow mixed banking.

Balance of Payments in 1958

The figures compiled by the Reserve Bank of India relating to India's balance of payments in 1958 reveal that India's external payments position improved in 1958 after the strains of 1957. The current account deficit has narrowed down from Rs. 452 crores in 1957 to Rs. 355 crores in 1958. In 1958 total imports stood at Rs. 1045 crores as against Rs. 1217 crores in 1957. As there had been a fall in imports in 1958 as compared to 1957, so there had also been a fall in exports in 1958 as against that in 1957. In 1958 the exports amounted to Rs. 565 crores as compared with Rs. 622 crores in 1957. Actual trade deficits thus amounted to Rs. 479 crores in 1958 as compared with Rs. 595 crores in the preceding year. The official donations aggregated to Rs. 40 crores in 1958 as against Rs. 37.2 crores in 1957.

The improvement in the balance of payments position is mainly on account of a drastic cut in imports. But although there had been a fall in imports to the extent of nearly Rs. 200 crores in 1958 as compared with the preceding year, there had also been a drop in exports to

the extent of about Rs. 57 crores. The lower exports are not at all desirable in view of the facts that India has adopted a vigorous policy of export promotion. The Reserve Bank observes that in 1957, the utilisation of external assistance [Rs. 269 crores including the IMF credit and the drain on foreign-exchange reserve (Rs. 235 crores)]—the two major elements of financing—were more or less of equal importance. In 1958, external assistance of Rs. 244 crores was by far the more important element and this substantially eased the drain on the reserves (Rs. 104 crores).

Notwithstanding export promotion arrangements recently made by the Central Government, the exports have not recorded any appreciable improvements. Moreover, India still has to depend on her traditional commodities, namely, tea, jute manufactures, cotton textiles and manganese ores and these constitute the sheet-anchor of India's export trade. Any difficulty that may overtake any of these commodities will adversely affect India's fortune in her balance of payments position. The tea exports still heads the exportable commodities and it is the foremost earner of foreign exchanges. The year 1956 was the peak year for tea export from India and in that year India exported tea worth Rs. 145 crores. The tea exports declined to Rs. 129 crores in 1957. There was however some improvements in tea exports and in 1958 India's tea exports amounted to Rs. 135 crores. It is no mean achievement for the Indian tea to maintain its position of pre-eminence in the country's export trade against stiff competition from foreign countries. Next to tea, come jute manufactures which occupy the second position in India's export trade with an export value of Rs. 106 crores in 1958 as against Rs. 125 crores in the preceding year. The fall in the export of jute manufactures is to the extent of Rs. 20 crores and this has not only affected the balance of payments position of the country, but it has also affected the industry. The export of cotton manufactures comes third with export earnings of Rs. 62 crores in 1958 as

against Rs. 92 crores in 1957. In the case of cotton manufactures, the drop in earnings is to the extent of Rs. 20 crores. The exports of jute and cotton manufactures alone recorded a decline of 40 crores in 1958 as compared with that of in 1957. Similarly the export of manganese ores recorded a decline from Rs. 29 crores in 1957 to Rs. 18 crores in 1958.

The year 1958 is thus the year that tells the story of declining exports. It also tells that India has acquired no new markets to any appreciable extent nor has she developed new commodities for exports. The decline in cotton textile exports is not however an exception to India. During the last year there was a decline in the export of cotton textiles among all the major exporting countries of the world. In 1958 the decline in exports of cotton textiles was about 13 per cent as compared with 1957. France and Switzerland were the only countries to gain much ground in the export of cotton cloth. The U.K., the U.S.A., Japan and India experienced decline in the export of cotton goods. In 1958 India exported 468 million yards of cotton textiles as against 870 million yards in the preceding year. In order to maintain the overseas markets India is required to export quality goods at cheaper prices. It has been said that "quality represented by regular grade and staple becomes once more a very important selling factor." The cotton textile industry today is the largest organised industry in the country with a block capital of Rs. 127 crores. India cannot afford to remain indifferent over the fate of this all-important industry. Any vicissitude that may overtake the cotton textile industry of India will have adverse effect on other sectors of industrial structure. In order to face the competition, some relief in export duty is called for.

Import restrictions are mere temporary measures and they cannot be regarded as a permanent feature of our foreign trade. In view of the increasing amount of deficit financing free inflow of consumer goods is necessary to stave off the inflation-

any spiral. India's internal production of consumer goods are lacking the productive investment and in consequence prices are going up. In this context import cuts should not be regarded as a permanent remedy for imbalance in our balance of payments position.

In the foreign trade of the country, the most vulnerable point is our trade with the OEEC countries. Chronic deficits have become a feature of trade with these countries. In 1958, the deficits however were lower at Rs. 178 crores as against Rs. 250 crores in 1957. The main cause of this huge deficit is India's large-scale import of capital goods from this area, particularly from West Germany. These countries however do not import from India to the same extent as they export to India. The inevitable result of this type of trade is deficit and nearly 50 per cent of India's trade deficit occurs in our trade with these countries.

The formation of the European Common Market has further provided a barricade against the import of goods from outside the common market and the imposition of high tariff rates has further caused deterioration in India's exports to this area. To counter the adverse effect of the European common market on the export trade of India suggestion was made to form an Afro-Asian market where goods of the countries of Asia and Africa will get preference as against goods from European countries. This suggestion deserves more consideration now in view of the formation of the European common market.

As in political affairs, so also in economic affairs the UNO and its diverse organizations are now being by-passed by the bigger and powerful nations of Europe. The formation of the European common market may be regarded as the economic counterpart of the political blocks formed by big powers. The formation of an Asian common market will favourably place Indian exports in the market of Asian countries. In India's trade with the dollar area, it is gratifying to note that India's deficit with this area has also come down from Rs. 104 crores in 1957 to Rs. 65 crores

in 1958. India's imports from the dollar area in 1957 stood at Rs. 271 crores and this came down to Rs. 225 crores in 1958. But exports also registered a fall as they are lower at Rs. 103 crores in 1958 as against Rs. 120 crores in 1957. Similarly India imported less from the OEEC countries in 1958 than in 1957. During 1958 India imported from the OEEC countries goods valued at Rs. 227 crores as compared with Rs. 311 crores in 1957. But exports to these countries also fell from Rs. 61 crores in 1957 to Rs. 51 crores in 1958.

India's imports from the sterling area recorded a decline from Rs. 443 crores in 1957 to Rs. 393 crores in 1958. India's exports also came down from Rs. 316 crores in 1957 to Rs. 293 crores in 1958. It is with the rest of non-sterling areas that India's imports increased from Rs. 192 crores in 1957 to Rs. 199 crores in 1958 while exports declined from 125 crores in 1957 to 119 crores in 1958.

Among the private imports, the cost of importing vehicles (excluding railway locomotives) went down by Rs. 16 crores from Rs. 39 crores in 1957 to Rs. 23 crores in 1958. The cost of importing food, drink and tobacco on private accounts came down from Rs. 30 crores in 1957 to Rs. 20 crores in 1958. It is a pity that while the import of essential drugs and medicines has been restricted, India allows the import of vehicles and food, drink and tobacco on private accounts for an aggregate amount of Rs. 43 crores a year.

During 1958, receipts from official loans amounted to Rs. 183 crores as against Rs. 96 crores in 1957. The larger drawings in 1958 were due to the speedier utilization of existing loans as well as the commencement of operations of fresh loans. Loan receipts from the IBRD during 1958 were Rs. 68 crores. The credits arranged for three steel plants, namely, Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur, accounted for Rs. 80 crores. The balance amount constitutes receipts on account of Canadian wheat loan, the loan components of the TCA and the PL 480 assistance and the United States Export-Import Bank loan. Other

capital transactions resulted in a net receipt of Rs. 75.4 crores in 1958 as against the net receipt of Rs. 137.7 crores in 1957 (including the IMF credit of Rs. 95 crores).

According to the Reserve Bank's estimates, capital transactions as a whole (excluding official reserves) resulted in a net receipt of Rs. 258.6 crores. This together with the deficit on current account of Rs. 354.8 crores and unidentifiable transactions of Rs. 8 crores led to a net withdrawal of Rs. 104 crores from the foreign exchange reserves. There was thus a current account gap of Rs. 355 crores in India's external transactions during 1958. This gap was financed by drawing down reserves to the extent of Rs. 104 crores and through a net capital inflow of roughly Rs. 259 crores. Although the deficit gap in 1958 narrowed down as compared with 1957, this was more on account of import restrictions rather than export expansion. The draft on reserves in 1957 was Rs. 235 crores (after taking into account the IMF credit of Rs. 95 crores) and in 1956 it was Rs. 205 crores. The reduction in the current account deficit is the combined result of a significant cut in private imports and slightly larger official grants.

Technical Education

In this age of technological development the importance of having an adequate number of properly-trained technical personnel of different categories needs no elaboration. The need for the expansion of the facilities for technical education, which were kept unduly restricted by the foreign rulers, have been emphasized by successive Commissions and Committees. There has no doubt been remarkable progress in the spread of technical education as will be evident from comparative statistics of students in various technical institutions at different periods since Independence. The in-take of higher technical institutes and colleges in the country has gone up from less than 3,000 annually in 1947 to 9,200 and is expected to touch 11,150 by 1961. There has been comparable improvement in the number of students taking the diplomas which has registered an increase from less than 4,000 at the time of Independence to nearly 16,000.

Early last year the All India Council for Technical Education accorded its approval to a scheme for the eight Centrally-sponsored regional engineering colleges and twenty-seven polytechnics. The scheme received the approval of the Central Government in January of this year and has now been endorsed on May 13, by the conference of the Chief Ministers of States.

Under the scheme the Central Government will provide the entire non-recurring expenditure on college buildings and equipments as grants-in-aid to the colleges to be established at Nagpur, Bhopal, Allahabad, Jamshedpur, Durgapur, Mangalore, Warangal and Srinagar and will also provide half of the recurring expenditure as grant-in-aid to the above colleges for a period of five years. Half of the cost of the construction of staff quarters will also be borne by the Central Government. The Central Government will provide similar aid for the establishment of polytechnics. The college in Delhi will be run by the Central Government alone while the other colleges will be run as joint enterprise of the Central and State Governments. The colleges will function as regional colleges and will admit students from all over India about 50 per cent of the seats being reserved for the students of coming from the State within which the college will be situated. Teachers for these regional colleges will be recruited on an All-India basis. To attract really-talented persons to the technical field it has also been decided to raise the scales of pay of various grades of technical teachers. The additional cost involved in the implementation of this scheme will be entirely borne by the Central Government for five years after which the position will be reviewed.

The implementation of this plan will undoubtedly go a long way toward easing the problem of the non-availability of technical personnel in adequate numbers and thus facilitate industrialisation. In this context it is impossible not to refer to the role of the industries. In many Western countries technical and research institutes run by various industries have made valuable contribution to the progress of science and technology. Unfortunately a comparable trend has not been evident in this country.

The Ganga Bridge

The opening of the Ganga Bridge at Hathidah near Mokameh in Bihar on May 1 linking the broadgauge system of the Eastern Railway on the south bank of the river with the metre gauge system of the Northeastern Railway at Barauni on the north bank and replacing the old and uncertain ferry service, marks the fulfilment of a dream cherished by the people of Bihar for more than half a century. The Ganga cuts the State of Bihar into two parts. This has not only meant a physical division of the State, but also an economic division having profound political, social and psychological repercussions. South Bihar with its rich mineral deposits is industrially well developed and is linked with the nerve-centres of economic activity of the country. North Bihar on the other hand, cut off as it is from the rest of eastern India by the Ganga, has remained preponderantly an agricultural region—deriving little, if any, benefit from the industrial development in the southern part because of the extremely unsatisfactory communication system. The peculiar geographical situation of the northern part of the State subjected it also to the ravages of frequent floods and droughts—a state of affairs which is being sought to be remedied through the construction of the Kosi Barrage.

The proposal for the construction of a bridge over the Ganga near Mokameh was first mooted in 1907 in the Report of the Ganges Bridge Committee and was endorsed by the East India Railway Company in 1909. The work of construction could not be taken in hand on account of the opposition of the B.N.W. Railway Company. The matter remained in a floating stage until in 1925 it was shelved for all practical purposes. Nearly twenty years passed before it could again attract the attention of the authorities. The Railway Board authorized a survey to be made of the area for the construction of a bridge. In 1948 the cabinet sanctioned the proposal and the work of construction began in 1953—although the foundation stone was

formally laid only in 1956. The bridge which now connects the two parts of Bihar is a moot modern, cantilever bridge having the deepest foundations of any rail-bridge in the world.

The bridge carries a single-track railway line, while it may not therefore be able to provide adequate transport facilities to meet all the needs of communication between the two regions of the State, its importance in putting an end to the isolation of North Bihar from the rest of the country can hardly be overemphasized. It links the region with the part of Calcutta and the industrial and mining areas of East India and opens out bright prospects of industrialisation, and the diversification of the economy of the region.

The Issues in Kerala

The *National Herald*, in a lengthy editorial article on May 14, writes with reference to the current unrest in Kerala that if the tensions in the State are attributed partly to the presence of powerful vested interests and of an almost permanent triangular communal pattern, the issue is whether the Kerala Communists are playing the game to the extent that they have the initiative in the State. The secretary of the state Communist Party and the State Chief Minister have made allegations of *mala fide* opposition against the Congress and the other parties which have come together and the national executive of the Communist Party has decided to meet in Kerala at the end of this month, when school managements are to start *satyagraha*. The Communists, unfortunately, cannot talk of principles to other political parties, particularly the Congress, because they have themselves observed none and they have always worked in party interest. If the Communists had wanted to give a chance to constitutionalism, they should have accepted it not only in Kerala but in the rest of the country. They have, however, been observing different principles and different programmes in different states, and after their

recent record in Punjab, they should not be surprised that the opposition parties in Kerala are borrowing from Communist tactics. The Communists have observed no code of conduct, and after rejecting at the Amritsar session of the party congress Mr. Namboodiripad's plea for a consistent all-India policy of responsive co-operation, they should expect no quarter from non-Communist opposition when they are prepared to give no quarter to any non-Communist Government.

Rewriting History

One of the distinctive marks of Communist rule in certain countries has been the constant rewriting of history—in which not only interpretations but even facts also tend to change with time. The factual changes in most cases have not been determined by any lack of information about particular events and personalities but by the bias of persons who happen to occupy the position of leadership in the respective Communist parties. This phenomenon is of recent origin dating back to the thirties of this century when Stalin initiated the process in the Soviet Union by rewriting the history of the Russian Revolution and of the Soviet Communist Party to culogize his own role. The falsification went to such an extent that even books recommended by no less a person than Lenin himself were also proscribed in the Soviet Union. In a one-party State that was, perhaps, not unnatural. What, however, was definitely unnatural was the ape-like behaviour of the non-Russian Communist parties who did not show the slightest compunction of conscience to digest and to uphold this falsification as the only "objective" history. Great names in the history of the international working-class movement were thus vilified for no other reason than the glorification of Stalin and the U.S.S.R. It was thus that Stalin's books on the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Communist Party came to be treated as historical classics. At the twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. this edifice of his was shaken to its foundations. And now a new history of the Soviet Communist Party has been published

to supersede the one which was for nearly twenty years paraded as the only reliable history of the C.P.S.U. The new history has not yet reached this country so that nothing can be said about its contents, but from related announcements of the past five years there can be little doubt that it will provide far-reaching modification of facts and interpretations of the previous volume. Consequently almost all the non-Russian Communist parties of the world will also have to change their views about many historical facts and personalities. The Communists would not have to face this predicament of having constantly to revise their opinions if they had not abjured their objectivity in the altar of what they like to call "proletarian internationalism" but which is nothing but blind subservience to foreign interests. Internationalism cannot and does not require a man or a political party to give up its judgment and to uphold all the stupidities perpetrated by another party or government.

Mau Mau

Though the meaning of the term *Mau Mau* is obscure it provided an excuse for the arrest of nearly two lakhs of people in Kenya and the screening of many more. If in their enthusiasm to carry favour with a government which could go so far as to announce special prizes on the number of Africans killed by each officer (this large-hearted offer was later on withdrawn upon strong protests from the people of Great Britain) some officers had lost their head, the blame could by no means wholly lie with them. It was not again unnatural that detainees should have been beaten up by some warders—sometimes fatally—a fact which has now been confirmed beyond the shadow of any doubt by the verdict of the coroner, Mr. W. H. Goudie which was made public in the first week of May. The mere trial of a few warders, though it may have some deterrent effect upon the future conduct of other exuberant warders, cannot remove the basic causes of African discontent nor can it fully meet the ends of justice, because the warders are only part of a great machine which is weighing heavily upon the shoulders of the Kenyan people.

Right to Search ✓

An interesting point of Constitutional Law touching upon the freedom of the individual in the USA was clarified when on May 4, 1959 the Supreme Court of the United States of America held by 5 votes to 4 that health inspectors might enter a private home during the day-time without a warrant to search for unsanitary conditions, and that such a search did not contravene the provisions of the Fourth and the Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution which prohibit "unreasonable searches and seizures." Justice Frankfurter, delivering the majority judgment, said that the aim of the Constitutional Amendment was to protect a man's home against indiscriminate searches "for evidence to be used in criminal prosecution" or for illegal goods such as smuggled merchandise; but in the sanitary inspection there was no search for criminal evidence. In his dissenting opinion Justice Douglas, supported by Chief Justice Warren and two other judges, said that he disagreed with the view that the Fourth Amendment was aimed primarily at searches for evidence in criminal cases. In his view it was designed to protect the privacy of the home against any official intrusion without a warrant. He therefore characterised the majority decision as "rather sad one" taking "a long backward step in Constitutional Law."

Third Term Again? ✓

George Washington, the first President of the United States of America, had declined the offer to elect him to the presidency for the third time on the ground that such re-election tended to nullify the merits of the elective principle. Since then there had been no proposal for the re-election of any person for more than two terms until the convention was broken by the late President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1940, when he successfully sought re-election for the third term. His critics were completely scandalized when he stood for the Presidency for the fourth time in 1944 and still came out successful. Their political impotence only heightened their wrath and after his death when the Republicans obtained a majority in the Congress they lost no time in rushing through the Twenty-second Amendment to the Consti-

tution limiting Presidential tenure to no more than two four-year terms. The Amendment was passed during President Truman's tenure of office, but he was specifically exempted from the operation of the Amendment so that the first 'lame duck' President to be hamstrung by this Amendment is one of the Republican's own—President Eisenhower. It appears that American politicians are now having second thoughts over this Constitutional difficulty. The U.S. Senate's Constitutional Amendments Sub-Committee held a special meeting during the first week of May, and invited former President Truman to give his opinion on the matter. In unmistakable terms Mr. Truman said: "My position on this question is a very simple one, this is a bad Amendment and it ought to be repealed." After Mr. Truman's testimony the Republicans' Senate Leader, Mr. Everett McKinley Dirksen hinted that they might move the Congress for an early repeal of the 22nd Amendment.

Report on East Pakistan ✓

Last September riotous scenes were witnessed in the hall of the East Pakistan Assembly which resulted in the death of the Deputy Speaker, Mr. Shahed Ali. Shortly thereafter Martial Law was promulgated throughout Pakistan and the Constitution was abrogated. The Martial Law Administration set up a one-man Commission of Enquiry to report on the affair. The finding of Mr. Justice Mohammad Asir, who constituted that Commission was released in Dacca on May 12.

The Commission said that the Parliamentary system of Government in the province had collapsed under unremitting stress of political feuds and scramble for power and that in the process it had undermined the machinery of administration. According to the Commission everybody, the Governor, the Chief Minister, the Speaker, the Deputy Speaker, the District Magistrate, the Inspector-General of Police and other officers who had been requisitioned to deal with the situation had failed to perform their duties on that occasion. The responsibility of course lay with the Government of the day.

The report says:

"The Chief Minister could not keep him-

self above party interest and failed to keep a detached view where law was to take its own course, as he was persuaded in his capacity as Home Minister to interfere with the statutory functions of the magistrate and other officers"

"The policemen and officers who were utilised to serve the cause of the ruling party, though initially respectful to the representatives of the country, dealt with the members of the opposition vigorously and severely quite unmindful of their status when stirred at the instance of the Chief Minister."

References are also made in the report of "the part played by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy and Mr. Sultanuddin Ahmed in by passing the then election commission and overriding its authority and verdict with regard to disqualification of six members of the provincial assembly belonging to the Awami League ruling coalition, as well as the part played by Sheikh Mujibar Rahman (general secretary of now-defunct Awami League) in aggravating an already tense situation, in addition to what was being done in that respect by other stalwarts of Awami League and those of the opposition party."

The report quotes a telegram sent by the then Speaker, Mr. Abdul Hakim, to Mr. Iskander Mirza which stated, *inter alia*: "Mr. Mujibar Rahman over the telephone several times threatened me with violence of the worst sort saying that I will not be allowed to enter the Assembly House, will be bodily removed, adding that no police will be of help to me."

Summing up his findings, Mr. Justice Asir says that each party seems to have vied with each other in breaking democratic principles and that good faith of the Speaker or of the Deputy Speaker could hardly be assumed. "The opposition as minority had reasons to feel that they were oppressed. The Government side, which claimed to be in majority, being nervous about its stability and certainty of position, tried to carry off its policy with too high a hand and was, therefore, riding for a fall."

Commenting upon the publication of the

report, especially its timing, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, May 14, writes:

"The only ostensible purpose of releasing the report of Mr. Justice Mohammed Asir of Dacca High Court at this hour is to discredit democracy in Pakistan. 'Dissension and distrust, suspicion and dissension' might have ruled in the minds of individual members of the East Pakistan Assembly on the eve of the fateful Budget session for 1958-59. But is it not also a fact that Karachi was all the time pulling the strings from a distance of 1,200 miles? Democracy never got a reasonable chance in any of the two wings of Pakistan and today it lies smothered by a ruthless military dictatorship. The leaders of the political parties of Pakistan did not certainly play fair to the people but nothing better could be expected from a set of men who were mostly brought into limelight by the British bureaucracy. In the event of a free and fair election throughout the country most of them would have been pushed aside and a new, self-respecting leadership would have emerged."

China's New Chairman

The list of the new State-functionaries in China does not offer any surprise. The world outside China was most interested in the name of the successor to Mao Tse-tung in the position of the head of the Chinese State—the Chairman of the People's Republic of China. By choosing Liu Shao-chi for the post the members of the newly-elected National People's Congress (the Chinese equivalent of a Parliament) have made the most natural selection. Because Liu was not only the second-most important figure in the Chinese Communist Party leadership; as the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress he was also the secondmost important figure in the State hierarchy. In both the positions he came next only to Mao. Though less well-known outside China than Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai and Chu Seh, Liu Shao-chi became prominent in the party quite early in its history. He was named Chief of the Labour Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party at its sixth Congress held in Moscow in 1928. He

took a leading part in the Party Reform Movement of the early forties, in the amendment of the party constitution during the seventh Congress held in 1945 and in the anti-Yugoslav campaign in 1949. On the formation of the People's Republic of China in 1949 he was named one of the six Vice-Chairmen of the Central People's Government and after the promulgation of the Constitution in 1954 became the Chairman of the Standing Committee—the post which has now been given to Chu Teh, who was until now Vice-Chairman of the Republic. The Constitution provided for one Vice-Chairman but now two Vice-Chairmen have been elected. They are Mme. Soong Ching-ling and Tung Pi-we. Significantly, the Dalai Lama still remains a Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee. In view of the fact that there has been no change in the composition of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party which sets the line for the Government to follow, the changes in the relative position of the personnel in the State hierarchy do not seem to indicate any basic shift in the policy of the State either at home and abroad.

Liu Shao-chi

The New York Times of May 3, gives the following details about Mao's successor:

Mao's Successor: Among Chinese Communists, Liu Shao-chi (pronounced Lyoo Shah-oh Chee) has an almost unequalled reputation for hard drive and devotion to the party. There is a story that when the Communists were still underground, his wife tried to kill herself at the party's secret headquarters in Shanghai and that Liu hired a rickshaw to take her to the doctor. When some of his comrades criticized him for not taking a taxi in such an emergency, his answer was that a taxi might have drawn attention to the headquarters and endangered the party's operations. Since the Communists took over China, Liu has been considered the second most important party leader in the country—after Mao Tse-tung and ahead of Premier Chou En-lai. Last December Mao announced he would resign the job of Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic—in effect, President of China—in order to concentrate on his work as Communist Party chief. Last

week the National People's Congress elected Liu to succeed Mao as Chairman. [So far as the West could tell, the change at the helm in Peiping involved no rivalry or factionalism such as has marked major changes in the Kremlin.]

The Algerian Question

The fight for independence continues in Algeria. The world had hoped that President de Gaulle would find some solution to this terrible war. *The New York Times* of May 3, sums up the position as follows:

These are some major statements French President Charles de Gaulle has made about his Algerian policy during the past year:

May 19, 1958: "I will carry out arbitration" of the Algerian-French dispute.

June 4: "France considers that in all Algeria there is only one sort of inhabitant. There are only Frenchmen of the same sort, with the same rights."

June 5: "We must gather together, here (in Algeria) the representatives belonging to the public bodies of tomorrow. This should be done here by the 10,000,000 Frenchmen of Algeria (both Europeans and Moslems) without distinction After that we shall have to see, with the representatives, what remains to be done in order that things may be what I have said they ought to be."

Jan. 13, 1959: "The pacification and transformation of Algeria . . . are, of course, the indispensable conditions of a political solution which can only proceed from universal suffrage."

March 25: "I believe that (Algeria's) destiny . . . depends upon . . . the efforts of a whole generation. France has taken her resolve . . . and has made a clear and firm plan (for) the transformation of Algeria . . . This transformation . . . France has begun to accomplish."

The big question left unanswered in these statements has been: Precisely what status would de Gaulle give to Algeria? The Algerian nationalists, spearheaded by the rebel army, demand full independence. The European settlers in Algeria—1 million of Algeria's 10 million population—demand the "integration" of Algeria into France, meaning that Algeria

would be treated exactly as, for example, Normandy or Provence. The advantage of integration, from the European settlers' viewpoint, is that Algeria would, in effect, be swallowed up by France and Algeria's majority of 9,000,000 Moslems would become a small minority of 50,000,000 Frenchmen.

De Gaulle's own spokesman, Andre Malraux, has implied that de Gaulle would compromise the nationalists' and the settlers' demands. Last summer Malraux said de Gaulle envisaged a large degree of autonomy for Algeria within a union with France and perhaps with Tunisia and Morocco. The Europeans in Algeria protested strongly and have put increasing pressure on de Gaulle to come out for integration.

Last Wednesday de Gaulle told a delegation of Algerians he had always stood for integration. He had avoided using the word because there had been attempts to "impose" it on him, he said, "but what have I done since I have been in power?" His program of political rights for Moslems equal to those for "other Frenchmen," his social and economic reforms, his efforts to bring Moslems into the Algerian administration and educate them, he said, added up to a policy of integration.

The Africa Bloc

The New York Times of April 19, had the following editorial paragraph on the Africa Bloc. It is worthy of record:

Africa, second largest of the six continents, has an area of 11.5 million square miles and a population of 224 million. Nine of its ten sovereign nations—the United Arab Republic, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Ethiopia, Liberia, Ghana and Guinea (area 3.3 million sq. mi., pop. 77.6 million)—are members of the Conference of Independent African States, one of whose aims is independence for the colonial territories of Africa. The Union of South Africa, dedicated to strict racial segregation, is outside the movement.

Formation of the conference in Ghana a year ago marked emergence of an African bloc as a force in international affairs. Last Wednesday, Africa Freedom Day was celebrated throughout Africa. In

Johannesburg, South Africa, where demonstrators were denied a permit for speeches, a silent demonstration was held on the city hall steps. In New York, Tom Mboya of Kenya, chairman of the All-Africa People's Conference, spoke at a Carnegie Hall rally. He derided concern over communism in Black Africa, saying if those who voice such concern "spent all their time in practising the democracy they preach they would have nothing to fear."

The Africa bloc members held a cocktail party at the Waldorf-Astoria and invited all U. N. members except Israel. An Israeli spokesman blamed the Arab members of the bloc which he said follow "an intransigent policy of boycott against Israel." The South Africans were there. So was Henry Cabot Lodge, U. S. delegate to the U. N. But Mayor Wagner and Governor Rockefeller, who attended the Carnegie Hall meeting, stayed away from the Waldorf reception.

"Invasion" and Panama

The New York Times of May 3, gives the following details about a "liberation" attempt on this small republic:

The Republic of Panama is 480 miles long, between 37 and 110 miles wide, covers 28,752 square miles (five-eighths of them uninhabited jungle) and has 960,000 people, the smallest population of the twenty-one American republics. The country is strategically situated on the Isthmus of Panama connecting Central and South America and is bisected by the Panama Canal and the ten-mile wide Canal Zone held "in perpetuity" by the United States under treaty with Panama. The country has a history of political instability, with an oligarchy of families manoeuvring against one another for power. In 1955 one President was assassinated, another impeached. The following year Ernesto de la Guardia Jr., a moderate, was elected to a four-year term as President.

A fortnight ago a story of conspiracy against President de la Guardia began to unfold. The Government accused Dr. Roberto Arias, the son of a former President and the husband of the British ballerina Dame Margot Fonteyn, of plotting an armed revolt. Dr. Arias

took sanctuary in the Brazilian Embassy in Panama City (he is still there); his wife was expelled (she flew to London).

A week ago yesterday Panama was invaded. Eighty-seven armed men landed and established a beach-head at a town called Nombre de Dios (Name of God), on Panama's Caribbean coast under the leadership of Cesar Vega, a Cuban adventurer. Three were drowned during the landing; three captured; one defected. The prisoners claimed that the invaders were mostly Cubans, had sailed from Cuba and that Premier Castro had sent the force to "liberate" Panama.

Panama appealed to the Organization of American States for help. The O.A.S. held an emergency session in Washington Tuesday and unanimously agreed (1) to call a meeting of the hemisphere's foreign ministers; (2) to "look favorably" on Panama's request for arms for self-defense; (3) to curtail any activity of Panamanian rebels on their soil; and (4) to send a mission of inquiry to Panama. Washington announced that it was sending Panama weapons and would put planes and ships at the disposal of the O.A.S. mission.

As for Cuba, Premier Fidel Castro was visibly embarrassed. His delegate to the O.A.S. meeting denounced the invasion as "a clear case of aggression against democracy." On Tuesday, in Houston, Texas, in the course of a hemispheric good-will tour, the Premier conferred with his brother Raul, the commander of Cuba's revolutionary army, and afterward declared, "This incident is . . . inopportune. It puts us in a disagreeable situation. It has no justification."

Economic Vs. Military Aid

The New York Times of May 3, has the following letter. It shows that all thinking Americans have not been misled and bedevilled by the Dulles programme.

The writer of the following letter is a former United States Ambassador to the Dominican Republic and was the first Civilian Governor of American Samoa:

In introducing proposals to take the Development Loan Fund out of the annual political battle over foreign aid Senator

Fulbright has performed an outstanding service to the cause of developing world peace through economic improvement of underdeveloped areas. Likewise, his action highlights the difference in approach, not in principles or objectives, between the Eisenhower Administration and Senators on the Foreign Relations Committee.

The basic criticisms of the Eisenhower policy on mutual security are that it operates on a piecemeal basis, does not provide for long-range planning and couples economic aid with military aid.

Speaking to the Senate, Senator Fulbright admitted the importance of military aid and added, "The philosophy of the program is founded too much on the idea that the danger to the United States is largely a military one, and that the threat from communism is largely a military threat." He went on to state that in many areas of the world the chief problems arise from the economic and social revolutions in Africa and Asia and we must tailor our program to meet the needs of these vital areas.

I have long felt that we place too much emphasis on military aid which neutrals do not want, can't afford and are afraid of because it might involve them in the "cold war." Furthermore, weapons in irresponsible hands have a way of being used against people desiring freedom or social justice. Likewise, there is a great need for long-range planning in economic aid, especially where loans are made for definite projects which take a long time to construct. These countries need long-term, low-interest loans—a method successfully used by the English and Germans to win markets in Latin America before the war. If the Development Loan Fund does not know how much money it will have, how can it make commitments to these underdeveloped areas?

May I also state emphatically that charity does not make friends. The work of the Development Loan Fund is to make loans for economically and technologically approved projects which will help the economy of the underdeveloped country

and for projects which can be seen and understood by the very people we are trying to help.

In urging support of the Fulbright proposals, I think all Americans should heed the predictions of Karl Marx, Stalin and Khrushchev that communism will triumph over capitalism through economic means.

In 1955 Khrushchev said, "We value trade least for economic reasons and most for political reasons." In 1957 he shouted, "We declare war on you . . . in the peaceful fields of trade. We will win over the United States. The threat to the United States is not the intercontinental ballistic missiles but in the field of peaceful production. We are relentless in this and it will prove the superiority of our system."

To Russia the "cold war" is total war. Let us stop fighting our enemy with single cylinder weapons and use our vast economic resources and highly trained manpower to help people to help themselves to provide decent living and health standards.

Support of the Fulbright proposals is an important step in that direction as well as in meeting the challenge of atheistic Communist all-out war. As Americans we can do no less.

Phelps Phelps

The Trade Union in U.S.

We give the following extract from the *American Labor Review* of May 1959, as an example of what Labour Unions should stand for:

There are any number of yardsticks by which people can judge the worth of the trade-union movement. It can be measured in terms of better wages and working conditions for millions of wage-earners; in terms of improved social welfare legislation, won in part through the efforts of trade unions.

But best of all, it seems to me, is the yardstick of community endeavor—the job done by labor to help make the community a better place in which to live.

When the AFL-CIO was founded on

December 5, 1955 in New York City, one of its first acts was to establish a Community Services Committee.

"The union member is first and foremost a citizen of his community." That was the basic principle adopted by the Committee. We said then, the union member has a responsibility to his community. He must co-operate with his fellow citizens in making his community a good place in which to live, to work, to raise children. He must be concerned about the availability of adequate health, welfare and recreational services for the whole community.

Adhering to this principle, union members have been taking an increasing part in community activities. Some have served as Community Drive chairmen, as members of the board of education, as city councilmen, as members of the legislature. But most have done their part by just being good citizens and good neighbors.

It is a record which can be measured, I suppose, by the \$145 million donated last year by AFL-CIO members to the Community Chest drives around America.

And it is not only big cities where unions help build a stronger community. Take Udall, Kansas, for example. That town now has a new fire-station and city office building—the gift of trade union members. The former building was destroyed by a tornado. To replace it, more than 500 union craftsmen donated their weekends and spare time, and members of 19 other unions contributed the necessary funds. The new structure houses the town's two fire trucks, the city clerk's office, a library, and a workroom for city maintenance employees.

Or it is the good work done in memory of a union labour leader who has passed on. Ten years ago, for example, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union established the Sidney Hillman Foundation as a memorial to one of the great men in the labor movement. In that decade, grants of almost \$450,000 have been made. More than 350 young men and women have been given scholarships to colleges and univer-

sities; health and medical centres have been aided, and men and women have been honored for meritorious public service.

Labor's roll of honor is long—for I have only reported a fraction of what union men and women have done for their neighbors.

The C.P.I. and Tibet

The *Janata* of the same date has the following note on the position of the Communist Party of India *vis-a-vis* the Tibetan question:

The Communist spokesman in Rajya Sabha, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, tried in vain to create an impression that the Communist Party enjoyed the support of the vast majority of the people in India for their policy regarding the happenings in Tibet. According to the Communists what happened in Tibet was an armed rebellion of some people, vested interests and reactionary circles with a view to preventing the march of history and social reforms. Of course, it is beyond their comprehension that there may be more ways than one to fight obscurantism and that communist method of doing it is by no means the best. It hardly enters their regimented mind that all opposition to the communist way of thinking and acting is not necessarily considered by some people as counter-revolutionary and that these people have a right to react according to their best light to any clash of wills or arms like the one that has taken place in Tibet.

The Communists in India are in a desperate position. They are thoroughly isolated on the Tibetan issue and they have to make the best of a very bad situation. They are in search of some formula that can help them in directing the attention of the people away from their doings and thinking. They are, therefore, trying to create an impression that it is not the Communist Party but the PSP which is isolated on this issue.

This note goes on to expose thoroughly the hollowness of the C.P.I. stand that the Chinese vituperation was aimed at the P.S.P. and not the Government of India.

Armed Forces Fight

The news of the clash between the personnel of the Manipur State Police and the men of the Assam Rifles which took place at Kwairambazar in Imphal, the capital town of Manipur, on May 10 and in which eight persons were injured—three of them seriously—will be received with the greatest anxiety by all. The function of the police force is to protect the life and property of the citizens. If they forget that duty and begin to fight among themselves, the result is bound to be anarchy and insecurity. Moreover, the members of the police force are under strict discipline and are not supposed to beat anyone except in self-defence or in defence of public property. In the present case both the contending parties belonged to the police force of Assam and Manipur. It is, therefore, a very pertinent question as to how they came about fighting each other. Whatever might have been the cause of this unfortunate incident a most thorough-going enquiry is called for into the matter with a view to bringing the guilty persons to book. Even the faintest suggestion of any laxity of discipline among the public forces will be pregnant with the most dangerous potentialities for the future of the country. The fact that incidents of this kind have shown an unfortunate tendency to repeat themselves only heightens this fear.

Co-operation or Coercion?

Prime Minister Nehru has the habit of being airy and indefinite in expressing his opinion even on serious matters. This had led to the misuse of powers by officials on a very large-scale against the defenceless public. Below is an extract from the *Janata* of May 10, to illustrate the possibilities of such an expression of opinion:

Intervening recently in a seminar held in New Delhi on co-operative farming, Shri Nehru is reported to have said that there was no question of providing the same facilities to the co-operative and the private sector as it was the declared policy of the Government of India to encourage co-operative farming. This idea needs a little examination. It is true that the Second Five-Year Plan itself lists some of

the facilities which can be legitimately given to the co-operatives in order to encourage the farmers to combine themselves in co-operatives.

These facilities relate to items which can be more fruitfully utilised by the co-operatives than by individual farmers whose holdings may be small or medium-sized. There cannot, therefore, be any objection to these facilities being given only to the co-operatives. Those who oppose the idea of co-operative farming vehemently would be the first to agree that some distinction has to be made between the fair-sized and more solvent units, and those whose sizes are very small and who are not in a position to absorb the facilities provided.

At the same time, it must be conceded that this question of discriminatory treatment has to be considered with great care and circumspection. One will have to define in very clear terms what may be considered legitimate inducements and incentives to the farmers to join in a superior form of organisation, which the co-operative organisation really is, and what would amount to preventive measures against those who refuse to fall in line and accept the programme of co-operative farming. The Prime Minister, Shri Nehru, has brushed aside more than once the contention of those who feel that co-operative farming would soon degenerate into collective farming in which State compulsion will be used openly or covertly. He has assured the people of India that the Government would only use persuasive methods and democratic procedures in making the programme of co-operation successful. If this promise is to be kept, the line demarcating the inducements and incentives from preventive measures in the matter of providing State facilities to the agricultural sector must be clearly and firmly drawn.

The Madras Experiment

We give the following extract from Sri Sivaraman's article, on the question of stepping up soil fertility, in the *Weekly West Bengal*:

As Director of Agriculture, Madras, I arranged in 1952 for distribution of 4 oz.

seed packets of sesbania each costing an anna. In the previous year these plants were established in all the Government Research Stations and in the lands of select cultivators in different areas so that the cultivator could see for himself the potentialities of this plant. The quantity of seeds was limited but whatever was available was distributed in villages in the shape of packets through the help of leading cultivators who undertook to supply the seedlings they could spare to such of the other cultivators who wanted to grow them. The enthusiasm of the cultivators was created by systematic publicity in the villages.

Wherever cultivators congregated—in fairs, festivals, village shaddies—the advantage of growing these plants and the need for growing them were fully explained to them. The plants were raised in all prominent places, in schools, office compounds, along Railway lines and roadways. School children took an active part in raising slogans about green manure and also in planting the seedlings along the margins of fields at the time of transplantation. Magic lantern slides were also shown wherever possible with the assistance of leading cultivators. There was no expenditure to Government in this campaign as the cost of the seed was fully recovered in the shape of packets and all the propaganda was done by the village leaders and the materials for propaganda including printed leaflets were mostly contributed by the cultivators. The result of this campaign for marginal planting started in 1952 all over Madras and more particularly in Tanjore district could be seen from this that though it was a new idea the sesbania plants were planted in over a million acres—in fact, in every field in Tanjore district by 1955.

In the Agriculture Research Station, Aduthurai, the crop production went up from 1.07-lakh pounds in 1948 to 2.23-lakh pounds in 1952-53 while the production of green manure rose from 20 tons to 400 tons.

The results obtained in Madras are applicable to other parts of India also. In Orissa, West Bengal, Assam, Bihar and

U.P. the total extent of green manure in 1957-58 was hardly 50,000 acres though the paddy area is over 40 million acres. In Orissa the green manure area was 10,000 acres in 1957. Systematic attempts are being made in these States to develop the idea and in Orissa nearly 6 lakhs of packets of dhaincha of 2 oz. each were distributed in 1957. In spite of the drought in 1957 the dhaincha grew well in some places and the area of green manure rose from 10,000 acres in 1957 to over one lakh acres in 1958. It is confidently expected that over two million acres will be green manured in 1959 and there will be no shortage of seeds for any one who wants to raise the manure in that State. In some of the paddy areas in Orissa paddy is not transplanted but even here the green manure is raised by sowing the seeds along with paddy. The green manure plants are pulled out after a month and trampled into the field.

I have so far dealt with paddy cultivation. In the wheat areas the problem is even simpler. When as in most areas of rainfed wheat there is no crop on the field during season, dhaincha can be raised in July and incorporated into the field by the third week of August and the land brought to condition before the sowing of wheat in October. Dhaincha is preferable to sunn-hemp in U.P. and Bihar as seed production of sunn-hemp is uncertain and sunn-hemp does not withstand heavy rains. Dhaincha has to be grown for seed production on the borders of the field during the kharif season.

The Tagore University

The Weekly West Bengal of April 9, gave the following news:

A University of Dance, Drama and Music named after Rabindranath will be set up by the Government of West Bengal on the occasion of Tagore's 100th birth anniversary. The University is to be located in the campus of Rabindra Bharati and the ancestral residence of the Poet in Calcutta where the Academy of Dance, Drama and Music is already functioning.

This announcement was made by Dr.

B. C. Roy, Chief Minister, West Bengal, in the State Assembly on March 28.

Dr. Roy also expressed the hope that a National Theatre would be built in West Bengal during the Third Five-Year Plan period.

Dr. Roy announced that the Government hoped to finalise soon the Rs. 18-lakh scheme for the construction of a National Theatre. The delay was due to the fact that the Government had to pay Rs. 4-lakh towards the purchase of the property in Calcutta of Abanindranath and Gaganendranath. A new building had been constructed there, he said, at a cost of Rs. 7-lakh to house the Academy of Dance, Drama and Music.

India and Pakistan

The two following extracts from the special news items in the Statesman of May 16, would show the present relations between India and Pakistan in bold relief.

New Delhi, May 15.—The World Bank team's final round of talks today with Indian leaders and officials was unusually brief.

The Bank's Chairman, Mr. Eugene Black, and his deputy, Mr. W.A.B. Iliff, first met Mr. Nehru, and later the Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai. Each meeting lasted barely half an hour.

No further formal meeting is scheduled to be held before the five-member team leaves for Karachi tomorrow morning to begin its parleys with the Pakistan Government.

By and large, Mr. Black is now seized of India's stand on the vexed question of canal waters. India's views on the Bank's latest proposals, it is learnt, were expressed in a manner which left little room for ambiguity. Its case for an early withdrawal of supplies from Pakistan was argued with considerable force.

P.T.I. adds: India is understood to have informed Mr. Black that the Bank's latest proposals are unacceptable to her.

Both during yesterday's and today's discussions Mr. Morarji Desai is understood to have pointed out to Mr. Black that Pakistan owed India about Rs. 22 crores for canal development. This

amount should be adjusted against any amount that India might have to pay in the future for the construction of link canals in Pakistan.

Karachi, May 15.—The Indian protest on the shooting down by Pakistani Sabre-jets of a Canberra bomber on April 10, near Rawalpindi, has been rejected by the Pakistani Government. The reply to the protest was handed to Mr. Padmanabhan, the Indian Deputy High Commissioner, by the Foreign Office this morning.

The reply also rejected the Indian demand for compensation for the loss of the aircraft and for injuries to both crew members.

According to informed sources, the shooting down was described by Pakistan as an "unfortunate accident." Owing to the circumstances in which the plane was shot down, it was felt that there could be no case for compensation.

Foreign Office sources said the Canberra had violated Pakistan's air space and was there "on a highly objectionable photographic mission. In spite of warnings the bomber did not land and the Pakistani fighter had no alternative but to bring it down."

Pakistan's reply has been forwarded to Delhi.

P.T.I. adds: Informed Indian sources here described Pakistan's reply as "more apologetic" than a genuine effort to answer the specific points raised in the Indian protest.

Manmathanath Ghosh

Manmathanath Ghosh, an eminent scholar and litterateur of modern Bengal died on April 7 last at the age of seventy-five. He was a great biographer and as such he may be said to be a pioneer in this department of Bengali literature. The late Sri Ghosh was the grandson of Girish Chandra Ghosh, the famous editor and founder of the *Hindu Patriot* and the *Bengalee*. After taking his Master's degree in Mathematics in 1905, he served the Government in various capacities until his retirement in 1937, but he never neglected the real object and purpose of his life. He had written about twenty-two books, mostly biographies. He was

a prolific writer and his numerous essays, scattered over the pages of many first-class Bengali magazines should be published in book form.

Barindra Kumar Ghosh

Barindra Kumar Ghosh, one of the distinguished sons of India, passed away at a Calcutta hospital on Saturday, April 18. The late Sri Ghosh's life is so familiar in the country that the achievement of his life deserves hardly any special mention. Born at Croydon in England in 1880, educated academically up to the Intermediate standard and inspired by the ideas of his brother Sri Aurobindo Ghosh (later called Sri Aurobindo) Sri Ghosh organized the Yugantar Party in March, 1906. He was the founder-editor of the Bengali newspaper *Bijali* and the English newspaper *Dawn of India*. He became the chief editor of *Daily Basumati* after the death of the then editor Upendranath Bandopadhyay, one of his collaborators during the days of his youthful revolutionary activities.

Sir Ushanath Sen

Sir Ushanath Sen, a veteran journalist of India who died in New Delhi on April 20 last, was born in October 6, 1880. After graduating from the Calcutta University Mr. Sen joined the A.P.I. under K. C. Roy and through prolonged and continued perseverance became the managing editor of the News Agency (now P.T.I.). A silent worker remaining far away from the tumult of self-propaganda, Sri Sen had really an Indian bent of mind worthy to be followed by his successors.

Matilal Roy

Matilal Roy, a renowned revolutionary leader of Bengali died on 10th April. Sri Roy born in 1882 was a native of Chandernagore. In 1905, he was an active revolutionary in association with the late Kanailal Dutt and Rashbehari Bose. He met Sri Aurobindo Ghosh in 1910 and founded in 1916 the Prabartak Sangha, a monastery, the member-sanyasins of which served the country not only in the familiar type of social services but also in different branches of commerce and industry for the economic upliftment of the people.

THE ROLE OF COMMITTEES IN THE UNION PARLIAMENT

By PROF. DR. RAMESH NARAIN MATHUR, M.A., Ph.D., LL.B.

INDIA has adopted the Parliamentary form of Government on the pattern of the United Kingdom. The Parliament of India as it is constituted at present cannot on its own effectively exercise control over the Executive. It must have sufficient time to discuss and deliberate on important issues of policy and details of general business should be scrutinized by Parliamentary Committees. Wheare mentions six types of Committees—Committees to inquire, to advise, to negotiate, to legislate, to administer, and to scrutinize and control.* These Committees save a good deal of time of Parliament and enable Parliament to devote its time to discussions on policy and principles and to provide a forum for the ventilation of grievances.

Committees in India and in England derive their powers from Parliament and work under its direction and control. Committees in the U.S.A. and France exercise effective control on the policy of the Government. The comparative role of Committees in different countries has been beautifully summed up by Finer in these words: "In England, the Government, in France the Government and the Commissions in the U.S.A. the party leaders and the Committee decide the debate, the rest is advertisement, explanation, electoral strategy, the joy of talking and sealing wax."

COMMITTEES OF THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT AT WORK

Apart from Select Committees† there are Standing Committees in the Indian Parliament which deal with particular subjects. They can be divided into three broad categories: (1)

* *Government by Committee*: K. C. Wheare.

† The Select Committees are appointed by the House in proportion to the party strength in the House. The Speaker nominates the Chairman of each Committee. Bills are referred to such Committees.

Committees of a general nature concerned primarily with the organization and powers of the House, such as Rules Committee, Committee of Privileges, the House Committee, and Business Advisory Committee, (2) Legislative Committees, e.g., Committee on Subordinate Legislation, Committee on Petitions, Committee on Assurances and Committees on Private Members' Bills, and (3) Committees for Financial Business, e.g., the Estimate Committee and the Public Accounts Committee.

RULES COMMITTEE

The Rules Committee of the Lok Sabha consists of 15 members nominated by the Speaker with the Speaker himself as the ex-officio Chairman. The Committee so nominated holds office until a new Committee is appointed. The function of the Committee is 'to consider matters of procedure and conduct of business in the House and to recommend any amendments or additions (to the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Lok Sabha) that may be necessary.' Till 1954, amendments to the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha were made by the Speaker on the recommendations of the Rules Committee. The Rules Committee, at their sitting held on 20th September 1954, however, decided that their recommendations should be approved by the House before any amendment to the Rules or Procedure was carried out. The new procedure was brought into force with effect from 15th October, 1954.

The House Committee consists of twelve members and is constituted for one year, after the expiry of which the Speaker nominates the Committee afresh. This Committee looks after the allotment of residential accommodation and provision of other allied facilities to Members of Parliament during their stay at Delhi.

The Business Advisory Committee consists of 15 members. It was first set up in 1952. It meets under the Chairmanship of the

Speaker three or four times in a Session and decides on the expeditious disposal of business before the House. All items of Government business for transaction by the House are referred to the Committee for allocation of time. The Committee may on its own initiative request the Government to discuss certain matters in the House as Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, Economic Policy of the Government, Press Commission Report, etc. The decisions made by the Committee are unanimous and its recommendations are generally accepted by the House.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES

Members of the House enjoy individually and collectively certain rights and immunities in order to maintain their freedom, status and dignity. These are governed by Art. 105(3) of the Constitution. Any breach of Privileges of Parliament is referred to the Committee of Privileges which reports to the House with recommendations for action. The Committee of Privileges was first set up on 26th May, 1952, during the life of the First Parliament. It consists of 15 members. The Committee holds the following as breach of privilege *e.g.*, (1) Disrespect to any Member of the House by a non-member, (2) Disrespect to the House collectively by a Member, (3) Disobedience to orders of the House or interference with its procedure.

COMMITTEE ON SUBORDINATE LEGISLATION

See

Delegated legislation or subordinate legislation is inevitable at the present time. The modern state has perforce to embark on socialistic type of legislation which requires the enactment of elaborate laws. Parliament has neither time nor competence to frame laws over every field of activity in every detail. It therefore lays down the broad principles of any legislation, leaving the procedural details to the Executive. However, such rules and regulations issued by the Executive should be subject to the scrutiny and control of the Parliament. In the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and Ireland scrutiny Committees of the Lower House have been set up to ascertain

whether statutory rules (a) are in accordance with the present statute, (b) do not trespass unduly upon personal rights and liberties, (c) do not unduly make the rights and liberties of citizens dependent upon administrative and not judicial decisions and (d) are concerned with administrative detail and do not amount to substantial legislation which should be a matter for Parliamentary enactment. India has accepted the practice of delegated legislation but at the same time has taken care to secure for Parliament effective control over the Rules and Regulations issued by Government Departments which put the rights of private individuals and associations in jeopardy. The Speaker of the House of People appointed on December 1, 1953 a Committee of fifteen members of Parliament known as the Committee on Subordinate Legislation. The function of the Committee was to review several laws enacted by the Indian Legislative Assembly of the pre-partition days and others passed by the Indian Parliament. It recommended that the Acts authorizing delegation of rule-making powers in future should contain express provisions that rules made thereunder should be subject to modification by the House. Such rules were also to be laid before the House within a couple of days after their publication. In the session 1954-55 the Committee held seven meetings and scrutinized 131 orders. In 1955-56 it held three meetings and scrutinized 233 orders, drawing attention to more than 50 cases of delay in laying orders before Parliament. In 1956-57 it held six meetings, scrutinized 336 orders and drew attention to 54 cases of delay in laying orders before Parliament. Judged from the nature of the work done by it, it appears to be a vigorous and independent body.

COMMITTEE ON PETITIONS

In India the right of presentation of a petition was recognised as early as 1926, although this right was confined only to Bills pending before the House. On October 6, 1953 the question of enlarging the scope of the petitions to include matters other than Bills was raised and the matter was referred to the Rules Committee. The Rules Committee decided to enlarge the scope of petitions on matters of gene-

ral public interest and this decision was accepted. The Committee consists of 15 members one of whom is to act as Chairman. Since the enforcement of the new rules in January, 1954, the Committee admitted 57 petitions upto the end of 1955. The first Report September 9, 1957, examined ten petitions. The petitions related to grievances of displaced persons, suggestions to amendment of Post Office Rules, requesting grant of railway concessions to children and their escorts appearing for competitive examinations and asking for discontinuance of scholarship to students on a community basis. The Committee admits also petitions to Bills pending before the House and directs the circulation of the petition to the members before the Bill is taken up in the House. Such petitions are useful because they enable the members to gauge public opinion on important matters and also to suggest appropriate measures.

COMMITTEE ON ASSURANCE

The question hour provides opportunities to members to bring up grievances and ask for their redress. During 1950-57, 71,907 notices of questions were received out of which 43,350 questions, i.e., 61 per cent were admitted. The Government members in replying to questions give assurances, promises and undertakings from time to time and a Committee of Assurances was set up towards the end of 1953 to scrutinize such assurances and to report on the extent to which such promises have been implemented. The Committee has insisted that assurances should be normally implemented within two months but where it is not possible to do so, circumstances should be explained to the House why it was not done. The Committee consists of 15 members and during 1953-56 it held 23 sittings and presented three Reports to the Lok Sabha.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

It performs the same functions in relation to Private Members' Bills and Resolutions as

the Business Advisory Committee does in regard to Government Business. The functions of the Committee are to allot time to Private Members' Bills seeking to amend the Constitution before their introduction to Lok Sabha, to classify Private Members' Bills according to their nature, urgency and importance and to examine such Bills where legislative competence of the House is challenged. The Committee was set up on 1st December 1953 and consists of 15 members. Between 1953-56 the Committee held 72 sittings and presented 67 reports.

ESTIMATES COMMITTEE

There are two Committees in Parliament which exercise responsibilities of financial control. They are the Estimates Committee and the Public Accounts Committee. The former is concerned with scrutinizing the annual budget estimates of the Government and the latter with scrutinizing the final accounts of the Government.

The Estimates Committee consists of 30 members and its members are elected by the House of People annually from its members according to the principle of proportional representation. It was set up on 10th April, 1950. In the very first year of its inception, the Committee complained that its scrutiny was restricted and its usefulness curtailed by the exclusion of examination of policy from its terms of reference. In mid-summer 1953 the rule was amended to expand the scope of Committee's examination 'to suggest alternative policies in order to bring about efficiency and economy in administration.' This amplification encouraged the Committee to assume the functions of recommending improvements in organization of suggesting measures of efficiency in administration as well. The Speaker issued a directive explaining the meaning of the term 'policy.' Policy as explained by him related only to policies laid down by Parliament by statute. The Committee was permitted to commend a particular policy, if it was evident that the approved policy of the Government was not fulfilling its purpose or that it was leading to a waste of public funds.

ESTIMATES COMMITTEE AT WORK

During 7 years (1950-57) the Committee held 296 sittings of 788 hours and presented 68 reports. In the course of sittings 788 witnesses were examined and 20,092 pages of material was studied by the Committee. During 1956-57 it held 63 sittings of 141 hours and presented 35 reports. In the course of its work, the Committee has placed a liberal interpretation of its terms of reference in accordance with the Speaker's directive. Usually it takes up two or three Ministries each year and recommends economies in expenditure, suggesting the form in which the estimates should be presented to Parliament. It devotes a great deal of attention to the organizational aspect and to measures which would, in its opinion, provide that the money voted by Parliament was better spent. In its very first Report, it touched upon the efficiency and organization of the Ministry which it had taken up for examination. The Second Report was devoted to the reorganization of the Secretariat of the Departments of Government. The subsequent reports also touched upon questions of efficiency and administrative reorganization. The Ninth Report was entirely devoted to question of administration, financial and other reforms. Similarly the 16th report dealt with the organization and administration of nationalised undertakings.

THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE

It was first set up in India in 1923. It consists of 22 members, fifteen from Lok Sabha and seven from Rajya Sabha. The Chairman of the Committee is appointed by the Speaker from amongst the Members of the Committee. So far the Chairman of the Committee has belonged to the party in power unlike in the U.K., where, by long tradition, the post is filled in by a member of the Opposition party.

FUNCTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

The function of the Committee is to examine the accounts of the Government of India and to see if they have been spent in accordance with appropriations sanctioned by Parliament and that no unauthorised expendi-

ture has been incurred. The Appropriation Accounts and the Audit Report presented by the Controller and Auditor-General form mostly the basis for the examination of the Committee. It is not possible for the Public Accounts Committee to examine the accounts of all Departments of the Government of India and consequently it examines the accounts of only one or two departments every year. It also examines the accounts of Government enterprises or semi-Government enterprises, such as Bhakra Dam or the Damodar Valley Corporation, Trading and Manufacturing Schemes etc. Its work is usually of a retrospective nature. Its existence and reports are a great restraint upon the Government and its report is discussed in the Lok Sabha and action is taken on its recommendations.

THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE AT WORK

During 1950-57 the Committee presented 26 reports. In 1956-57 the Committee held 21 sittings of 40 hours and presented five reports. The Committee examined departmental witnesses who had to answer the criticism which the Auditor-General brought against the working of their departments in their annual reports. In the 13th session of the Lok Sabha (1956) when Government approached Parliament for regularisation of excesses relating to the year 1951-52, the consensus of opinion was that a procedure be adopted for expeditious regularisation of such excesses so as to ensure that the time lag between the detection of the excesses and the regularisation by Parliament is reduced to the minimum. The Public Accounts Committee decided that as soon as excesses in accounts relating to a year which had just closed came to its notice, the Controller and Auditor-General, will, in advance of his main Report on the Appropriation Accounts report these excesses to Parliament in the prescribed manner. The Committee in accordance with procedure in the United Kingdom would proceed to examine with reference to the facts of each case, the circumstances leading to the excess and present a separate report to the Parliament, making these recommendations on these excesses. The Committee also advised the Government not to incur expenditure in

any year more than the sums authorised by Parliament for that year and introduce new techniques in budgeting so as to ensure that the expenditure does not exceed the sum authorised by Parliament and any excess over allotment gets prior rather than an *ex post facto* approval of Parliament. The Public Accounts Committee brought to light financial irregularities in the Hirakud Dam Project and exposed the Jeep Deal Scandal. In its reports it emphasised that Ministries concerned should furnish to the Lok Sabha within a period of four weeks from the date of presentation to the House of the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General on the excesses over grants, appropriation, stating the reason and circumstances dealing with such excesses for the consideration of the Committee. It asked the Ministry of Finance to put more emphasis on realistic budgeting and discourage the tendency of Ministries to err on the safe side, *i.e.*, in the Appropriation Accounts, 1952-53, examined by the Committee which showed that there was a saving of 31 crores on final grants in the Ministry of Finance, Food, Agriculture, Transport, Works, Housing and Supply. In the same report the Committee referred to a serious irregularity. A building was rented in a foreign country at substantial cost for housing the staff of an Embassy which was not appointed even till 6 years after. The Cabinet decision to open to this Embassy was not referred by the External Affairs Ministry to the Standing Finance Committee who should have considered it earlier. The Committee warned that this should be avoided. The Public Accounts Committee in its 25th Report (1956-57) asked the Government to hold a judicial inquiry and fix the responsibility for handling the Important Sale of Japanese Cloth transaction resulting in a loss of 55 lakhs to the Public Exchequer. The Government decided not to hold such an inquiry as it was satisfied that such inquiry would not reveal any fresh facts. The Committee sought the advice of the Speaker on this

matter who issued a directive to all the Ministries of the Government of India laying down that the cases where Government were not in a position to implement a recommendation of P.A.C., or Estimates Committee and Government had reasons to disagree with the recommendations of the Committee, the Ministries concerned should place their views before the Committee who may present a further report to the House after considering the views of the Government in the matter.

CONCLUSION

It would appear from the above short survey that Parliament is able to exercise effective supervision and control on the work of the executive only through its Parliamentary Committees. In the absence of an effective organised opposition in the Parliament, the work of scrutiny of Government policies and administration has devolved on Parliamentary Committees. Sri Ashok Chanda in his book *Indian Administration* maintains that the Estimate Committee is 'fast acquiring the inquisitorial attributes of congressional Committees in the U.S.A., and becoming a fault-finding, rather than a fact-finding, mechanism.'^{*} He holds that Parliamentary Committees encroach indirectly on the policy-making functions of the Government and its reproaches undermine the public confidence in the administration. It is not possible to agree with Sri Chanda on this point. In a Parliamentary Government effective checks on executive arbitrariness and national finances consistent with efficient administration are desirable. This will keep the administration vigilant and alert. The great need of the hour is to entrust more work of scrutiny and control to Committees, so that there may be economy of time and Parliament may be able to discuss and debate only matters of general policy.

* *Indian Administration*, page 192.



SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(XVIII) Fundamental Rights: Right to Constitutional Remedies

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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I

We shall now deal with the last category of our Fundamental Rights, namely, the Right to Constitutional Remedies in case of the violation of any such fundamental right. This right has been guaranteed to us by Article 32 and Article 226 of our Constitution. Thus we find in Article 32:

"32. (1) The right to move the Supreme Court by appropriate proceedings for the enforcement of the rights conferred by this Part (i.e., Part III¹ of the Constitution of India) is guaranteed.

"(2) The Supreme Court shall have power to issue directions or orders or writs, including writs in the nature of *habeas corpus*, *mandamus*, prohibition, *quo warranto* and *certiorari*,² whichever may be appropriate, for the enforcement of any of the rights conferred by this Part.

"(3) Without prejudice to the powers conferred on the Supreme Court by Clauses (1) and (2), Parliament may by law empower any other court to exercise within the local limits of its jurisdiction all or any of the powers exercisable by the Supreme Court under Clause (2).³

1. Part III of the *Constitution of India* deals with our Fundamental Rights.

2. For the meanings of these technical terms, see any standard Law Dictionary or any standard treatise on English Constitutional Law; also the relevant pages in D. Basu's *Commentary on the Constitution of India*.

3. In its application to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, Clause (3) of Article 32 is to be omitted; and after Clause (2), the following new Clause is to be inserted:

"(2A) Without prejudice to the powers conferred by Clauses (1) and (2), the High Court shall have power throughout the territories in relation to which it exercises jurisdiction to issue to any person or authority, including in appropriate cases any Government within those territories, directions or orders or writs, including writs in the nature of *habeas*

"(4) The right guaranteed by this Article shall not be suspended except as otherwise⁴ provided for by this Constitution."

And Article 226 of the Constitution lays down:

"226. (1) Notwithstanding anything in Article 32, every High Court shall have power, throughout the territories in relation to which it exercises jurisdiction, to issue to any person or authority, including in appropriate cases any Government, within those territories directions, orders or writs, including writs in the nature of *habeas corpus*, *mandamus*, prohibition, *quo warranto* and *certiorari*, or any of them, for the enforcement of any of the rights conferred by Part III (of the Constitution) and for any other purpose.

"The power conferred on a High Court by Clause (1) shall not be in derogation of the power conferred on the Supreme Court by Clause (2) of Article 32."

It may be noted here that, under Article 141 of the Constitution, the law declared by the Supreme Court is "binding on all Courts within the territory of India," and that, under Article 144 thereof, all authorities, civil and judicial, must "act in aid of the Supreme Court." Further, notwithstanding anything in Chapter IV of Part V of the Constitution, which deals with the Union Judiciary, under Clause (1) of Article 136 of the same, the Supreme Court "may, in its discretion, grant special leave to appeal from any judgment, decree, determination, sentence or order in any cause or matter passed or made by any court or tribunal in the territory of

corpus, *mandamus*, prohibition, *quo warranto* and *certiorari*, or any of them, for the enforcement of any of the rights conferred by this Part" (i.e., Part III of the Constitution).

4. See in this connexion Articles 358 and 359 of the *Constitution of India*.

India," subject, however, to the condition of prohibition and *certiorari* against an order of the Government of Madras, the respondents in the case, dated 1st March, 1950, "whereby they (had) imposed a ban upon the entry and circulation of the journal in that State."⁵ The Advocate-General of Madras appearing before the Supreme Court on behalf of the respondents had "raised a preliminary objection, not indeed to the jurisdiction of this Court (i.e., the Supreme Court) to entertain the application under Article 32, but to the petitioner resorting to this Court directly for . . . relief in the first instance." He had "contended that, as a matter of orderly procedure, the petitioner should first resort to the High Court at Madras which under Article 226 of the Constitution has concurrent jurisdiction to deal with the matter." He referred in this connexion to certain American decisions, among other things. Overruling this preliminary objection, the Supreme Court declared unanimously⁶ on 26th May, 1950 :

It may also be noted in this connexion that, under Article 227 of the Constitution, every High Court in India has the power of "superintendence over all courts and tribunals throughout the territories in relation to which it exercises jurisdiction" and may, among other things, "call for returns from such courts," but that it has no power "of superintendence over any court or tribunal constituted by or under any law relating to the Armed Forces" of the country. Further, under Article 228 of the Constitution, if any High Court is satisfied that a case pending in a court subordinate to it involves a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the Constitution the determination of which is necessary for the disposal of the case, then it must withdraw the case from the court in question "and may—

"(a) either dispose of the case itself, or (b) determine the said question of law and return the case to the court from which the case has been withdrawn together with a copy of its judgment on such question, and the said court shall on receipt thereof proceed to dispose of the case in conformity with such judgment."

II

We have stated above the law relating to our constitutional remedies for the violation of any of our Fundamental Rights. We may now refer to some of the views which have been expressed by our Supreme Court or by its individual Judges from time to time, in connexion with the question of our Fundamental Right to Constitutional Remedies. In what is known as *Romesh Thappar V. The State of Madras*, the petitioner, Romesh Thappar, who was the printer, publisher and editor of a weekly journal in English called *Cross Roads*, printed and published in Bombay, had submitted an application directly to the Supreme Court, under Article 32 of the Constitution, for a writ

"Under the Constitution the Supreme Court is constituted the protector and guarantor of fundamental rights, and it cannot, consistently with the responsibility so laid upon it, refuse to entertain applications seeking protection against infringement of such rights, although such applications are made to the Court in the first instance without resort to a High Court having a concurrent jurisdiction in the matter." Thus, although, as we have seen before,⁷ there was a difference of opinion amongst the Judges of the Supreme Court in regard to some other points in what we may call the *Romesh Thappar* case, they were unanimous in their rejection of the contention put forward by the Advocate-General of Madras. Delivering the judgment of the majority in this case Patanjali Sastri J. also observed⁸ that

5. For details, see *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950; pp. 594-605.

6. See *ibid.* p. 594.

7. See our Article in *The Modern Review* for July, 1955.

8. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, referred to in foot-note 5 above, p. 597.

"Article 32 provides a 'guaranteed' remedy for the enforcement" of the rights conferred by Part III of the Constitution, and that "this remedial right is itself made a fundamental right by being included in Part III." His Lordship added:⁹

"This (Supreme) Court is thus constituted the protector and guarantor of fundamental rights, and it cannot, consistently with the responsibility so laid upon it, refuse to entertain applications seeking protection against infringements of such rights. No similar provision is to be found in the Constitution of the United States (of America) and we do not consider that the American decisions are in point."¹⁰

We may next refer to expressions of judicial opinion on Article 32 in connexion with the case known as *Chiranjit Lal Chowdhuri V. The Union of India and Others*, to be referred to hereinafter as the *Chiranjit Lal* case. In the course of his judgment in this case Mukherjea J. of the Supreme Court stated on 4th December, 1950¹¹.

"Article 32 (1) of the Constitution guarantees to everybody the right to move this court, by appropriate proceeding, for (the) enforcement of the fundamental rights which are enumerated in Part III of the Constitution. (Clause (2) of Article 32 is quoted here). Thus anybody who complains of infraction of any of the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution is at liberty to move the Supreme Court for the enforcement of such rights and this court has been given the power to make orders and issue corrections or writs similar in nature to the prerogative writs of English law as might be considered appropriate in particular cases. The fundamental rights guaranteed

by the Constitution are available not merely to individual citizens but to corporate bodies except where the language of the provision or the nature of the right compels the inference that they are applicable only to natural persons. A incorporated company, therefore, can come up to this Court for (the) enforcement of its fundamental rights and so may the individual shareholders to enforce the own; but it would not be open to an individual shareholder to complain of an Act which affects the fundamental rights of the Company except to the extent that it constitutes an infraction of his own rights as well. This follows logically from the rule of law that a corporation has distinct legal personality of its own with rights and capacities, duties and obligations separate from those of its individual members. As the rights are different and inhere in different legal entities, it is not competent to one person to seek to enforce the rights of another except where the law permits him to do so. A well-known illustration of such exception is furnished by the procedure that is sanctioned in an application for a writ of *habeas corpus*. Not only the man who is imprisoned or detained in confinement—but any person provided he is not an absolute stranger, can institute proceedings to obtain a writ of *habeas corpus* for the purpose of liberating another from an illegal imprisonment."

Further, His Lordship observed:¹²

"Article 32, as its provisions show,

12. In England the corresponding law seems to be somewhat different. Thus we find Lord Justice Denning of the Court of Appeal in England observing with reference to the writ of *Habeas Corpus* there:

"Whenever any man in England is detained against his will, not by sentence of the King's Courts, but by anyone else, then he or anyone on his behalf is entitled to apply to any of the judges of the High Court to determine whether his detention is lawful or not." (The italics are ours).

• See Denning, *Freedom Under the Law* (1949), p. 6.

13. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950 Vol. 1, Parts IX & X, December, 1950; pp. 899-901. •

9. *Ibid.*, p. 597.

10. Reference here is to the limited nature and extent of the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States—See Section 2 of Article III of the Constitution of the United States.

11. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts IX & X, December, 1950; pp. 597-901.

not directly concerned with the determination of constitutional validity of particular legislative enactments. What it aims at is the enforcing of fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution, no matter whether the necessity for such enforcement arises out of an action of the executive or of the legislature. To make out a case under this Article it is incumbent upon the petitioner (Chiranjit Lal Chowdhuri) to establish not merely that the law¹⁴ complained of is beyond the competence of the particular legislature as not being covered by any of the items in the legislative lists, but that it affects or invades his fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution, of which he could seek enforcement by an appropriate writ or order. The rights that could be enforced under Article 32 must ordinarily be the rights of the petitioner himself who complains of infraction of such rights and approaches the court for relief . . . it would appear from the language of Article 32 of the Constitution that the sole object of the Article is the enforcement of fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution. A proceeding under this Article cannot really have any affinity to what is known as a declaratory suit . . . Any way, Article 32 of the Constitution gives us very wide discretion in the matter of framing our writs to suit the exigencies of particular cases, and the application of the petitioner cannot be thrown out simply on the ground that the proper writ or direction has not been prayed for."¹⁵

It may be noted here that Fazl Ali and Das JJ. of the Supreme Court

14. Reference here is to the Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Company (Emergency Provisions) Act, 1950—See *ibid.*, p. 869.

15. We also find in the unanimous judgment, dated 19th May, 1950, of the Supreme Court in *Rashid Ahmed V. The Municipal Board, Kairana*:—"The powers given to this Court under Article 32 (of the Constitution) are much wider and are not confined to issuing prerogative writs only."

The Supreme Court Reports, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950; p. 572. •

agreed* with Mukherjea J. in the view that "except in the matter of writs in the nature of *habeas corpus* no one but those whose rights are directly affected by a law can raise the question of the constitutionality of a law and can claim relief under Article 32. A corporation being a different entity from the shareholders, a shareholder cannot complain on the ground that the rights of the Company under Articles (19) (1) (f) or 31 (of the Constitution) are infringed."

Further, we find¹⁶ in the judgment of Das J. in the *Chiranjit Lal* case:

"Article 32 can only be invoked for the purpose of the enforcement of the fundamental rights. Article 32 does not permit an application merely for the purpose of agitating the competence of the appropriate legislature in passing any particular enactment unless the enactment also infringes any of the fundamental rights."

We also find¹⁷ in the same judgment:

"It is well settled in the United States that no one but those whose rights are directly affected by a law can raise the question of the constitutionality of that law . . . It is, therefore, clear that the constitutional validity of a law can be challenged only by a person whose interest is directly affected by the law . . . The proceedings for a writ in the nature of a writ of *habeas corpus* appear to be somewhat different for the rules governing those proceedings permit, besides the person imprisoned, any person, provided he is not an utter stranger,¹⁸ but is at least a friend or relation of the imprisoned person, to apply for that particular writ. But that special rule does not appear to be applicable to the other writs which require a direct and tangible interest in the applicant to support his application. This

* See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts IX & X, December, 1950; pp. 873-74.

16. See *ibid.*, p. 918.

17. See *ibid.*, Pp. 928-31.

18. See in this connexion foot-note 12 above.

must also be the case where the applicant seeks to raise the question of the constitutionality of a law under Articles 14, 19 and 31."

Moreover, we find¹⁹ in the judgment of Kania C. J. of the Supreme Court in *A. K. Gopalan V. The State of Madras*, to be referred to hereinafter as the *A. K. Gopalan* case:

"The wording of Article 32 shows that the Supreme Court can be moved to grant a suitable relief, mentioned in Article 32 (2), only in respect of the Fundamental Rights mentioned in Part III of the Constitution."

Thus the Supreme Court consisting of Kania C.J., Fazl Ali, Patanjali Sastri, Mahajan, Mukherjea and Das JJ., unanimously held, on 19th May, 1950, Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, enacted by the Parliament of India, to be "ultra vires and void" as it contravened the provisions of Article 22(5) of the Constitution of India insofar as it prohibited a person detained under the Preventive Detention Act from disclosing to the Court the grounds on which his detention order had been "made or the representation made by him against the order of detention."^{19a} The observations made by Mahajan J. with regard to Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, are particularly worthy of note here. "This section", His Lordship observed,^{19b} "is in the nature of an iron curtain around the acts of the authority making the order of the preventive detention. The Constitution has guaranteed to the detained person the right to be told the grounds of detention. He has been given a right to make a representation (*vide* Article 22(5) of the Constitution), yet Section 14 prohibits the disclosure of the grounds furnished to him or the contents of the representation made by him in a Court of law and makes a breach of this injunction punishable with

imprisonment. [Clauses (1) and (4) of Article 32 are quoted here]. Now it is quite clear that if an authority passes an order of preventive detention for reasons not connected with any of the six subjects^{19c} mentioned in the 7th Schedule (to the Constitution), this Court can always declare the detention illegal and release the detenu, but it is not possible for this Court to function if there is a prohibition against disclosing the grounds which have been served upon him. It is only by an examination of the grounds that it is possible to say whether the grounds fall within the ambit of the legislative power contained in the Constitution or are outside its scope. Again, something may be served on the detenu as being grounds which are not grounds at all. In this contingency it is the right of the detained person under Article 32 to move this Court for enforcing the right under Article 22 (5) that he be given the real grounds on which the detention order is based. This Court would be disabled from exercising its functions under Article 32 and adjudicating on the point that the grounds given satisfy the requirements of the sub-clause [Clause (5) of Article 22?] if it is not open to it to see the grounds that have been furnished. It is a guaranteed right of the person detained to have the very grounds which are the basis of the order of detention. This Court would be entitled to examine the matter and to see whether the grounds furnished are the grounds on the basis of which he has been detained or they contain some other vague or irrelevant material. The whole purpose of furnishing a detained person with the grounds is to enable him to make a representation refuting these grounds and of proving his innocence (*sic*). In order that this Court may be able to safeguard this fundamental right and to grant him relief it is absolutely essential that the detenu is not prohibited under penalty of

19. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II & III, April & May, 1950, p. 97.

19a. See *ibid.*, pp. 89-94.

19b. See *ibid.*, pp. 241-44.

19c. See Entry 9 of the Union List and Entry 3 of the Concurrent List of the 7th Schedule to the Constitution of India.

punishment to disclose the grounds to the Court and no injunction by law can be issued to this Court disabling it from having a look at the grounds. Section 14 creates a substantive offence if the grounds are disclosed and it lays a duty on the Court not to permit the disclosure of such grounds. It virtually amounts to a suspension of a guaranteed right provided by the Constitution inasmuch as it indirectly by a stringent provision makes administration of the law by this Court impossible and at the same time it deprives a detained person from (of ?) obtaining justice from this Court. In my opinion, therefore, this section when it prohibits the disclosure of the grounds contravenes or abridges the rights given by Part III (of the Constitution) to a citizen and is *ultra vires* the powers of Parliament to that extent."

Again, when in connexion with the case known as *Chintaman Rao V. The State of Madhya Pradesh*,²⁰ Mr. S. M. Sikri, Counsel for the respondent, the State of Madhya Pradesh, contended before the Supreme Court, with reference to (the original) Clause (6) of Article 19, of our Constitution that "the legislature of Madhya Pradesh was the proper judge of the reasonableness of the restrictions imposed by the Statute," the Central Provinces and Berar Regulation of Manufacture of Bidis (Agricultural Purposes) Act, 1948;²¹ that "that legislature alone knew the conditions prevailing in the State (of Madhya Pradesh) and it alone could say what kind of legislation could effectively achieve the end in view and would help in the grow-more-food campaign and would help for bringing in fallow land under the plough", and that "this (Supreme) Court sitting at this great dist-

ance (New Delhi) could not judge by its own yard-stick of reason whether the restrictions imposed in the circumstances of the case were reasonable or not," the Supreme Court unanimously declared²² on 8th November, 1950:

"This argument runs counter to the clear provisions of the Constitution. The determination by the legislature of what constitutes a reasonable restriction is not final or conclusive; it is subject to the (*sic*) supervision by this Court. In the matter of fundamental rights, the Supreme Court watches and guards the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and in exercising its functions it has the power to set aside an Act of the Legislature if it is in violation of the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution. We are therefore of opinion that the impugned statute [i.e., the Central Provinces and Berar Regulation of Manufacture of Bidis (Agricultural Purposes) Act, 1948] does not stand the test of reasonableness and is therefore void."

III

We have indicated above, with reference to some authoritative judicial pronouncements, some aspects of the nature and extent of our Fundamental Right to Constitutional Remedies and also, incidentally, the position of our Supreme Court in relation to our Fundamental Rights in general so far as its *original* jurisdiction is concerned. We may now refer to the position of our High Courts in respect of our Fundamental Rights as set forth in Article 226 of our Constitution, read along with Articles 227 and 228 thereof, as shown before. As will appear from what follows, there are, fortunately, some judicial pronouncements on the question of jurisdiction of our High Courts in the matter of the issuing of writs under Article 226 of the Constitution.

In the course of its judgment in *Election Commission, India V. Saka Venkata Subba Rao* to be referred to hereinafter as the *Election Commission* case, the Supreme Court consisting of Patanjali Sastri C. J. and Mukherjea, Vivian Bose,

20. The full name of the case was *Chintaman Rao V. The State of Madhya Pradesh and Ram Krishna V. The State of Madhya Pradesh*.—See in this connexion our article in *The Modern Review* for January, 1956; also *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VIII, October and November, 1950, pp. 759-66.

21. For further details, see *ibid.*

22. See *ibid.*

Ghulam Hasan and Bhagwati JJ. declared²³ unanimously on February 27th, 1953:

"It will be noticed that Article 225 (of the Constitution) continues to the existing High Courts the same jurisdiction and powers as they possessed immediately before the commencement of the Constitution it was authoritatively decided by the Privy Council in the *Parlakimedi* case (70 I.A. 129) that the High Court of Madras—the High Courts of Bombay and Calcutta were in the same position—had no power to issue what were known as high prerogative writs beyond the local limits of its original civil jurisdiction, and the power to issue such writs within those limits was derived by the (High) Court as (the) successor of the Supreme Court which had been exercising jurisdiction over the Presidency Town of Madras and was replaced by the High Court established in pursuance of the Charter Act²⁴ of 1861. The other High Courts in India had no power to issue such writs at all. In that situation, the makers of the Constitution, having decided to provide for certain basic safeguards for the people in the new set-up, which they called fundamental rights, evidently thought it necessary to provide also a quick and inexpensive remedy for the enforcement of such rights and, finding that the prerogative writs which the Courts in England had developed and used whenever urgent necessity demanded immediate and decisive interposition, were peculiarly suited for the purpose, they conferred, in the States' sphere, new and wide powers on the High Courts of issuing directions, orders, or writs primarily for the enforcement of fundamental rights, the power to issue such directions, etc., 'for any other purpose' being also included with a view apparently to place all the High Courts in this country in somewhat the same position as the

Court of King's Bench in England. But wide as were the powers thus conferred, a two-fold limitation was placed upon their exercise. In the first place, the power is to be exercised 'throughout the territories in relation to which it exercises jurisdiction,' that is to say, the writs issued by the court cannot run beyond the territories subject to its jurisdiction. Secondly, the person or authority to whom the High Court is empowered to issue such writs, must be 'within those territories,' which clearly implies that they must be amenable to its jurisdiction either by residence or location within those territories."

Thus the Supreme Court held in the *Election Commission* case that "the power of the High Court to issue writs under Article 226 of the Constitution is subject to the two-fold limitation that such writs cannot run beyond the territories subject to its jurisdiction and the person or authority to whom the High Court is empowered to issue such writs must be amenable to the jurisdiction of the High Court either by residence or location within the territories subject to its jurisdiction."^{24a}

This view was later on reiterated by the Supreme Court in another case. In the course of its judgment in *K. S. Rashid and Son V. The Income-Tax Investigation Commission*, etc., the Supreme Court consisting this time of Mehr Chand Mahajan C.J., Mukherjea, S. R. Das, Vivian Bose and Ghulam Hasan JJ., again unanimously declared²⁵ on 22nd January, 1954:

"Prior to the commencement of the Constitution the powers of issuing prerogative writs could be exercised in India only by the High Courts of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay and that also within very rigid and defined limits. The writs could be issued only to the extent that the power in that respect was not taken away

23. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1953, Vol. IV, Part X, December, 1953, pp. 1150-1151. The judgment of the Supreme Court in the case in question was delivered by Patanjali Sastri C.J.

24. I.e., The Indian High Courts Act, 1861 (24 and 25 Vict. c. 104).

24a. See *The Supreme Court Reports* referred to in foot-note 23 above, pp. 1144-1145.

25. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Parts VI and VII, June and July, 1954, pp. 744-45. The judgment of the Supreme Court in the case in question was delivered by Mukherjea J.

by the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure (vide *Besant V. The Advocate-General of Madras*: 46 I.A. 176) and they could be directed only to persons and authorities within the original civil jurisdiction of these High Courts. The Constitution (of India) introduced a fundamental change of law in this respect . . . While Article 225 of the Constitution preserves to the existing High Courts the powers and jurisdictions which they had previously, Article 226 confers, on all the High Courts, new and very wide powers in the matter of issuing writs which they never possessed before. (An extract is quoted here from the judgment of the Supreme Court in the *Election Commission* case referred to before). There are only two limitations placed upon the exercise of these powers by a High Court under Article 226 of the Constitution; one is that the power is to be exercised 'throughout the territories in relation to which it exercises jurisdiction,' that is to say, the writs issued by the court cannot run beyond the territories subject to its jurisdiction. The other limitation is that the person or authority to whom the High Court is empowered to issue writs 'must be within those territories' and this implies that they must be amenable to its jurisdiction either by residence or location within those territories. It is with reference to these two conditions thus mentioned that the jurisdiction of the High Courts to issue writs under Article 226 of the Constitution is to be determined."

The Supreme Court added,²⁶ however:

"The remedy provided for in Article 226 of the Constitution is a discretionary remedy and the High Court has always the discretion to refuse to grant any writ if it is satisfied that the aggrieved party can have an adequate or suitable relief elsewhere."

We have shown above the implications of Article 226 of our Constitution as judicially determined. It is perhaps hardly necessary to state here that appeals lie

to the Supreme Court from the decisions of our High Courts in respect of matters contemplated by Article 226. Article 132 of the Constitution is clear on the point. It lays down:

"132. (1) An appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court from *any*²⁷ judgment, decree or final order of a High Court in the territory of India, whether in a civil, criminal or other proceeding, if the High Court certifies that the case involves a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of this Constitution.

"(2) Where the High Court has refused to give such a certificate, the Supreme Court may, if it is satisfied that the case involves a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of this Constitution, grant special leave to appeal from such judgment, decree or final order.

"(3) Where such a certificate is given, or such leave is granted, any party in the case may appeal to the Supreme Court on the ground that any such question as aforesaid has been wrongly decided and, with the leave of the Supreme Court, on any other ground."

It may be noted in this connection that in the course of its judgment in what we have referred to before as the *Election Commission*²⁸ case the Supreme Court unanimously held²⁹ on 27th February, 1953 that "an appeal lies to the Supreme Court under Article 132 of the Constitution even from a judgment, decree or final order of a Single Judge of a High Court, provided the requisite certificate is given." Elaborating this point the Supreme Court stated,³⁰ among other things:

"While it is true that constitutional questions could be raised³¹ in appeals filed without a certificate under Article 132 (of

27. The italic is ours.

28. *Election Commission, India V. Saka Venkata Subba Rao*.

29. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1953, Vol. IV, Part X, December, 1953, p. 1145.

30. See *ibid.*, p. 1149.

31. See, for instance, Clause (2) of Article 133 of the Constitution.

26. See *ibid.*, pp. 739 and 747.

the Constitution), the terms of that Article make it clear that an appeal is allowed from 'any judgment, decree or final order of a High Court' provided, of course, the requisite certificate is given, and no restriction is placed on the right of appeal having reference to the number of Judges by whom such judgment, decree or final order was passed. Had it been intended to exclude the right of appeal in the case of a judgment, etc., by one Judge, it would have been easy to include a reference to Article 132 also in the opening words of Article 133(3) (of the Constitution) as in

the immediately preceding clause³² The whole scheme of the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court clearly indicates that questions relating to the interpretation of the Constitution are placed in a special category irrespective of the nature of the proceedings in which they may arise, and a right of appeal of the widest amplitude is allowed in cases involving such questions."

(To be Continued)

32 I.e., Clause (2) of Article 133 of the Constitution.

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A B C OF TAGORE'S PHILOSOPHY

By JOGES C. BCSE

DOCTRINAIRES delight to define Philosophy in various terms. Their disquisitions often run the length of verbal acrobatics. I would, however, seek refuge in a layman's approach to hold that the philosophy of a man is the ruling note of his personality, such as constitutes his inalienable differentia. The encompassing, resurgent personality of Tagore, the poet and patriot,* has in easy transition its crowning fulfilment in the philosopher. Here we have a full-length-view of his overriding faith in the unity of life amid all conflicts. He is the 'unvanquished Man winning back his lost heritage' by bridging the gulf that separates him from his kind.

"Quite unconsciously," says Rabindranath, "I shape all my thoughts and my life on the philosophical teachings of the *Upanishads*." In fact, if one influence more than any other can be singled out, it is the *Upanishads*, which sustained him to outsoar the soaring. "*The Upanishads* draw together," says Sree Aurobindo Ghose, "into a great harmony all that have been seen and experienced by the liberated knowers of the eternal throughout a great and fruitful period of spiritual seeking." This is

possibly the last say in the matter. Therefore, taking this Harmony as the basic principle of Hindu culture, we have to take note of one cardinal fact, how with each foreign conquest or usurpation it has reacted with an open mind to new, emergent tendencies, and yet the core of that civilization, better called the genius of culture, has not changed. It has passed through periods of eclipse, in one of which the blighting institution Caste, originally designed to integrate the disintegrating by making room for each in a slowly-evolving social system, ousted the homogeneity of the race and has disastrously taken roots. But at no stage it has been static; and it has lived down the shattering forces of time on the principle of co-ordination.

It is commonly supposed that Hindu civilization had its first clash with Islamic infiltration. The fact is that it has primarily grown to develop out of opposition from within. The different schools of thought promulgate somewhat different tenets for the dilettante. To those, however, who would go deep into the matter all the seeming differences converge on the point of fighting for freedom against iron conventions. The net result is that the province of each is to see that Truth is nowhere crushed under the dead weight of dogmas. To borrow a simile of Bergson, it is like the eye, com-

* *The Modern Review* for March, August, September, October and December, 1957; February and August, 1958 and January, 1959.

posed of extremely complex mechanisms, and yet the vision is one simple fact.

That Truth, so far as it relates to our point at issue in discussing Rabindranath's philosophy, crystallises into a belief in the universality of man. No Hindu can offer oblation to the deceased—and this offer is enjoined in various socio-religious observances—unless he offers it to *abramha bhubana-lokah*, i.e., all men of the world. No Hindu, in still more explicit terms, can offer satisfaction to the deceased, which, of course, nobody can swear by, but that satisfaction for himself, his kith and kin, which everybody can feel were he not dead to elementary responsiveness, unless the offer, at the same time, is for *abramha stambha jagat tripyatu*, i.e., for the satisfaction *pari passu* of the whole universe, from what has its existence like a mote dancing on sunbeam to the highest Being imaginable.

As Rabindranath's father taught him the *Gayatri mantra*† at the age of nine, when he was being initiated into Brahminism by the sacred thread ceremony, he did it in no routine form, but to help the boy to realise the bond of union between man and the universe in relation to *Shachchidananda*, the All-Blissful. It proved, in the leverage of strength and fusion, the 'light fountain' of his gospel of synthesis. Children on the seashore pick up shells and hold them to their ears. Do the shells repeat the murmurs of their ocean-home floating by in lyric ebullience? Was the *Gayatri mantra* like one such shell to the child of mystery and romance?

It is a strange paradox that the Aryans, who conquered the Dravadians were so profoundly influenced by their culture and manner of living that, to accept Max Muller's reading, they even let in, of course in a limited sense,

† The *mantra*, as translated by Rabindranath, reads thus—"Just as in the outer world, I realise Him as the generator of the *lokas* (spheres), so in the inner world I realise Him as the constant director of my intellect. Outside the world is and inside my intellect,—these two are the manifestations of the same power. Knowing this and realising in this intimate relationship of the universe with my mind and my mind with *Shachchidananda*, I obtain emancipation from all narrowness, selfishness, fear and grief."

the cult of idol-worship into their composition. The goddess *Durga*, as a symbol of man's animistic faith in Mother Nature's cosmic energy, is an illustration in point. Anyway, as the process of absorption ran apace and a mixed race accepted Muslim inroads, it devoted nonetheless energetically to recast the position in terms of Islamic brotherhood and its equalitarian observances. Indian civilization, as it shaped anew ever since Clive smuggled through the traitor's door, is an organic whole, to the formation of which contributions of Asia and Europe have co-mingled. Rabindranath Tagore, in whom 'India', as Dr. Radhakissen says, 'finds the lost word she was seeking,' is elated to the depth of his being in contemplating this vast synthesis:

Keha nahi jan-e kar ahvan-e

kata manusher dhara

Durbar srot-e elo kotha hot-e

shamudre holo hara?

Hethay Arya ketha Anarya hethay Dravir

Cheen

Shak Hoon-dal Pathan Mogul ek dehe holo

leen.

No one knows whose is the clarion call
to lure the listless flow of men.

Here, as the Aryans, the non-Aryans, the
Dravadians, the Chinese, the Shaks,
the Hoons and the Moguls came in
turn,

they all merge in me, the edges of their
difference smoothed down.

Historically, this fusion of diverse races in India has lost—thanks to Britain's statesmanship—much of its glamour in her being cleft into two. Rather, the English and the Americans are monumental examples. The former are made of Saxons, Angles, Jutes and Danes; and the latter of thirty-five peoples of varying religious concepts, philosophies and cultural heritage. Still more inspiring in modern times is the history of fusion in Russia, multi-national in form and socialistic in content. Here, by political and economic convergence the Uzbek and the Tartar, the Yakut and the Gypsy, the Bashkar and the Kazak, the Negro and the Jew, the Russian and the Ukrainian of

sixteen Republics have developed a new type of synthetic civilization. Nonetheless, it reads pleasing that, face to face with a crisis in the soul of man the world over, Rabindranath Tagore, as the intellectual soul of modern India, pledges her to harmony, born of the medley of various tunes:

*Ranadhara bahi, jaya gan gahi
unmad kalarab-e
Bhedī marupath giri parbat
jara esekhila sab-e
Tara more majh-e sabai biraj-e
keha nah-e nah-e door
Amar sonit-e roechh-e dhwanit-e
tar bichitra soor.*

They broke through hills and deserts and forced their entry, stained with the blood of wars;
and shouted wild their slogans of victory.
But as time has sped by, they all in me live,
none an inch apart.
And their many-varied tunes meet to thrill my blood.

The ideology of the oneness of man, the Riskis of the Upanishads espoused with lyric fervour, gave way to Brahminism with its truculent caste, priestcraft and the rest of what they connote. Without wasting any breath over the question to what extent Buddhism, by its revolt against Brahminism, has saved Hindu culture, it is well-accepted that Buddha has brought down the *Upanishads* from the learned few to the common folk; and evolved a perfectly democratic scheme of society on the basis of the equality of man. From the equality of man the emphasis shifts to man as the touchstone of all values. The Bengal poet Chandidas familiarises the creed in two lines with such irresistible felicity that they still echo in million hearts, prince to tramp. They are:

*Suna h-e manush bhai,
Sabar upan manush satya, tahar upar-e nai.
Hearken ye brother of humanity,
Man by himself is the ultimate truth, than
him none higher.*

Two hundred years before the birth of Christ, Palestine came within the orbit of

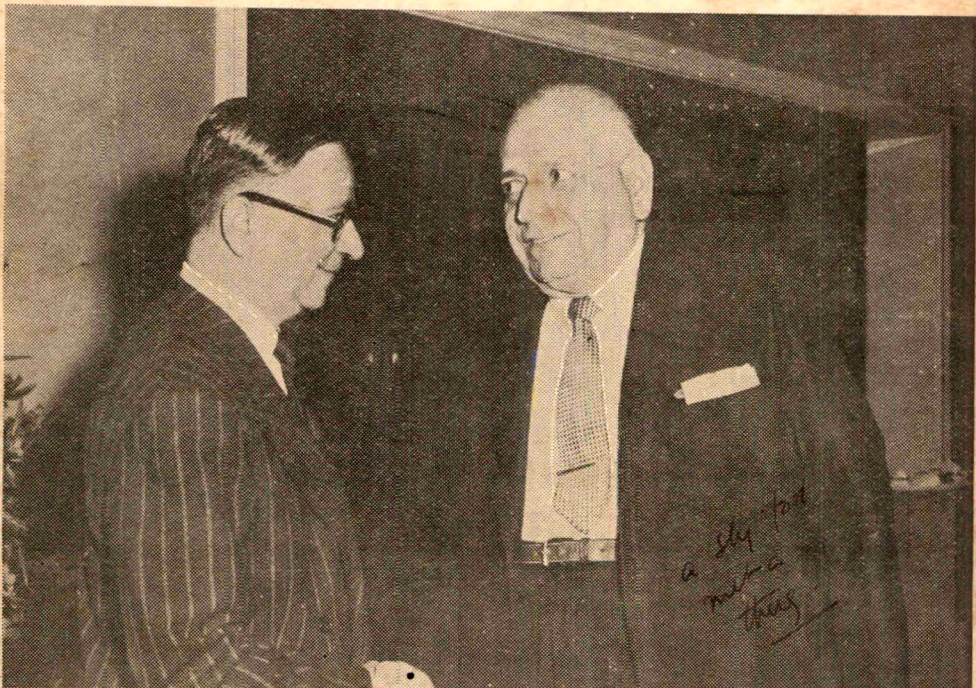
Buddhistic influence. And as the light and faith conveyed by Christ's 'who-so-ever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven the same is by brother' and his still more moving 'Go ye to every creature,' came to India with the current of Christian civilization, then in its apex, it made her crazy, infatuate. Raja Rammohun Roy, we have indicated before, saved India a cultural conquest. His spiritual successor Keshav Chandra Sen pushed the young seeker of Truth, Narendranath Dutt to Ramakrishna Paramahansa. Famous as Swami Vivekananda, Narendra explains the cult of Ramakrishna as activating the thought-pattern, 'You and I are not brothers; you and I are one.' Even then, the ultimateness, such as to make Man the measure of Truth, of which we have an arresting snath in Chandidas, is capable of attainment, Tagore emphasises, by going back to the Upanishad's *Satyam* the True, *Sivam* the Good and *Sundaram* the Beautiful.

Einstein, who had no bother about God, either personal or as an entity pervading creation, not even like Bernard Shaw, as a necessary force behind evolution, leaped into the boat Tagore had been rowing upstream. At a Conference in New York on Science and Religion he said in 1940, "The further the spiritual evolution of mankind advances the more certain it seems to me that the path to genuine religion does not lie through fear of life and the fear of death and blind faith but through striving after rational knowledge, capable of cultivating the good, the true and the beautiful." It is a sign-post in the evolution of mankind that Einstein, a victim to vandalism run amuck and then scared as he was by a war of singular destructiveness, should have besought India for what is essentially her own—the ideology of *Satyam*, *Sivam*, *Sundaram*.

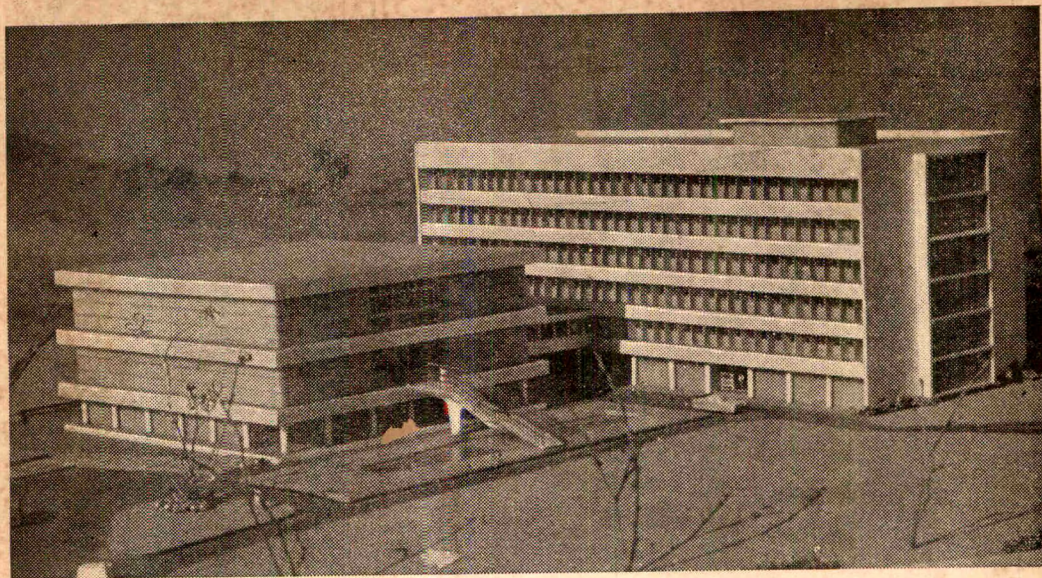
Some twelve years before the First Great War broke out, Rabindranath visualised in *Naivedya*, a collection of poems on the Hindu philosophy of life, a world rent assunder by the avarice of big powers. Then in 1912, as he was lying ill in London, Earnest Rhys speaks of a day when 'Tagore scanned the omens and read them very uneasily'. His analysis, Rhys says, was that the major energies were not constructive and did not make for the world's commonwealth; and that by their very nature they must come into conflict sooner or later. Swords



The Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and His Holiness the Dalai Lama when they met at Birla House in Mussoorie



Republic Day, 1959 in Rio De Janeiro. The Ambassador, Sri M. K. Kripalani shaking hands with Admiral Antonio Alvos Camara Junior, Minister of Navy



The model of Rabindra Bhavan headquarters the foundation stone of which was laid by the President in New Delhi on April, 14



A scene from the musical adaptation of Kalidas's famous drama *Malavikagnimitra* broadcast by Delhi Station of All-India Radio

were unsheathed, either side claimed, for a war of peace and justice. It was concluded by the Treaty of Versailles, than which nothing more bitterly rigged for Germany can be imagined, carrying with it the virus of a more deadly war. Therefore, in another twenty years, the world waded through a still more terrible deluge of blood. Rabindranath reiterated in his swan-song, *Crisis in Civilization* his old faith, as he did in *Naivedya*, that the word of deliverance would one day go out from India. Those lines of *Naivedya* bear repetition in order to appreciate the solemn function, he assigned to his motherland:

*H-e visva-palok,
Tomar nikhil-plabi ananda alok
Hoito lukaye achhe purba sindhu teer-e
Bahu dhairya namra stabdha duksher timeer-e
Deerghakal—brahma mauhoort-er pratikshay.*

Thou Protector of the universe,
the light of thy benediction, which shall one
day redeem the world,
possibly lies hidden in this land to the east
of the Indus,
awaiting prayerfully the supreme moments
of dawn
through all the nights of anguish,
in patient, austere, silent preparation.

As in the deluge of the olden times, Noah was charged to preserve in his Ark the seed of a new world, Rabindranath unflinchingly believed that India was likewise charged. Indicative of his faith in what lay the promise, he sought the training in the Visva-Bharati, which, as he told Gandhi the last time they met at Shantiniketan in 1940, is like a vessel carrying the cargo of his life's best treasure, to be, so far feasible in modern conditions, built up on the model of the educational system, as it obtained in Vedic-cum-Buddhistic period:

*Shei jug-jugant-er birat spandon
Amar nareet-e aj karichh-e nartan.*

The mighty stir of those ages, long gone by,
courses in the cadence of rhyme through my
veins today.

(II)

What to Rabindranath is *par excellence* a rallying point of love and honour for his motherland is that she is the earliest to have enkindled the light of knowledge in the world. That sentiment is expressed amongst others in the lines:

*Pratham prabhat udaya taba gagane
Pratham samaraba taba tapobane
Pratham pracharita taba banabhabane
Jnan dharma kata kabya-kahinee.*
From thy sky issued the first streaks of
morning light;
From thy forest-home the first herald of
human fellowship.
And how enormously rich art thou with
Thy vast treasure of literature and
knowledge sanctified.

Should Rabindranath or anybody echoing the above thought be charged of a convivial excess, I would better turn to what Max-Muller said in his Cambridge lecture. "And if I were to ask myself," he says, "from what literature we may draw that corrective, which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact, more truly human, a life not for this life only, but a transfigured and eternal life . . . I should point to India."

Rabindranath in his treatise *Tapoban* states his view-point that Hindu civilization has followed a uniform line in seeking its habitat in forest-settlements, as an antithesis to a city abounding with what impedes the attainment of the transcendental in life. The feeder-background was the system of Education and the high place assigned to knowledge as the source of all powers. In both the Vedic and Buddhistic periods, city-life was abjured as the *sine-qua-non* for acquisition of that knowledge. There need be no shilly-shallying about the fundamental that it is idle to long for a return of the old day. It is not desirable either. And yet in these days, when despite compensatory advantages, the bigger a city the more suitable a paradise it is for swindlers; where make-believe rules; where the length of purse, matched with a capacity for wire-pulling is the measure of a man's influence, publicity

and command of patronage, it may not be profitless to indulge in a side-glance on what makes Rabindranath believe as pre-eminently suited to nurse the idealism, India has cherished since the hoary past. It is, in summing up, the idealism which has for its basis the negation of a materialistic self-abandon in order to promote an intellectual attitude to life. "If India is difficult to understand," says H. N. Brailsford, in those days of appalling stress and strain of the Non-co-operation Movement, he came to study on the spot, "it is because her idealism belongs to her own tradition, while the heavier clay of human material is one texture the world over"—*Subject India*.

It is not possible to fix with any sense of conclusiveness the mode of teaching in the Vedic age. In fact, we have to rely upon what has passed into a well-grounded belief from out of such stories of Goutam, Jabal, Satyakam, Aaruni and others, which have floated down the mists of antiquity. In any case, the rich and the poor alike repaired to the teacher's cottage and his very simple way of life for residence and education. They used to get up very early, tend cattle—and this included a study of veterinary science, go out long distance to collect fuel and fruits; and as they came back, they were taught their lessons in the open by the shade of groves and trees. One thing that strikes home is that the students were due to exert themselves in the preparation of the day's sustenance for all. All these, in the sum total, foster *esprit-de-corps* and promote habits, which do not lean for white-collar avocations. Reared up on this principle, ere the gristles harden into bones, a man imbibes the truth, embodied in Ruskin's dictum, 'The best grace before meat is the consciousness that you have earned it.' Human ingenuity is yet to tax itself to find out a more perfect system to teach the virtue of 'self-reverence, self-knowledge and self-control leading to sovereign power.'

As we get down to the Buddhistic period, the venue changes from forest-home to mountain caves and quiet villages. Here also the taught were not charged for their tuition. They, in fact, received it on bended knees and not in the spirit 'I pay for it.' The King, assisted by the landed and commercial mag-

nates, bore all educational expenses of the country by bountiful endowments. The names of such places as Taxila*, which has come down from the Vedic age, Sarnath and Nalanda travelled far beyond the borders of India. Students used to come from Java, Malaya, Siam, Tibet and Burma. Nalanda alone accommodated over ten thousand students and fifteen hundred teachers. Of the three libraries, the one of the name of Ratnadadhi was a nine-storey building. Illustrative of the crisp composure, necessary for a devout application, each student was allowed a room twelve by eighteen feet. The curriculum, besides the many branches of Art and Science, included music, painting and archery *etcetra*. It is stated in *Mahabharat* that Jeebok, who was reading Medicine at Taxila, was, by way of test preparatory to granting him the Diploma, directed to walk round one *jojan*, eight miles, and pick up what plants and shrubs were no ingredients of medicine. On return, he was tightly heckled on even tiny outgrowths. It bespeaks of thoroughness and painstaking assimilation and no cram. In fact, there is nothing to surprise at that the Chinese travellers Fabian and Wooanchang, Greek scholars like Strabo and Pliny were struck mute with admiration as they studied the workings of these universities.

As I pass over the crumbling ruins of Buddhistic relics, the initiative of exhuming which is Lord Curzon's, I feel that we stand to lose a lot were we to pin down Gautam Buddha to the calendar of religious teachers. One achievement of free India is that she has called back her exiled prophet, some spade works for which were done by Rabindranath in essays, poems and dramas. If intellectual attainment is any criterion of civilization, I do not know if there was in the contemporary world any other country to come near the height, India attained during the Gupta period. It produced men like Chanakya, Panini, Seelabhadra, Dipankar, Charak, Sushruta, Nagarjuna and others,

* Taxila is associated with the name of Rishi Angira, who flourished some eighteen hundred years before the birth of Christ, i.e., some thirteen hundred years before the birth of Buddha. John Marshall has taken 27 years to complete its excavation.

each a name to conjure with in the domain of Art or Science.

Did such an intense vision of India to-morrow float on the imagination of Rabindranath Tagore, when he started a small residential school at Bolpur? I would not resist the Biblical imagery of a seed, no bigger than a mustard, growing into a banian tree. Here his father built a house for occasional retreats from the hectic life of Calcutta. The blue tints of hilly flavour far-off into the horizon at the edge of undulated fields make the mind yield to a sense of compelling vastness. The clouds, as they tumble in the summer to monsoon sky, shift, diffuse, dissolve and break into torrents to create a melody of unision with the whiz of gales through the encircling trees and shrubberies. Each of these aspects of Nature has received from the poet a shape and colour of trim elegance. The constructions of the Visva-Bharati, with some leeway yet to make for a University town, recall in their overall impression the architectural workmanship, disinterred at Nalanda and Sarnath with the unity and balance of the new-school artists, imparted to them. The inscriptions on walls and door-ways have the aroma of Vedic and Buddhist tenets, rendered eloquent by Rabindranath's inimitable wordings. The mango-groves, criss-crossed with tall palms waving their crown of perennial verdure, round about which the tuition-classes are held, make one visualise Buddha choosing Nature's cradle to discuss the solemn lessons of life. The shades, the leafy walks and the creepers entwining each convenient structure, and the rest of what the great worshipper of beauty did in layout and colour-scheme, are but vignettes of a lovely picture in the dry, drab surroundings of Bolpur.

Is Santiniketan a swing-back? *The New York Times*, in recording its obituary note of honour, says that Rabindranath's 'effort to revive the antique Indian Forest-school for meditation' was responsible for the abatement of the demand for him. It is a downright misreading. Santiniketan with its adjunct Sreeniketan, the symbol of field and factory,—and they together constitute the Visva-Bharati—is no place for 'meditation' as such. It may, however, be—and it is how the vanity of the West seems to have been pricked—the meet-

ing ground in India, with her golden primacy³, for the East and the West to pause to reflect what the present-day civilization has come to and whither it drifts. In the second place, we do not know the extent of the demand for Rabindranath in the land of sky-scrapers, where in one of his visits, he stirred up hornet's nest by telling the Americans a home-truth regarding their attitude to the Negroes, and desiring them to 'make more men than machines'.[†] In Japan, he told the people that they seemed to forget that they had higher duties than to master the 'death-dealing methods' of the West. Among places of interest, he was taken to a valley on the hills, where two chiefs of rival clans fought each other to death, leaving in legendary lore a legacy of their ancestral pride and prowess, they call *bushido*. Pressed hard for a line to commemorate them, Rabindranath gave the couplet:

'They hated and killed and men praised them;
But God in shame hastened to hide its
memory under green grass.'

In Italy, Mussolini had him taken from Naples to Rome in a special train—'roses, roses all the way.' But as he was apprised of all the doings of Mussolini, he did not hesitate to call him a 'menace to the peace of Europe.' Mussolini's paper at once turned round to call Rabindranath an 'unctuous and insupportable fellow,' whom 'the idiocy of others has promoted to the stature of greatness.' In England on one occasion, as he saw that almost a whole people ran at the heels of the cinema star Mary Pickford, just then arrived from America—he did not live to see what it is now in his own country—he called it a reflex of the fall of the English people from the serious purposefulness, which once made them great. He was twitted that he intended to be the only herb in the pot. And finally, he stands at the door-post of the Visva-Bharati, which is, as Jawaharlal Nehru

* "To us the most striking feature of ancient Indian civilization is its humanity." Dr. A. L. Basham: *The Wonder That Was India*.

† Dean Inge repeats the charge—"It is organised to produce things rather than people, with output set up as God"—*Our Present Discontents*.

calls it, 'a focal point of Indian culture,' to counsel and caution India not to despise the material creativeness of the West, but that, as she appropriates the triumphs of Science, she must not forget that the very spinal chord of her intellectual being is the enthronement of the Soul serene, equable and self-possessed:

*Korona korona lajjah hey bharatbasi,
Sattimadamatta oi banik bilasi
Dronadripta paschimer kataksha sammukhe,
Subhra uttaria pari santa samahita mukhe
Paral jeeban khani karite bahan.
Thou must not, and why at all should'st
thou Oh India, shy at the West,
Which, by trade to the pinnacle of affluence
risen,
is purse-proud and power-intoxicated.
Have faith in thine own self to face her
fair and square,
attired as thou art in thy simple, clean
habits,
and with a composed, tranquil smile, but
resolve unflinching to stand by thy own.*
* * * *

I walk round the corridors of the Visvā-Bharati and reflect if the world is yet in a mood to take a measure of its founder. At the age of 20, he starts on his pilgrimage with the light, which is his on the first morn of awakening, namely, that the world, howsoever vast, is one and that humanity, howsoever large, is likewise one. He was a pioneer to inaugurate *Swa-leshi*, but would not subscribe to Boycott, lest it fed racial aloofness. He made a signal reparation to the lacerated Punjab, but would not perpetuate Jaliwanalabagh lest it perpetuates bitterness against a race. The independence of India was his dream, he acted with rare devotion, but in the context of a federal adjustment of independent states. Teachers of humanity have spoken of the ways of man to God, he assures us that the Infinite meets the Finite.

Every great artist is informally philosophical; not that, as it is a fallacious commonplace to imagine, that he expounds a certain

philosophy from a certain point of time. The first time as I heard in my boyhood Rabindranath's song 'Thou art like a floating cloud of the evening sky blissfully remote and serene', I was steeped unawares with the consciousness that he was breaking down the barrier between Man and God. In mature years as I read his very simple explanation of a Hindu ritual—

*Debatore jaha dite pari, dei tai priyajane;
Priyajane jaha dite pari, tai dei debatare.
Debatore priya kari, priyare debata.*

I give the dear ones whatever I can offer
unto Gods;

I give God all I can lay my hands on for
the dear;

Thus do I endear God and the dear ones
ennoble.

I could not help test it in the touchstone of E. B. Havell's thesis that the excellence of Indian Art is in raising men up to heaven and making them as gods—*Indian Sculpture and Painting*.

Apollo played on his flute and Troy rose—a mass of vapour to grow into a city. The days are changed. The self-same Apollo may break his lungs but not one brick would stand on another. We should have, therefore, no illusion with regard to Rabindranath Tagore. The position of mankind today is truly that of Faust, outwitted by the ghost of his inventiveness. But human nature being what it is—restlessly at work for a poise—it is our privilege to hope against hopes. Should, therefore, man's greed ever complete its cycle of destructiveness and the many 'isms,' which have riven the world thinking devastatingly in terms of regimentation and deterrent strength for security, coalesce to make room for Humanism—mankind striving for common weal by co-operative efforts on the basis of a human value of things—it behoves posterity to turn back to Rabindranath Tagore. He, the Colossus, bestrode the East and the West and dug in some forces for the consummation.

(All translations are mine).

REVOLUTION ROUND THE CORNER IN SOUTH AFRICA

By PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

THE Union of South Africa, perhaps the blackest spot in the Dark continent is rushing headlong to the abyss. White racialism, which has accelerated the tempo of non-white resistance and hastened the birth of African nationalism, seems to be poised for a show down with African nationalism. And a fight to the finish it will be.

Professor Crane Brinton of the University of Harvard concludes from his study of the four famous revolutions—the classical revolutions—of modern history, *viz.*, the English revolution of the mid-seventeenth, the American and the French revolutions of the late eighteenth and the Bolshevik revolution of the early 20th centuries, that different in time and circumstances as they were, they had certain features in common. The learned Professor contends further that these features must always combine to bring about a revolution, they are—(a) economic progress, (b) class antagonism, and (c) effete government in all the countries where these revolutions broke out. To be a little more elaborate, “tyranny in government, incompetence in administration, injustice in taxation, monopoly in industry, privilege in society, corruption and favouritism everywhere” marked the “ancient regime” on the ashes of which new edifices were sought to be raised.

England, France, America and Russia had been economically in the upgrade for sometime before their respective revolutions. The revolutionary movements in all four had their genesis in the profound discontent of fairly well-to-do sections of the population, which “felt restraint, cramp, annoyance, rather than downright crushing oppression.” South Africa fulfils this condition. Like revolutionaries in other countries, South Africans “are men of hope with a philosophy of optimism behind them.”

The English, the American, the French and the Russian revolutions were due not a little to very bitter class antagonism prevailing in these countries for years. Fairly affluent men and women felt frustrated and humiliated “by bar-

riers prescribed by a social aristocracy.” Here again is a very close parallel furnished by the present-day South African society. The African middle class in general and the urban South African middle class in particular are infuriated by the operation of the colour-bar and apartheid laws. These middle classes are becoming more and more restive and sooner or later—perhaps sooner than later—they might try to overturn the whiteman’s apple-cart in South Africa by unconstitutional means.

Many, however, hold that discontent of prosperous classes and class antagonism notwithstanding, a revolution in South Africa is out of the question as it has got a fairly efficient government. The administrative machinery is manned almost exclusively by Afrikaners (Boers) in sympathy with the government and their policies. Besides, the loyalty of the South African armed forces, which could be a crucial factor in a revolutionary situation, is unimpeachable and above suspicion. A South-African revolution, therefore, seems to be altogether out of question. Local disorders are not, however, ruled out.

The revolutions studied by Professor Brinton were all social revolutions. Racial factors played a very minor part in them. A “colonial” element of course appeared in American as well as in the Russian revolutions. But the American colonies revolted against their own king. The Russian revolutionaries too, assisted as they were by Ukrainians, Georgians and others, pulled down their own ruling aristocracy and what it stood for. But modern colonial revolutions are essentially different from earlier revolutions. “They combine,” observes Dr. Edward Ronx, “social, economic, national and racial factors—and the racial factor, with its psychological implications, is of the greatest importance.” (“Revolution in South Africa” in *Africa South*, Jan.-March, 1959, p. 18).

The consent of the majority is an essential pre-condition of a stable government. That the police, the armed forces and other limbs of the

government are necessary will be readily admitted. But the most important factor that makes or mars a government is psychological. Even a slave state like the Western Cape in South Africa in the 18th century depended for its stability on the acceptance by the slaves of their inferior status "as something akin to a law of nature." Government, in other words, depends in the last analysis on *consent* and not *coercion*.

It must further be borne in mind that a despotic government like the South African—the children of the soil have no voice in it—flourishes most in a stagnant, backward society. In a growing society, people take on new habits, ideas and conditions which bring them into conflict with traditional ways and institutions. Industrialisation, which began three generations ago in South Africa, has been quickly changing the South African society. More and more Africans are being drawn to the cities. They are adjusting themselves to the city life. In the meanwhile Europeans of working class origin have "moved up the ladder" into "managerial and white-collar jobs" during the last twenty-five years. The change explains in part the debacle of Labour in the 1958 general elections. African, Coloured and Asian workers have been steadily moving up the ladder in industrial employment. Today, they constitute 27 per cent of the skilled and 66 per cent of the semi-skilled workers. They are also moving up into professional, administrative, clerical, commercial and technical occupations. This is only the beginning and more and more non-Europeans will be admitted in coming years to what were so long jealously guarded "white preserves."

The non-European population of South Africa is making rapid strides in the field of education as well. Some 14,000 African and 26,000 Coloured and Indian adolescents are under instruction in secondary schools. 1,500 African, Coloured and Indian students are taking the correspondence courses of the different examinations of the University of South Africa. A sizeable non-European middle class is evidently taking shape in South Africa's industrial and educational establishments.

If South African economy keeps on expanding as it has been doing over decades, the

process of absorption of the different social strata will gain fresh momentum. The pressure on colour class-barriers will intensify. The fact is already recognised and there is a substantial volume of opinion in favour of slowing down the pace of industrialisation or diverting it to the African Reserves. But neither is practicable for obvious reasons. For one thing, an economy must either go ahead or stagnate and stagnation will not be deliberately chosen. For another, it is always more profitable to move potential workers to centres of production than to bring the means of production to them. Diversion of Africa's capital resources to the Reserves will, moreover, accelerate class antagonism in what is supposed to be the European zone in the country on the one hand and precipitate the emergence of an African proletariat and an African middle class on the other. The process of evolution may, however, slow down in case of a world-wide capitalist recession. But such a recession will strengthen the forces of socialism and anti-colonialism all over the world and will re-act adversely on the "de-pigmented" South African oligarchy. Its position in relation to the voteless and voiceless masses is, therefore, bound to weaken whether there is a boom or a bust. It has already weakened greatly during the post-war years.

Inner strains and stresses unless removed in time burst out in open revolutions in the long run. The symptoms of strains and stresses are unmistakably manifest in the Union of South Africa today. The mounting crime rates are a pointer. To give only one example. Great Britain has a population four times larger than the Union of South Africa, yet the daily murders and man-slaughters in the latter are seven times higher than they are in the former.

The position of South Africa is, in fact, more fluid than it seems to be. The apparent stability of the government is deceptive. Extra-parliamentary opposition has matured during the last twenty-five years. It will grow more and more rapidly in the days ahead. The Africans, the Coloureds and the Indians are politically awake, not fully however. They are receiving today more and more political education. As the town-bred youth enters the political arena, an alliance between workers and intellectuals, "which is the most formidable of

all political combinations will take the initiative," the efficiency of the government and the loyalty of police and armed forces notwithstanding. In the meanwhile, the situation "is completely being aggravated and daily less open to settlement . . . daily more explosive and more menacing to internal peace . . ."

Revolutions have always "taken place in the city of the poor, and . . . (have) grown out of the age-old, world-wide theme of revolt against injustice and misery. Outside any known orbit of influence, primitive passions such as those expressed by the Mau Mau in Kenya, further suggest the inflammable attitudes that exist just under the surface in much of today's world." (*The New Dimensions of Peace* by Chester Bowles, Penant Edition, p. 274).

Our own history shows that strong and efficient governments and the loyalty of armed forces by themselves afford no guarantee

against revolutionary upheavals. Even the worst detractors of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy cannot lay the charge of inefficiency at its door. The Indian army and the Indian police were loyal and faithful to the Government to the last. Yet Britain had to quit India.

The Union of South Africa like the rest of the Dark continent is waking up. To quote Chester Bowles, "After a long night the sleeper is stirring, blinking away his drowsiness, and stretching his limbs with all the eager, impatient spirit of a youth approaching manhood. This means that (South) Africa will continue to rumble with explosive problems, conflicts and headlines." (*The New Dimensions of Peace*, Penant Edition, p. 187). White South Africa must modify its attitude and policy to the African majority. Failing that black Africa will be driven in the long run into violent revolt, despite the serious difficulties in its way.

CONFLICTING TRENDS IN INDIAN PLANNING

BY PROF. R. N. SANYAL, M.A.

INDIA is struggling for self-expression both in the economic and cultural fields. It will, therefore, not be surprising if she passes through a period of uncertainty, doubt, and even hesitation, with regard to her aims and objectives and the means for realising these aims. The details of a plan, either long term or short term, will ultimately depend on the broad ideals and objectives we have in view and the wisdom with which we plan the steps for reaching the ends which we have in view.

Broad Objectives

Broadly speaking, we may point out, that the biggest problem facing the country today, is the problem of poverty and the problem of raising the subhuman standards of living of millions of our countrymen. This abject poverty must go. Indians cannot stand erect so long as this appalling poverty remains. There is no difference

of opinion, either among the different political parties, or thinkers, on this point. "Naturally, we have to go fast, for if we do not, undesirable developments may take place. But in going fast, we have to be clear about the broad objectives which have now been laid down. We have to see that everything we do is on right lines and does not encourage wrong trends." (Planning and Development: J. Nehru.) Here begins the controversy; disagreement begins in defining what are "right" lines and what constitutes "wrong trends."

Some people believe honestly, that India should for a little while, set aside its scruples and its philosophy, and submit to regimentation and dictatorship for the speedy liquidation of poverty. It does not matter, if, in this process, some people and some classes are sacrificed and even effaced; a little injustice to a few is done for the sake of enriching the lives of

millions of poor, desolate human beings, living a subhuman standard of life. There is undoubtedly logic and force in this argument. If our object had been merely the liquidation of poverty and the removal of glaring inequalities in wealth and income, surely a ruthless dictatorship can bring this about in a business like way much sooner than the difficult path of persuasion, appeal and conversion. George Lansbury, an experienced leader in the cause of Socialism, very truly remarked in his book *My England*: "I am in politics a Socialist, one who helps to obtain a majority of Socialists in Parliament. I think, however; that before our majority will be of any value, the outlook on life which the vast masses of people follow and obey must be changed." Man is both a means and an end. In accepting the proposition, that poverty of the masses is the biggest social problem of our age, we must not shut our eyes to the fact, that pursuit of 'wealth' cannot be the primary or the most vital aim for an individual or for society. Most of the conflicts of modern civilisation are traceable to this inordinate craze for wealth as the chief end of human endeavour. There is not much difference in this respect between America or Russia. As Pandit Nehru rightly says, "I feel the whole of the cold war in the world today is a projection, not merely of Communism or anti-Communism, which, of course it is in a sense; but of the culmination of industrialisation and the conflict between the big power groups. Previously, these conflicts took place between the Western Powers, for instance, between Germany and England. But now it has moved on to the world plane."

Values of Civilization

Let us view this problem from the angle of a "prosperous" country like the U.S.A., which has succeeded in achieving a standard of living for her people, unheard of in history, says Prof. Arthur Smith of the Harvard University. "Moreover a level of living that may have seemed exciting when it was in prospect may turn into Dead Sea fruit once it is attained. Restless striving for improvement, rather than the attainment of given states of satisfaction seems to be the leading charac-

teristic of economic life. Nevertheless, there is evidence that satiety is being approached and that the utility of additional consumption is diminishing. The emphasis on private consumption has led many observers of the social scene to ask whether our society should not give greater recognition to other values." Of course we have to think about material issues, because they are very important. But we need not take for granted all the other things that have happened in highly industrialised countries, be it the U.S.A., or Russia, because they may lead them in a direction, which ultimately brings about ruin, in spite of the high state of civilisation that they first reach. Can the high state of civilisation attained by the Western nations be sustained? Apart from other considerations which are very vital, what would be the ultimate outcome of this mad craze for wealth and material comforts? "Large areas once covered by forest have been denuded of trees, the climate has been altered and the fertile top soil that is the basis of food production has been partly or wholly eroded. In the last century, man has started to live increasingly on capital resources—of coal, oil and other minerals; he is using up in a few generations what took tens of thousand—millions of years to accumulate. Her *per capita* consumption of resources has steadily mounted, sometimes to a fantastic extent. The consumption of metals and minerals by one nation, the United States, since 1918 exceeds the total consumed by the whole of mankind in all preceding history." (Sir Julian Huxley). Humanity needs to make up its mind as to the ultimate purpose of human existence. Is it physical enjoyment in this world? Is it salvation in a world after death? Is it national power? Is it obedience to some super-individual code of morality? Is it knowledge? Is it wealth? The answer that we give to these questions provides the basis from which we can approach the objectives of Planning.

Modern civilisation, refusing physical happiness to large masses, has made material stability the only goal for humanity. Herein lies its degeneration, for a civilisation that cannot envisage beyond material happiness is surely not a civilisation that can long endure. Modern Socialism in taking

its stand as a rebel against this civilisation has made fulfilment of economic desires the sole concern of man. Herein lies its mediocrity, for a civilisation that regards its fulfilment in material satisfaction can never nourish finer sentiments, higher ideals; it will ever create a wall between man and his true nature. Bertrand Russell very truly remarks: "Happiest men and women, we can all testify from our own experience, are those who are indifferent to money because they have some positive purpose which shuts it out; yet all our political thought, whether imperialistic, radical or socialist, continues to occupy itself exclusively with economic desires, as though, they alone had real importance. (*Why Men Fight?*)

Once men and women realise this fundamental purpose of their lives the material urge for happiness will tend to disappear and give place to spiritual realities. It is true that not all can do this. It is not foolishly supposed that all men will immediately discover their purpose of life. Only a few individuals can realise this, but it is the experience of these few that will be the source of strength to all. It is the realisation by these few that will inspire all humanity and save it from degeneration and decay. We maintain that the strength of any society is not derived from mass organisations but from the realisation and inspiration of those few human beings who have attained to spiritual heights. Our planning must be such that such disinterested men who have attained spiritual heights, should provide the norm for the common man.

Ends and Means

How does the acceptance of these values of civilisation, implicit in our history, traditions, and social and religious institutions, affect our planning, its objectives, techniques and machinery? Says our Prime Minister, "The whole problem of modern civilisation is that industrialisation leads to concentration of power. The question arises, how to safeguard individual freedom under these conditions. Whether it can be done or not, I do not know. But I think we should develop a structure of

society which encourages the right impulses and not the wrong ones."

The world today, and this is more particularly true of India, seems to need centralisation and decentralisation equally and at the same time. It is not easy to reconcile these mutually incompatible ends. The difficulty is real and fundamental but has to be surmounted. India has set as its goal the building up of a welfare state and naturally the sphere of its activity is gradually expanding and bids fair to comprise the whole of man's life. The state had hitherto monopoly of political power. The welfare state threatens to add to that the monopoly of economic power. Such a great concentration of power is fraught with great danger to society.

"We are liquidating the princely order, the feudal order and the Zamindars, but we have created a new order—that of Ministers, Deputy Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries, M.L.A's, and M.P.'s together with the new managerial class who run the vast economic machinery under the control of the state. These vantage points in society have become the supreme prizes for which men fight and struggle; and it is the example of these men and not their precepts that influences the common man. Whatever sermons they may preach, the ostentatious and luxurious lives that they are leading, are not only an anachronism for a poor and un-developed country like India struggling hard to raise its standard of living, but they exert a far more sinister influence by affecting their outlook on life." "It is true that in poor and backward countries like India, it is the main task of social reconstruction to raise quite considerably the people's standard of living. But it will not do here or elsewhere to apotheosize material happiness and encourage an outlook on life that feeds an insatiable hunger for material goods. There can be no peace in the minds and hearts of men, nor peace amongst men, if this hunger gnaws at them continuously. That would necessarily set up an uncontrolled competition between individuals, groups, and nations. In such a restless society, violence and war would be endemic. All values of life

would be subordinated to this overmastering desire for more. There would be no poise in human life, no real satisfaction because the possession of more would only whet the appetite for more" (Jay Prakash)." Unfortunately, the production of wealth and increase in the standard of living, which are only the means for an ordered life of harmony and peace, have usurped the place of ends of human conduct.

Conclusion

We must realise that the successful achievement of the ideal of a socialistic pattern of society lies in the realisation in an ever-increasing measure of the futility of material possessions and of the discovery of hidden treasures within every man and woman. Our plan is not a machinery only for producing material goods, but it is a drive to turn men's minds to things nobler and loftier than material happiness. But it is not a philosophy of escape from ghastly realities. There must be material stability for all who need it, opportunity for civic activities for those who ask for

it, stable and healthy family life for those who demand it, and all these within the limits of social welfare and human happiness.

But yet this can be attained not by the efforts of those who stand for the fulfilment of their rights; it lives and progresses because of its few idealists, its few teachers and priests, its still fewer rulers that rule not by outer splendour and pomp but rulers who are true kings, who shine by their indwelling divinity. It is from this group of human beings, those who at the support and splendour of society, that an attitude of indifference to wealth and material happiness is demanded.

The society that we aim at will be a society that will satisfy not only the physical, but the spiritual needs of humanity. Sacrifice will be its driving force, while wisdom will be its ruling power. It will free men and women as much as possible from the thralldom of state and society, for with the realisation of man's divinity, external restrictions will prove unnecessary.

EMANCIPATION THROUGH ART

By ANTHONY ELENJIMITTAM

RABINDRANATH TAGORE, India's greatest poet of the twentieth century, speaking of his experience of the Infinite in the finite, wrote:

"One morning I happened to be standing on the verandah. The sun was just rising through the leafy tops of those trees. As I continued to gaze, all of a sudden a covering seemed to fall away from my eyes, and I found the world bathed in a wonderful radiance, with waves of beauty and joy swelling on every side. This radiance pierced in a moment through the folds of sadness and despondency which had accumulated over my heart, and flooded it with this universal light."

—*Reminiscences.*

Rabindranath said something new in this vital experience he underwent in his twenties, which continued throughout his life, till he sang his *Shammukhe Shanti Parabar*.

"O Pilot of my soul, cast the moorings
this frail vessel loose,
For before me lies the Ocean of Peace . . .

Path of Freedom to Rabindranath, as indeed, was to our seers and sages from the Vedic past, was in the realization of the Infinite in and through the finite, of the Spirit through matter. The Vedic bards sang: *Sarva Brahmanamaya Jagat*—The entire cosmos pregnant with God. Slavery and misery come when we get entangled within the sense-bound world without any reference to the Spirit world, enmeshed in the empirical phenomenon without the grasp of the Neumenon, entrapped within appearances without going all the way to Ultimate Reality.

Spiritual freedom, variously called emancipation, *mukti*, deliverance or redemption, in its positive sense means acceptance

not renunciation—of the sense-bound world as the vehicle and reflection of the Spirit world. Then even ascetic practices are left behind, the soul communing with the Over-soul, and one could sing with Rabindranath again:

"Deliverance is not for me in renunciation,
I feel the embrace of freedom in thousand
bonds of delight.

No, I will never shut the doors of my senses,
The delight of sight and hearing and touch will
be my delight.

Millions of living beings make up the vast fair
of this world,

And you ignore it all as a child's play."

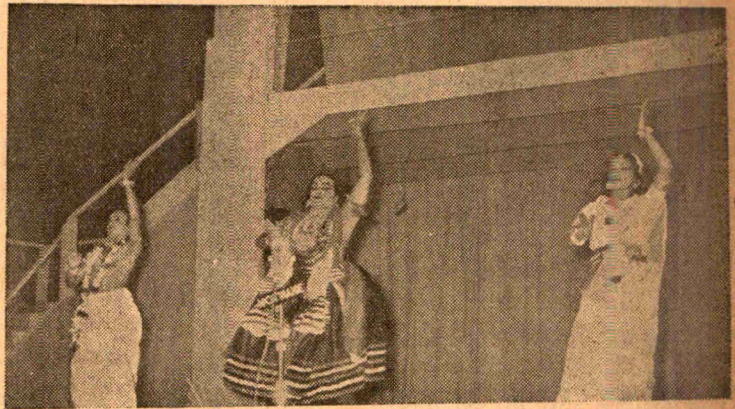
In a life-accepting and life-affirming attitude, spiritual emancipation, *mukti*, comes when we can sense the Infinite Beauty, Power and Light that is God in the most ordinary prosaic facts of life, in the smile of a child, in torrential monsoon rains and blowing winds. We reach this realm of inner joy and inward peace and freedom through the creative powers of our mental and spiritual life, through Philosophy, Religion and Art. Philosophy pursues the *Jnana Marga*, the gnostic way, the

way of brain and reason. Religion follows the *Bhakti Marga*, of love and devotion, the heart-way. Art, through music, movements, painting and dance, brings down to the common man the esoteric wisdom of philosophers and religious faith of the prophets. No painter can surpass Nature in painting; no dancer can go beyond the dance of Creation; no musician can sing higher melodies and harmonies than Nature. Yet, to us mortals, when an artist brings down the gorgeous summer sunset on the horizon of the Indian Ocean on to his canvas, it means much. Through these limited human artistic representations we are reminded of, and transported to the Infinite. A Mira Bhajan, paintings in Ajanta and Ellora caves, the great religious plays of Rabindranath, all of them have power to point us the way to the Infinite, and soul-emancipation.

Rabindranath was the greatest synthetic

poet and artist of our century. In him East and West, the Ancient and the Modern, Religion and Science had no compartmental walls. They found integration, unity and harmony in his mind. This message of unity and universality is one of the basic cultural heritage of India throughout centuries.

The dance-drama staged in St. Mary's grounds, Mazagaon, Bombay, for four days; from Saturday 7th to Tuesday 10th February, witnessed by well over a crowd of twenty thousand, was an added confirmation that spiritual emancipation can take place through creative art. On Monday 9th, Sri S. C. Jain,



Kumar, Raghavan Nair and Satyavati in *Star of Peace*

the Manager of the *Times of India*, speaking at the end of the three-hour musical pageant, as the chief guest of the day said:

"As I watched the scenes I felt mixed feelings of sadness and hope: sadness, because of the worldly pursuits of men, who, forgetting God, end their lives in misery; hope, because there is a way of salvation through God."

Big volumes and long articles fail to give such vivid impressions on the themes of *Satya* and *Maya*, Truth, and Relativity, *papa* and *punya*, sin and virtue, as that musical dance-drama, *Star of Peace*. The entire theme of the play could be summarised into a single aphorism: God is Truth-Beauty-Love—*Satyam-Shivam-Sundaram*. Reach inner peace and joy by realizing God, giving up the sinful way. The Upanishads and the Yoga-Vedanta of Indian culture are all fraught with such ideals. Yet,

the play has a Christian slant in it, in that the life and work of Jesus Christ and his mother, Virgin Mary, are brought in as a tangible example and proof of this great religious truth, viz., emancipation or redemption from sin through God.



Satan tempting Eve in *Paradise Lost*

Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* echo the history of fall of man and his restoration. Satyavati and Anil Kumar, the well-known dancers of Bombay, through their pantomimic dancing, poses and actions, have acted out the psychological fact of inner peace, joy and happiness resulting from innocence, and slavery and misery that follow when we betray conscience, the oracle of God within. Sri Raghavan Nair, the famous South Indian Kathakali dancer, took the role of the devil, the tempter, who, through enticements and seductions makes humans fall into the trap of *Maya*, *paap* and *mrityu*, illusion, sin and death.

In this musical pageant there was no more a dividing wall between the East and the West, Christian and Hindu, ancient and modern. In this achievement due credit must be given to Sri Jnana Prakash (formerly George Proksch), a German who made India his spiritual home. His Hindi books and English publications, Hindi songs and plays are well-appreciated by many art critics. Guru Jnana Prakash, like Abbe Dubois, C. F. Andrews, Pearson, Stanley Jones and others, is a kind of rebel Christian because he clings to what is best in Hindu and Indian cultural heritage with as much love and heart as he holds dear his Western and

Christian heritage. That makes him a suspect among narrow Christian missionaries, as was always the lot of all those who loved Truth above diplomacy, human calculations and temporal advantages.

Sri Jnana Prakash has not only written out and published this musical dance-drama, *The Star of Peace*, but he has also trained up one hundred actors and about six hundred choral singers. His direction was flawless, energetic and inspiring. The fact that Guru Jnana Prakash selected most of his singers and actors from five high schools of Bombay is a reminder how in our schools also creative education with vision, music and healthy zest for life, with courage to face hardships without pitfalls and sins, and hold aloft the torch of soul-peace and emancipation should be imparted.

Engrossed as we are in our financial problems, engripped in the vortex of power-politics and cut-throat economics, an occasional attendance at some grand stage-show with a moral and spiritual lesson behind will serve as an oasis in a vast desert. Orthodox Marxists still insist: "Religion is the opiate of the people." But the real opium that lulls us to spiritual sleep and death is this mad rush after money, power, position and prestige at any cost. But the still voice within whispers and says: "What does it profit you, if you gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of your own soul?"

The path of emancipation, *Mukti*, redemption from the trammels of sin and ignorance taught by the rishis of India, sages of Greece, prophets from East and West, is still there, though dimmed and dulled in this Atomic Age through glamorization and advertisement of the Futile. *Mukti* or Redemption is not outdated today. That vacuum, futility and void in human hearts can be filled only by the Infinite which, as a path of knowledge and gnosis, is supplied by esoteric philosophy, and as path of *Bhakti* and loving devotion is supplied by both Religion and Art, or better still by religious art, the like of which we have in Jnana Prakash's *Star of Peace*.

BARODA MUSEUM AND PICTURE GALLERY

FOUNDED by Maharaja Sayajirao III in 1887 and, since Baroda State's merger with Bombay in 1949, run by the Education Department, Bombay, Baroda Museum has, over several decades, collected objects of cultural and scientific interest from all parts of the world. The Picture Gallery, built in 1914 and opened to the public since 1921, enjoys the distinction of being the best of its kind in Asia. It has a rich collection of European oil paintings, and offers art students and the general public an opportunity to study the works in original of such renowned old masters as

Rubens, Titian, Vandyck, Millet, Reynolds, Soloman.

Broadly divided in two sections—one, Art and Historical, and the other, Science and Ethnology, the Museum has several exhibits of outstanding merit in each.

The Indian Industrial Art Section, consisting of various exhibits pertaining to Indian art, culture and civilisation, has extremely beautiful and characteristic Indian miniature paintings and textiles. Rajasthani paintings, probably from Kishengarh, and some Pahari miniature paintings form



Gopis in procession (*Rajasthani style*)
From Jodhpur or Kishengarh (c. 1820 A.D.)

a notable part of this most valuable collection.

Pre-Historic Sculptures

The Pre-historic Room and the Archaeological Section contain beautiful and rare pieces of early Scythian, Gupta and other sculptures. The great hoard of Jain Bronzes discovered at Akota in 1951 A.D. (dated 5th-11th centuries) is specially noteworthy. Among the pre-historic finds, one very valuable group is from Gujerat, collected by Dr. Sankalia.



Mandala of Vajravarati from Nepal
(c. 1867 A.D.)

The Baroda Room of the Museum contains local Maratha and Gujerati art which flourished under the Gaekwads of Baroda. Objects from Burma, Siam, and Malaya are arranged in the "Greater India" Room.

A temple Gong from Burma is one of the most striking exhibits. The Islamic Room is devoted to specimens of Islamic civilisation represented by textiles, bronzes, pottery and paintings.

Containing a beautiful collection of pre-historic knives, sickles and blades from Fayum, Coptic textiles and even a Mummy, the Egypto-Babylonian Gallery of the Baroda Museum is perhaps unique in India.

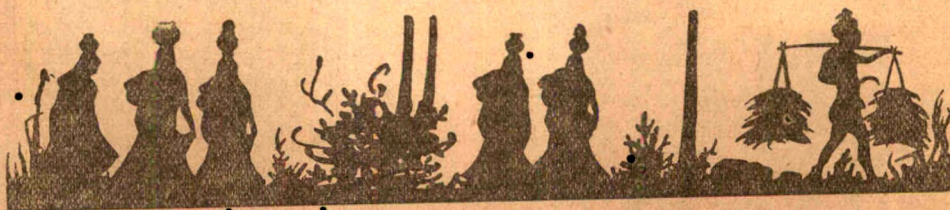
Chinese and European Art

The Chinese Gallery comprises sizeable collection of Chinese lacquer work, porcelain and bronzes. Chinese Terra-cotta figurines of the Han and Tang period are of special interest in this gallery.

A collection of wonderful gold-lacquered boxes and ivory carved pieces from Japan constitutes the Japanese Gallery. In the Tibeto-Nepalese Gallery, in addition to the brass images, there are numerous colourful temple banners and a big Mandala from Lhasa.

The European Rooms contain plastercasts and bronze replicas of the Roman sculptures. In these rooms original works as well as copies of sculptures, richly-painted vases and pewters are displayed according to the latest methods of visual display.

The Museum periodically organises special exhibitions, public lectures and film shows. Special facilities, including access to a well organised Reference Library, are made available to the research scholars. The Museum also co-operates with the Department of Museology of the M.S. University of Baroda in imparting instruction to Post-graduate students in museum administration and museum technique.—*PIB*.



NIKOLAI GOGOL

By ALEXANDER ZHIGULEV

Early Interest in Art and Literature

THE great Russian writer, Nikolai Gogol, was born on March 20, 1809, in the small town of Bolshiye Sorochintsy (Poltava Gubernia in the Ukraine). His early interest in literature and drama was unquestionably due to the influence of his father, who was fond of the theatre and wrote a number of plays in the Ukrainian language. Familiar with the life of the people, with Ukrainian village life from early boyhood, Gogol loved Ukrainian songs, fairy tales and legends.

Gogol's interest in the stage, in literature, music and painting continued unabated during the time he was a student at the gymnasium in Nezhin. He took part in plays staged in the school. Pushkin became his favourite poet; he delighted in his verse and copied entire poems into his note-book. Gradually, Gogol himself was shaping into a talented writer; he wrote for the manuscript school magazine and composed verses.

In 1828, after graduating from the gymnasium, Gogol came to St. Petersburg, the capital of the Russian empire. It took some time before he found employment there. Only at the end of 1829 was he 'granted' the post of a petty official. But office work did not appeal to the future author. He devoted all his leisure hours to art and literature, attended the Academy of Arts, occupied himself with painting, and did a great deal of reading and writing.

Gogol's unsigned story "Basavryuk," or "On the Eve of St. John's Day," was published in "Otechestvenniye Zapiski," in 1830. That was the first story of the famous series of "Evenings on a Farm Near Dikanka." The first part of the book was published in September, 1831, and the second in March, 1832. This book launched Gogol on his literary career.

Fascinating Portrayal of Ukrainian Life

Gogol's stories initiated the Russian reader into a new, unfamiliar world. They

contained fascinating pictures of the Ukraine, her life and history, they expressed her poetry, legends and folk-lore in all their splendour. The portrayal of nature was astounding for its freshness, and the characters of people were painted by the writer with a loving hand. The Ukrainian youth was pictured as cheerful, vigorous and optimistic, as young boys and girls, who, notwithstanding the hard life, preserved the sense of humour, the thirst for happiness, love of labour and nature, love of the native soil.



Portrait of the Russian writer N. Gogol by the artist Moller

At St. Petersburg, Gogol became the centre of attraction of a close circle of friends and comrades, a circle which had the great Russian poet, A. Pushkin, as its inspirer and leader. After the publication of his *Evenings*, Gogol prepared for the press the new volumes, *Mirgorod* and *Arabesques*, the latter contained, apart from stories, historical and pedagogical articles, notes on literature, art and folk poetry.

Mirgorod had as a sub-title, "Stories

which Form a Continuation of the 'Evenings on a Farm Near Dikanka.' In reality, the new collection was not a simple continuation of the first book. In the stories included in *Mirgorod* Gogol treated new problems and boldly exposed the contradictions existing in the life around him. As a true realist, Gogol painted in his "Taras Bulba," a story about Cossack life contained in this volume, heroes who personify the finest traits of the people, their urge for freedom, courage and fearlessness in struggle. Gogol showed the growing unity of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples, thanks to which they were able to fight together for national independence.

"The Little Man" in Gogol's Stories

The themes of the stories published after *Mirgorod* were based on life in St. Petersburg. "The Portrait," "Nevsky Prospect" and "A Madman's Notes" (included in the *Arabesques*), as well as "The Carriage," "The Nose" and "The Coat" written later, in 1839-1841, make up the series of his St. Petersburg stories. In some stories of this series, Gogol treats Pushkin's theme of the "little man." One can feel the writer's deep sympathy for the inconspicuous little man, his work-a-day life, his hard struggle for existence.

During these same years, Gogol was writing his dramatic productions, *The Marriage* and *Revizor* (Inspector-General). Developing the theme suggested by Pushkin, Gogol wrote his brilliant comedy, *Revizor*, in 1835.

The Acme of Gogol's Dramatic Writings

Revizor is the acme of Gogol's dramatic writings. It contains a whole gallery of "leaders" in a provincial Russian town, corrupt bribe-taking and despotic officials, through the exposure of whom, the author lashed the corruption and careerism, stupidity and meanness of the

ruling classes in Tsarist Russia and nailed down the disgusting features of serfdom.

The appearance of *Revizor* produced widespread reactions. It was welcomed by all progressives of Russia, while the reactionary serfowners received this comedy with frank fury. Soon after the production of *Revizor*, Gogol went abroad. He visited Germany, France, Switzerland and Italy, lived about two years in Rome, and throughout those years he worked on his *Dead Souls*. Returning to his country in 1839, he went to Italy again in the following year to complete his *Dead Souls*, the plot of which was suggested by Pushkin.

The first volume of *Dead Souls*, on which Gogol had been working since 1835, was published in May, 1842.

"Dead Souls"—Gogol's Masterpiece

The *Dead Souls* is Gogol's greatest masterpiece. This grand epic, which, in the author's words, embraced "the whole of Russia," was the crowning point of his work as it were. Gogol portrayed in his book numerous characters taken straight from life and ranging from outright swindlers of the type of Chichikov (who buys lists of dead peasant serfs in order to pass them for living peasants to be cited as security for a big loan from the bank), down to the cruel serf-owners, such as Sobakevich and Plushkin. That was again a severe and just indictment of serfdom and of the landed nobility.

The great writer did not live to complete this epic. He himself destroyed the second volume, and only fragments from it were saved by chance and came down to us. Gogol's endeavours were cut short by death, in February, 1852.

"It is a long time since the world had a writer who was as dear to his people, as Gogol to Russia," wrote Chernyshevsky, the great Russian critic and publicist and passionate fighter for freedom. Gogol is one of the most powerful and original realists whose genius shines in Russian and in world literature.

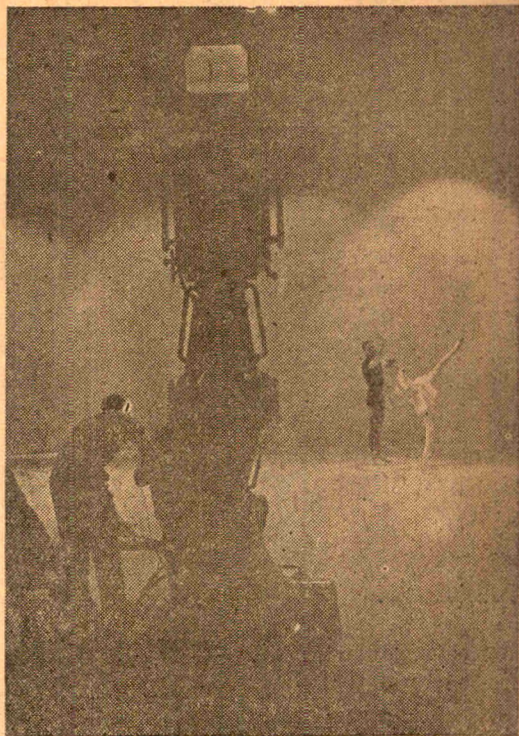
ART OF DANCE DESIGN—CHOREOGRAPHY

CHOREOGRAPHY* is a word used frequently in the dance world but its meaning is not clearly understood by many outside that world. Specifically it means the art of dance design. Architecture and sculpture create patterns in space; music creates patterns in time. The dance is a *time-space* art—the only one. A choreographer is the person who plans not only how a dance should be executed—the steps and gestures which should be used to project emotion or tell a story, but one who knows how to combine the elements of time, space and human bodies into patterns—into dancing.

Not long ago a television program of unusual interest was devoted to this subject of choreography. Agnes de Mille, distinguished American dancer and choreographer, conducted the 90-minute program in which she was assisted by a carefully selected group of 26 dancers and a 27-piece orchestra. Dance audiences have grown enormously in the United States during the last decade and this program, estimated to have reached 12,000,000 viewers, was most favorably received—so much so, in fact, that similar programs were immediately scheduled.

To move expressively—to dance—is a universal human impulse, and the first formalized dance is beyond the memory of history. In tracing the evolution of choreography in relation to dance history, Miss de Mille said that primitive societies found dance so potent that they called it magic and invoked its aide to supplicate the gods, to celebrate a harvest, rejoice in a victory or to summon the power and courage needed to meet an enemy. Since primitive man danced solely to express his own

needs and emotions, his dances were personal to him and not intended for an audience. The choreographer's idea of creating a dance in time and space was of no concern to him.



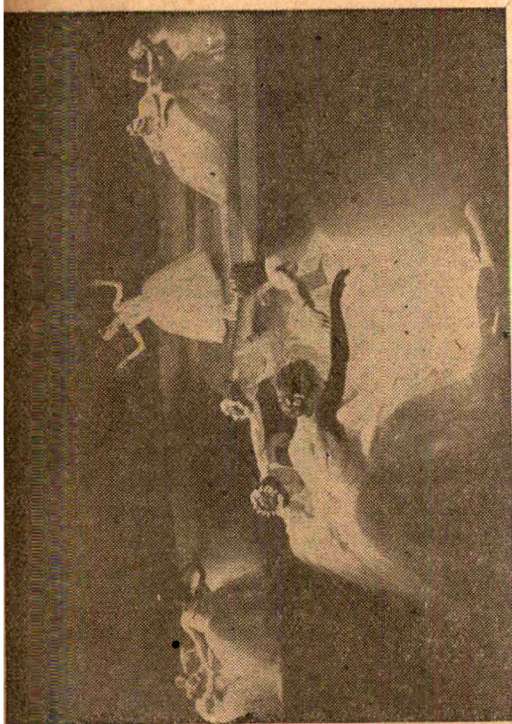
As Agnas de Mille gives her lecture on Choreography, the television camera begins to work

Nor did later developments of the dance which were designed primarily for an audience, have need of the choreographer such as we know today. There were, to be sure, dance teachers steeped in the traditions of their country's culture who trained dancers, sometimes from early childhood, to perform their highly ritualistic and often intricate dances.

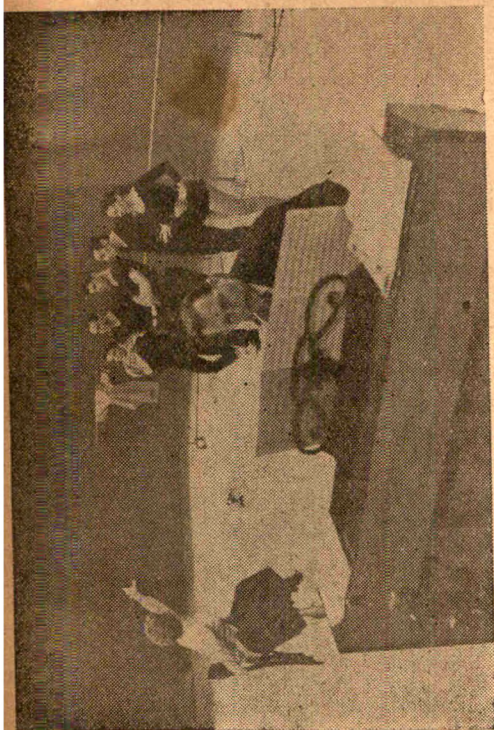
It was only with the advent of ballet as a popular entertainment that the choreographer became a necessity. Then one person with the requisite knowledge and taste was needed to fuse into a whole the dance production, depending on a variety of arts and crafts—dance, mime, gesture, music, costuming, staging, scenery and lighting.

Miss de Mille chose for demonstration portions of the old, yet perennial favorite, "Les

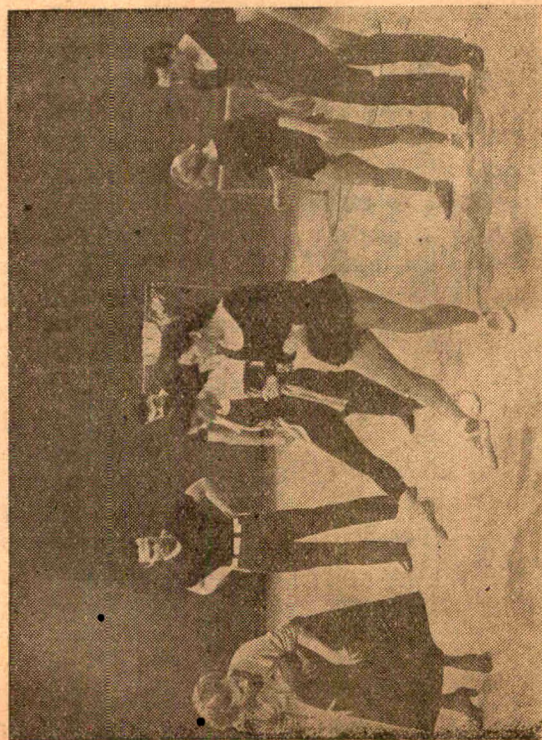
* Choreography, or the art of dance design, was the subject of a 90-minute television show conducted by the distinguished American dancer and choreographer, Agnes de Mille for an estimated audience of 12,000,000 viewers. Dance programs of all kinds are of increasing interest to Americans and the critical acclaim which followed this lecture-demonstration was additional proof of this interest. With a 27-piece orchestra to supply music and a talented group of dancers to illustrate her lecture Miss de Mille traced the evolution of choreography in relation to its place in history.



A romantic ballet evokes a beautiful dream world



The choreographer instructs the dancers both by word and gesture



Dancers strive to interpret the instructions of the choreographer



An emotion of invocation conveyed in *Serenade*



Gestures expressive of riding and cattle roping are part of the American ballet *Rodeo*



The choreographer despairs for the moment of being able to communicate her ideas to the dancers

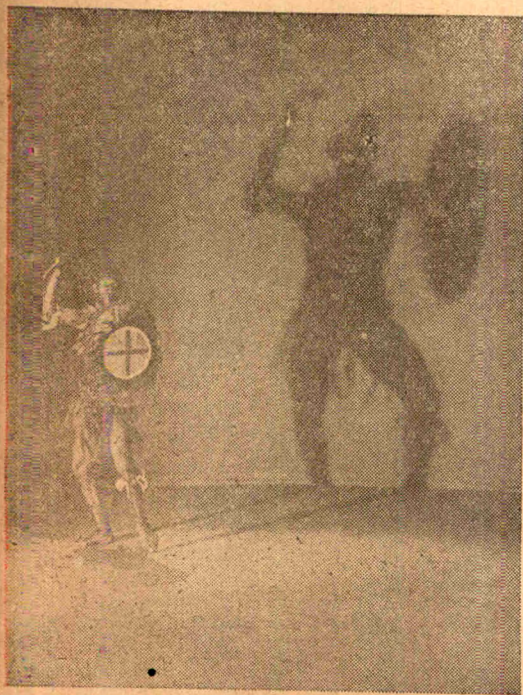
Sylphides," created in 1909 by Michel Fokine for Diaghilev's Ballet Russe in Paris. Set to the music of Chopin, this poetic work is an abstract ballet without plot or story of any kind. Its interest lies solely in pattern and the beautiful dreamlike movement of the dancers. Also selected for demonstration was another abstract ballet, "Serenade," choreographed by George Balanchine in 1935. Set to Tchaikovsky's "Serenade in C for Strings," this was the first work created by Balanchine in America. Abstract ballets are particularly instructive to those intent on learning how to recognize the visual design values of pure dance movement.



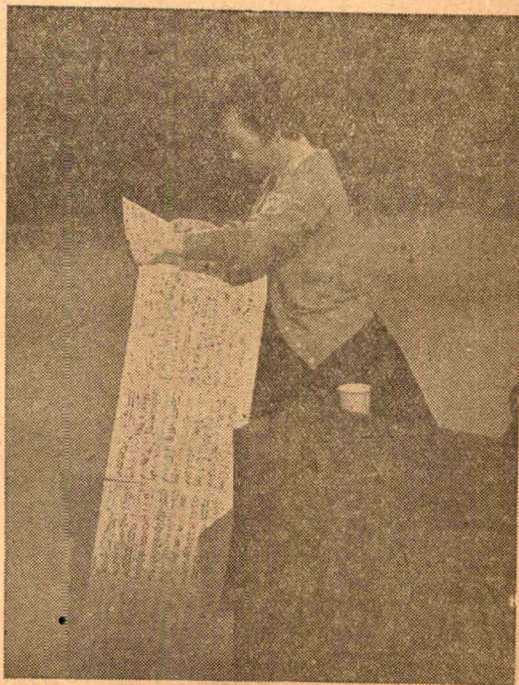
Gemze de Lappe illustrates certain dance steps and gestures suggested by Miss de Mille



A Siamese court dance



A Congo war dance signifies courage and power



Miss de Mille checks the musical score

Miss de Mille used her own delightful ballet, "Rodeo," to show how the choreographer develops a story in dance. "Rodeo" is a love story of the American Southwest which concerns a cowgirl seemingly interested only in riding and roping who proves eventually that she is also a woman, wistful and eager for romance.

In a final summing up, for her television audience, Miss de Mille said that art often used symbols to communicate what is inexpressible in ordinary speech and that the oldest of all symbols was movement. She then closed her lecture with a biblical quotation, "And God said, 'Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creatures that hath life'."—*USIS*

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF TIBETAN STRUGGLE FOR AUTONOMY

By TARUN BOSE

Intermittent reports of discontent simmering in the windswept plateau beyond the Himalayas had been trickling in since the Chinese Communist Government forced the Seventeen Point Agreement on Tibet on 23rd May 1951, but few expected to bust it, as it actually did, in such a tragic manner. Cutting out of the grooves of academic obscurity in which a complacent world was wont to keep it, the tendentious subject of the status of Tibet has suddenly become a burning problem of the day. Now when the whole gamut of the Chinese policy is under fire and the historical horizon is blurred by the myopia of pious indignation, it may be worthwhile to trace the evolution of Tibet's historical status from the beginning.

The earliest Tibetan history is lost in fable and folklore. When she made her first appearance on the Central Asian stage at the beginning of the 7th century A.D. Tibet was already a strong and centralised power, her boundary extending from the borders of modern Yunnan and Szechuan to Kashmir and Persia on the one hand and from the Tangut region on the south of Kokonor to Nepal and India on the other. Son-tsan Gam-po, her first national king, started a war with the T'ang Empire of China which went on with occasional breaks for more than two hundred years. At least on two occasions the Chinese emperors gave T'ang princesses in marriage with Tibetan kings, but these did not bring enduring peace. Once the Chinese, as recorded by a Tibetan chronicle, captured the Tibetan capital Lhasa while the

Tibetans had their revenge in 763 when they captured Chang An, capital of the T'ang empire. In the height of their power under Kri-son De-tsan the Tibetans carried their arms to Baltistan and Gilgit in the west and India in the south.

After Lang-dar-ma, however, Tibetan empire disintegrated into a number of petty principalities. In this dark age was born the unique religion of Tibet, Lamaist Buddhism, combining primitive Bon-po cults with the teachings of Buddha. She now gave up practically all her political ambitions and retired into a secluded life for the next thousand years. Henceforth the national policy of Tibet was to propagate her religion among the peoples scattered all over Central Asia. As more and more martial peoples came within its fold the duty of protecting Tibet and her religious institutions was delegated to them.

The rise of Mongol powers in Central Asia gave institutional support to this change in Tibet. Kublai Khan, who conquered China and founded the Yuan dynasty there, was a patron of Buddhism. Marco Polo writes how deep was his concern for spiritual matters and he was no doubt attracted to Lamaism by the many miracles performed in his presence by the priests of Lamaist church.² Phagspa, nephew of Sakya Pandita of the large monastery of Sakya, went to the court of Kublai Khan in 1253 and was made by the Khan his spiritual guide or national mentor. He was later on raised to the rank of

1. Tibet and Tibetans—Shen and Liu.

2. Travels of Marco Polo—Book II, Chapter II.

'Priest King' (Ta-pao-fa-wang or Prince of the Holy Law) and constituted ruler of Tibet.

Chinese claim to suzerainty over Tibet dates back to the above arrangement whereby she became a theocracy under Mongol suzerainty. It has been said that "through the religious link between China and Tibet, China was able to exercise a dominant influence over her vassal state or, in terms of Buddhist statecraft, her 'patronized state,' without using force or establishing colonies in the country." This relationship could exist when the Chinese emperors belonged to the Lamaist church as the union was based on religion and political connection only grew out of it.

Personal and religious aspect of the relationship came to the fore when the Ming Dynasty supplanted the Yuan. The Ming emperors indeed for a time tried to emulate their predecessors by giving titles and presents to the lamas but the Yuan legacy could hardly be bequeathed to a non-believer. Tsong-ko-pa who founded the Ge-lu-pa or Yellow Sect about this time did not take kindly to the overtures of the Ming emperor Cheng-tsu and declined his invitation to visit the Chinese court. All relationship between Tibet and China practically broke down when emperor Shih-tsung embraced Taoism and strove to suppress Buddhism. From this day till the end of Ming Dynasty lamas seldom went to China and Tibet remained outside the political influence of the Ming emperors.

With China following a nationalistic policy under her Ming emperors, Tibet once more gravitated towards Mongolia. Since 1509 Mongolian tribesmen had been moving to Kokonor area³ where they came in close contact with the Tibetans. The third Dalai Lama twice went to Mongolia where he introduced the Yellow Sect. Full effect of this new alliance was demonstrated when a Mongolian army under Gushi Khan intervened in the conflict between the

Yellow Sect and Red Sect and crushing all opposition proclaimed the fifth Dalai Lama as the undisputed spiritual leader of Tibet.

Meanwhile far-reaching changes were taking place in China where the Ming Dynasty was overthrown in 1644 by the Manchus. At the same time a struggle for supremacy had been going on between the Manchus and the Mongols both of whom gradually accepted the spiritual leadership of the Dalai Lama. In 1652 the fifth Dalai Lama paid a visit to Peking where he was received as a sovereign. As head of the Buddhist church in Central Asia authority of the Dalai Lama was now at its highest and the Manchu emperors sought his support in gaining the allegiance of the Mongols.

But Mongol power was not yet broken and there could be no question of extending Chinese suzerainty over Tibet so long as the army left by Gushi Khan at Lhasa remained behind the Dalai Lama. The opportunity came when the Dzungers intervened in Tibet after the death of the fifth Dalai Lama. This brought the Manchus into Tibet who defeated the Dzungers and assumed the role of defender of the faith.

A concordat which was now arrived at between the Dalai Lama and the Manchu emperor was a happy and workable compromise between Tibetan autonomy and Chinese suzerainty; their personal relationship being like that of a priest and his lay disciple. In defining the position of the Dalai Lama it may be said that the tendency to equate him with Tibet is not correct in the sense that his spiritual authority transcends the boundary of Tibet. He is head of the Lamaist church which among its followers includes diverse peoples living in India, Mongolia, Russia, Manchuria and other parts of China. Political Tibet which is the temporal domain of the Dalai Lama is even smaller than geographic or ethnographic Tibet. It extended north to the Dang La range, separating it from Kokonor, and east to Bam La. The Kokonor territory, thinly populated by Mongolian and Tibetan

3. D. Pokotilov—History of the Eastern Mongols during the Ming Dynasty from 1368 to 1634.

nomads and comprising the whole of the upper basins of the Yangtze and Yellow rivers and part of the Mekong headwater country, was under the nominal control of the Sining Amban. The country west of a line drawn through Bam La and comprising such frontier areas as Markham, Chamdo and Riwoche remained within Tibet. But a host of semi-independent Tibetan states like De-ge, Chala, Batang, Litang, etc., continued to exist on the Chinese of the border⁴. Apart from receiving tribute no attempt was made by the Chinese for about two hundred years to bring about a closer integration of these with the rest of China. Nor should it be forgotten that the Manchu emperors, true to their role as lay-protectors, rendered valuable help to the head of their church against foreign invaders like the Gurkhas in 1792 and the Dogra army of Zorawar Singh in 1841.

The balance of power in High Asia, was disturbed by British penetration culminating in Sir Francis Younghusband's Expedition of 1904 which forced Lhasa Convention on the Tibetans and marked the beginning of attack on Tibetan autonomy. The British thrust was primarily directed against Russia to forestall her move against this vital strategic area, control of which by any other great power would have imperilled Indian Empire. But to the Chinese it was just an attempt of the British-India Government to open up Tibet for commercial exploitation. This attempt "to impose the drinking of Indian tea on a people which prefer Chinese tea" (Earl of Rosebery) cut across Chinese interest of keeping Tibetan commerce, particularly the valuable trade in tea, in their own hands. The alarmed Chinese Government now began a systematic attempt to bring Lhasa under its political control and to incorporate the bordering areas within China.

Eastern Tibet which has always been a land with promise first bore the brunt of the changed Chinese attitude. Chao

Erh-feng, a ruthless soldier, appeared on the scene and began an active anti-lama policy. He destroyed semi-independent Tibetan states, established colonies of Chinese settlers and introduced the Chinese system of provincial administration. Finally a Chinese army forced its way into Lhasa (1910). The Dalai Lama fled and took refuge in India, leaving the Chinese for the first time complete masters of Tibet.

This change of Chinese policy, backed by a strong army, was so sudden that for a time it looked as if Tibet would lose her autonomy for good. Her military strength was negligible and the international situation unfavourable. Whereas by the Peking Convention (1906) and the Agreement between Gt. Britain and Russia (1907) both the British and the Russian Governments undertook not to interfere in the internal affairs of Tibet, nothing was done to ensure similar forbearance on the part of China. During his exile the Dalai Lama received no help from the British Government beyond a formal desire "to see the internal autonomy of Tibet under Chinese suzerainty."

So when he returned to Lhasa (1912) after the Chinese Revolution he was resolved upon making Tibet autonomous both in name and in fact. With the deposition of the Manchu emperor who was regarded as reincarnation of Buddha of Wisdom the bond between Tibet and China was weakened⁵ and with the sinister policy initiated by Chao Erh-feng looming in the background no Tibetan could ever trust the grasping Chinese.

This assumption of autonomy was accompanied by a national upsurge which helped Tibet to hold her own against China. Her ancient martial spirit was dormant but not dead. When the much-needed army reforms were put through, her army proved its worth by defeating the Chinese and recovering much of the land lost to Chao Erh-feng. Rise of the Young-Tibet Party about this time helped the process. Led by a group of military

4. Eric Tiechman—Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet.

5. Sir Charles Bell—Tibet: Past and Present.

leaders they stood for the substitution of the theocratic regime by some form of civil government, for carrying out of national reform and for economic development on western lines.

For more than three decades Tibet enjoyed her autonomy without any interference from China. So in 1949 when the disquieting turn in Chinese civil war threatened to spread the conflagration to Tibet, she decided to demonstrate her neutrality by ousting the officials of the Ku-mintang Government from Lhasa.⁶ But Red China interpreted it as an affront and prepared to 'liberate' Tibet from the 'imperialists.' In October '50 the Chinese army crossed the border at several points and Tibet, too weak to resist them, was forced to sign the Seventeen Point Agreement.

While retaining control of the military and foreign affairs, China agreed to leave Tibet in the enjoyment of her internal autonomy, with no change in Dalai Lama's political system or in his status, function and power. Its religion, monastic institutions and customs were to be respected. Hopes of a smooth working of the new regime were, however, soon shattered. Apparently there was little interference with the status of the Dalai Lama, but all power soon passed out of his hands. Despite outward forms all Tibetan Departments were in fact subordinated to the various military and administrative committees set up by the Chinese.

In March '55 when the Dalai Lama was on a visit to China, the Chinese Government announced its decision to set up a Preparatory Committee with the Dalai Lama as Chairman to prepare the way for Tibetan autonomy. This body which met for the first time in Lhasa on April 22, 1956 was never given real power and it soon became apparent that even the so-called autonomy permissible under the Communist system could only be granted to Tibet after necessary indoctrination. Large numbers of Communist Party officials and teachers were brought for

preparing the Tibetans for the Communist way of life. Numerous young men and women were also sent to China for indoctrination. The Chinese also interfering with religion by forcing through 'reforms' and when these failed by deporting the monks or burning the monasteries.

Meanwhile eastern Tibet was threatened in a far more serious way. The line of Chinese advance in 1950 lay through this area and at that time it had to put up with much of high-handed action by the Chinese soldiery. Now began a systematic attempt by the Communists to plant Chinese colonies in Kham, Golok, Amdo and other areas of Tibet. This led to their, as pointed out by a correspondent in *New Statesman* on 20th December, 1958, mass migration and exodus. As a result began a widespread revolt by the Khampas, a particularly warlike and turbulent people of eastern Tibet.

The Chinese for a time understood the gravity of the situation and decided to go slow. Mao Tse-tung said, on 27th February, 1957 in his famous "doctrine of hundred flowers," "Because conditions are not ripe, democratic reforms have not been carried out in Tibet. It has now been decided not to proceed with democratic reform during the Second Five-Year Plan, and whether it will be done in the Third Five-Year Plan we can decide in the light of the situation obtaining at that time."

But it was too late to scotch the discontent. There was increasing demand for a much broader-based autonomy and the Khampa rising which was continuing since 1956 brought the matters to a head.

Last year there was a mass concentration of Khampas in Lhasa; then quite suddenly and without any apparent reason they moved south towards the Tsang-po (Brahmaputra).⁷ During the winter, when the Chinese were immobilized, they greatly increased their strength. Chinese troops were ambushed and their arms looted away.⁸ With the coming of spring

6. Heinrich Harrer—Seven Years in Tibet.

7. *Statesman*, 14-1-'59.

8. *Statesman*, 25-2-'59.

pattern of the revolt began to take shape. The Khampas were in control of the Brahmaputra basin below Lhasa and of all territory between the river and Bhutan-India frontier. Possibilities of 'liberating' the Dalai Lama and moving him to Khampa-held territory were freely discussed.⁹

The dilemma of the Dalai Lama increased as such a move was sure to lead to full-scale Chinese operations which possibly would mean an end of Tibet's autonomy. Meanwhile the Chinese had been putting pressure on the Dalai Lama to use his power to suppress the Khampa revolt. Against this background was received the Chinese invitation of March 10th which roused all the suspicion of the Tibetans and set in motion the train of events leading to the Dalai Lama's sensational escape from Lhasa and seeking asylum in India.

With this Tibet's struggle for autonomy enters on a crucial stage. Dalai Lama, apart from his religious authority, has always represented national resistance to Chinese rule. As an ex-Premier of Tibet puts it, "The real government is with His Holiness." Whether he will be able to survive his exile with Tibetan autonomy intact, depends on the success of the opposition in Tibet itself. In spite of their vast superiority in military strength, the Chinese do not yet feel strong enough politically to denounce the Dalai Lama. They are still talking about Tibet's autonomy and even according to the Chinese theory the Dalai Lama is its head. They are surely waiting to see how far the Panchen Lama succeeds in inducing the Tibetans to accept the Chinese rule. Whatever may be the result, immediate prospect before Tibet is a long struggle to preserve her national identity.

9. *Statesman*, 2-3-'59.

EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY IN FREE INDIA

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[THE present article is a sort of reaction to Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru's Press Conference in Calcutta on Sunday the 27th July, 1958, as reported by the staff reporter of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in its issue of the 28th July, 1958, under the caption "After Nehru What?" The attention of our readers is invited to the full report in original of this very interesting Press Conference of Shri Nehru, wherein he made two very important observations: *First*, at the outset he pointed out that such a question might have been put in Hitler's Germany. With "democracy in operation" it did not matter much if the successor was not just like his predecessor. Citing the example of America, he continued: "In U.S.A., they found some President of a very superior calibre being succeeded by one of not similar type. Was not the U.S.A. carrying on?" In democratic India such a question was, therefore, perforce futile. *Secondly*, towards the conclusion Shri Nehru considered "propagation of the right kind of primary and secondary education to be of greatest importance to our democracy." He

further opined that "what was important in India was the question of giving training to a wide strata of people from the highest to the lowest," so that here in India "in the process of the working of democracy" somebody else would come in to fill the place.]

"The bulwarks of a country are its men."

"Upon the education of the people of the country the fate of the country depends."

"From colleges and universities of the country flow the ideas and the people that influence the direction of science, industry, politics, national defense, the arts and humanities, indeed, every sphere of our national life . . . to the extent these well-springs of knowledge and learning are neglected and deprived of the resources necessary to develop fully their potential to that extent the nation fails to attain its own highest level of progress." —*The Ford Foundation Annual Report*, 1957, p. 8 (slightly altered).

"Through education society can realize its fullest potential for material abundance, intellectual enlightenment and moral growth."

Through education man learns the secrets of nature so that it will serve him, he learns about the past so that he may be wisely guided in the present and the future, and he learns the moral values that he can apply in his relationships with his fellowmen."—*Ibid.*, p. 9.

"The nation's greatest resource—its human resources." *Ibid.*, p. 14.

"The money given to education by the Nation is not a gift but an investment. It returns high interest to the Nation."—Mrs. Annie Besant, the *Kamala Lectures* (1925).

"The world of to-morrow will be born from the schools of to-day."—M. L. Jacks: *The Headmaster Speaks*. (Kegan Paul).

1. Vital link between "Education" and "Democracy". Importance of the ballot-box in a democratic set-up, with its universal franchise. "Selection and training" of a successor or a series of successors—a negation of Democracy.

The role of Education in the evolution and sustenance of Democracy is not usually well understood in our country as yet in the early formative stage of Democracy. We have not yet been thoroughly "educated" into seeing the vital link between "Education and Democracy." It was therefore quite in the fitness of things that Shri Nehru the other day stressed the importance of this subject at a Press Conference in Calcutta, while himself passing the question of his own successor and himself supplying the answers in the manner of a true apostle of Democracy and of a constructive statesman. We have already stated in the preamble the substance of his reply, below we give our own amplification of his observations: If "Democracy" is government by the "Demos" or "common people," naturally then in a democratic set-up we must expect our successors to come from "the people." "Selection" and "training" of our successors by political parties or leaders will be just a negation of Democracy, a stultification of Democracy. For that will be nothing short of taking away from the people what is the business of the people, what is the "right" of the people. Such things are possible, or as Shri Nehru said, are "of great importance" in a monarchical, authoritarian or dictatorial country only; for

there, we know, the voice of a particular group or of a particular leader monopolising all the power, is predominant over the voice of the people. In a democratic set-up, with universal adult franchise the bed-rocks of Parliamentary democracy, on the other hand, where the ballot-box is the sole and ultimate arbiter, the voice of the people speaking through the ballot-box is the final determining factor. Where "democracy is thus in operation," the people have the final say in every matter. Every measure has a "popular sanction" behind it, so that unlimited scope is offered to every individual and the rise of any superman, much less of his successor, is automatically ruled out; for Democracy is bound by a Constitution framed by the representatives of the people themselves, and everyone in the State from the highest to the lowest is but a creature of the Constitution (even where that Constitution is unwritten and moulded by traditions and conventions). The power of everyone in a democratic state is strictly confined within the limits of the said Constitution and nobody can claim any extra-constitutional power and authority on the strength of his position. So a democratic successor, a man of the people comes from the people themselves out of the natural process of the working of Democracy (but more of this anon) and not under the fiat of any person or party; for there is no such word as "fiat" in the dictionary of Democracy.

2. Hence the necessity and urgency of educating and training the common people.

For the success of Democracy, therefore, it is incumbent, to repeat the word of Shri Nehru, to give opportunities to a larger and larger group of people, to a wide strata of people from the highest to the lowest for their receiving the highest training. But all training will be simply thrown away, if the trainees are not educated enough. So Shri Nehru considered "a wide propagation of the right kind of Primary and Secondary Education to be of greatest importance to Democracy." In the following pages we are going to show how Education is the very life-breath of Democracy, how without Education Democracy languishes and dies and lastly, how an educated electorate is the very backbone of Democracy.

3. No reaction in the country to Shri

Nehru's press conference, thus testifying to public apathy towards Education.

How little we realise the importance of the role of Education in relation to Democracy may be gathered from the fact that this Press Conference of Shri Nehru, so important in the real interest of the country, has so far hardly evoked any comment at all; in fact, the reaction of the public has been almost nil, and Shri Nehru's appreciation of the importance of Education has hardly been seconded by the public. The public, it is clear, are apathetic towards the subject of Education. But it is now high time that the public should be "educated" into seeing the vital link between Education and Democracy, so that the prevailing apathy towards this subject will thaw and melt away. With the disappearance of this apathy the best will follow.

4. *Top priority to be given to Education in all our plannings. Education to precede all projects to mould the human element first.*

It is clear now from what has already been said that Education must be given top priority in all our Plannings, that Education must precede all types of projects. Before the spectacular array of growing ambitious projects we are apt to forget the human factor that mainly goes to the working and implementation of all our projects, in our fetish for the machine we have lost sight of the man behind the machine, just as we have lost sight of the man behind the plough. We have forgotten that this human element has got to be tackled, moulded and developed first, if our national programmes are to be at all made successful. Full industrial development amounting to almost revolution, which is our target, will be impossible without universal education. The difference in existing *per capita* output between our country and industrially advanced countries will be a sufficient point in this direction. Again, agricultural development, which we need so badly to meet our distressing, and at the same time baffling, food problem, will be quite easy to achieve if we have, in this age of scientific agriculture, educated agriculturists driving the tractor. And our National Plans and Community Projects will rouse popular enthusiasm and thus they will automatically gather strength if stress is laid on universal education first.

Thus with universal education there will be felt a tremendous fillip in every department. Over four decades ago the poet Rabindranath Tagore during his tour of Japan was taken aback to find his hotel maid reading a Japanese translation of his philosophical lectures in his *Sadhana*. This was his strange experience as he narrated to the students of the Calcutta Presidency College (*Presidency College Magazine*, Nov. 1917). A nation whose hotel maids were so highly educated over four decades ago has naturally risen up again, rejuvenated, phoenix-like, out of her own ashes, so soon after her recent harrowing, shattering experiences.

5. *A well-cultivated intellect, the fruit of education, to operate well in all field. Hence no dearth of able men to be felt. Relays of able men kept in readiness by the democratic system.*

As education leads to the cultivation of intellect, it equips one for intelligent action. "An intellect properly disciplined, an intellect properly habituated, is an intellect able to operate in all fields." Herein comes the necessity of universal education in a democratic set-up. Whenever and wherever a gap occurs, the "natural process of the Working of Democracy" is sure to supply a successor out of the educated common people to fill up the gap. Democracy therefore must so order its system and create its own environment through universal education and training that relays of fit persons in every department must always be in readiness to take over, otherwise Democracy fails. Whenever there is a shortage of personnel and also of leaders in any department, it is a signal of warning that there must be some lacunae in the educational system of the democratic set-up, deserving our immediate attention, we are to assume that the "human resources" which, as we have already noted constitute "the greatest resource of a nation" have not been sufficiently exploited and developed through education by Democracy, and to the extent the human resources remain thus unexploited and undeveloped, to that extent Democracy suffers. Therefore Democracy must always be on the alert about her educational system and must never suffer any shortage of trained personnel in any section. It was democracy, for example, that made possible

Lincoln's passage from Log Cabin to White House, and that also inspired Lincoln with no special literary equipment to deliver that immortal literary master-piece of a speech that has been ever since a beacon light to struggling humanity. Democracy alone has wrought this miracle.

6. *Power and responsibility conferred on the people by the ballot-box. Our "masters" therefore to be educated. Example of Great Britain cited. Educated electorate leads to the rise of strong opposition parties and thus also to a balance of parties; the essence of democracy.*

Another consideration invests the question of universal education with awful importance in India, where a great experiment in democracy is now in progress. India has today become a huge laboratory of democracy, for, in India, which has chosen the parliamentary form of democracy based on party system, instead of one party rule, the ballot-box has been placed at the disposal of every Indian adult. The interest of India as also of democracy demands that this experiment in democracy be successful. We are to see that the power conferred by the ballot-box is not misused or abused, that the responsibility conferred by universal adult suffrage be fully discharged. For, we must know that, mere extension of franchise by itself is no panacea for political ills, extension of franchise in order to be fruitful must be followed by a programme of education, otherwise extension of franchise becomes meaningless. In this connexion the example of Great Britain, the traditional home of the Mother of Parliaments, will be appropriate. In Great Britain, at the time (June 7, 1832) when the famous Reforms Bill became an Act, "general education was at a low ebb" (R. Gardiner); but with this Act placed on the statute book State education of its people began. The next stage came, when with the further extension of franchise, *viz.*, the working class vote, Gladstone came to power (1868). He was determined to push on with social reforms first and he considered education to be the first of the social problems to be tackled. So, it was felt that "now we must

educate our masters," for, in Great Britain, "up to 1870 children were not obliged to go to school and, indeed, there were not schools for them all to attend" (Warner and Marten). It was with the passing in 1870 of the "Elementary Education Act," sponsored by W. E. Foster, a quaker, "who was given charge of Gladstone's measure for educational reform" that "the schoolmaster was abroad with his primer." Ten years later (1880), by which date a sufficient number of new schools were built, it was made compulsory for all children to attend schools up to the age of thirteen. Parents had to pay fees, and not till 1891 Lord Salisbury's second ministry completed the Elementary Education Act of 1870 by making education free in all elementary schools. Thus was completed the process of building up in Great Britain an educated, enlightened, thoroughly sober and disciplined electorate, which is an asset to democracy. For, education alone can produce thinking citizens, who unswayed by political passions, can rightly exercise their franchise. Over and above, an educated, enlightened electorate exercises a healthy, bracing influence on administration in several ways: first, extension of franchise *pari passu* with the spread of education shifts the centre of gravity from some particular class or classes to the whole nation, for then political awareness, political consciousness dawns on the whole nation, so that it becomes impossible for some particular class or classes all the political wisdom and therefore decide what the whole nation should do; and secondly, it helps the growth and development of strong opposition parties, without which the proper democratic functioning of parliamentary government is impossible. An educated, enlightened electorate thus forms the very backbone of democracy, for in the absence of strong and responsible opposition parties or party (as education expands and political consciousness develops) to fall back upon as alternative to the ruling party when it fails the people, democracy slowly, but nonetheless surely, though imperceptibly drifts into oligarchy and dictatorship. Thus the existence of a healthy, responsible and dependable opposition is essential and indispensable for the functioning of the parliamentary form of democracy. The role of this

opposition, it must always be borne in mind, is not to offer opposition for the sake of opposition only and prevent the smooth running of administration. The opposition in democracy cannot prove itself healthy and effective by mere obstruction tactics, nor should the party in power reject summarily whatever suggestion the opposition puts forth; for, in democracy, it never must be forgotten by all the parties, the government of the country is not the permanent monopoly of any particular party; the ruling party may be matched with a strong and responsible opposition, which may eventually with greater trust of the people and thus be the party in power tomorrow by winning the bloodless battle of the ballot-box, and there the reins of the government will pass into their hands, leading to the formation of the government of the people's own choice. So, in democracy, the opposition must equip itself in such a way as to be looked upon as an alternative to the present ruling party and thus in democracy every party has got to remain alert about the people's interests first and that, though apparently paradoxical, in its own interest, which comes next. Thus eternal vigilance becomes the price not only of liberty but also of democracy. Thus also the opposition forces the party in power to keep itself within proper limits and pay respectful attention to it (the opposition), and finally, thus also secured out of the very healthy competition (not strife and wrangling) of parties, the "balance of parties," which is of the essence of democracy and the ideal pattern of the parliamentary form of government. In an educated and enlightened electorate party rivalry is thus kept within proper bounds and is never allowed to run against the larger interest of the country. So, a healthy competition amongst parties becomes the very life-breath of democracy, for every party becomes mindful of the voice of the people, which is also the voice of God. A party can turn a deaf ear to the voice of the people only at its own peril. In true democracy, with an educated and enlightened electorate, it is the voice of the people that prevails, for it is in the people that true power rests, and no government can disregard the collective consciousness of the people, so that every government has to carry

out the bidding of the people. It is education alone that can confer so much strength to the people, and it is the educated, enlightened electorate alone that can suitably respond to all these varied calls of democracy and discharge its complex duties and responsibilities. Hence, an emphasis throughout on the need of education for the proper functioning of democracy.

7. *Our target to be not simply universal primary education but universal adult education.*

Our target should therefore be not simply universal primary education to a certain particular age-group (5|6-11), but also universal, adult education, in other words, education of the huge, unlettered or semi-lettered mass of people beyond this age-group, who shall have to be equipped to become fit citizens, so that they too can exercise their independent judgment rightly and be fit for the complex duties and responsibilities which have devolved upon them with the independence of the country and be well suited to meet the heavy demands of modern political life. The whole nation must, therefore, go to school, wiping off the distinction between the educated and the uneducated classes, between the so-called intelligentsia and the masses, thus neutralizing the present imbalance between these classes so detrimental to the growth and development of democracy and thus paving the path for the "emotional integration" of the entire nation. With universal education democracy will necessarily be in full stride.

8. *Imparting education piecemeal--a short-sighted policy. The neutralizing effects of an unlettered or semi-lettered majority. A subtle danger confronting democracy.*

Now let us stop to sound a note of warning about two serious dangers confronting democracy if it fails to impart universal education. The first is rather subtle and so often, disregarded. It is the neutralizing effect of the huge unlettered or semi-lettered majority swamping the lettered minority by sheer force of number. So this majority is a real menace to democracy. The gravitational pull of this vast majority will be difficult to resist, it will nullify the effects of education imparted to a minority. Not only so, the standard in every

sphere, in society as well as in body politic, will be seriously brought down, and every attempt to raise the standard will be stubbornly resisted by this majority. And the standard of living also will suffer a setback instead of advancing and improving, in the absence of universal education. We will, therefore, assert with all the emphasis at our command that the entire nation must not only go to school but also together and at once. It shall be a short-sighted policy indeed to impart education piecemeal and to defer universal education on grounds of finance, for the cost of universal education is the price that we must pay for democracy.

9. *Education to save democracy from "mobocracy".*

There is still another danger from which education saves democracy. It is a grave danger that threatens to lead democracy to the path of "mobocracy". Education presupposes an intensive training and drilling, a strict discipline, the absence of which turns democracy into "mobocracy". We must never forget that as in democracy, there is no inhibition to the expansion of individuality, there is every chance of this individuality running wild and amuck. But democracy is not licence. If democracy is to be saved from this excess, "indulgence of individuality" must be guarded against, and individuality must be kept within proper limits. And nothing but education can supply the inner discipline, the sobering influence that holds in bay our bounding individuality, restraining it from falling into "mobocracy," which ultimately paves the path for dictatorship or totalitarianism and all types of subversive ideologies. Education with its far-reaching effects thus serves as a ballast to democracy. We, therefore, repeat here the warning sounded by John Milton, who said long ago that the rise and fall of nations and commonwealths turn upon the axle of discipline.

10. *Part to be played by private parties in financing universal education. Creation of private Trust funds.*

It is now time to lay stress on one important point which we have left untouched so long. It is the part which in a democratic set-up the private sector can play in helping

the State tide over the staggering financial difficulties in implementing the scheme of universal education, and particularly in a country like India whose income is not up to this colossal task. In a free democratic country, the people must not always look up to the State for finance, the private sector must co-operate with the State and take a share of the huge financial burden that universal education entails, just as it has in the case of Community Development programme. Private benefactions must play their part in this country also, on as large a scale as in democratic America, for that will show a spirit of self-reliance quite befitting a free, democratic country. Business corporations must now unstring their purses, for it will not be pure charity on their part to do so, in a sense it will be sound business policy also, an investment in their own interest. It is in our own interest also that we must be prepared for financial sacrifice on our part towards the implementation of schemes of universal education. If the entire nation has to go to school at all, the entire nation has to bear the burden, not simply formally through legislatures, but also informally in its private capacity; for, after all, education is the responsibility of the entire nation. Let "Educational Development Funds" be opened institution-wise, State-wise and Union-wise, and let even "Educational Development Fund Acts" be passed to facilitate, expedite and legalise contributions to these funds from the private sector, including individuals and corporations, so that everyone can be associated with the great enterprise of spreading education. Everyone will then contribute to common pools. Contributions, however humble, from single individuals, will go to augment these funds substantially. There will be then more money to be made out of the pennies of the million than out of the dollars of the upper ten thousand. In this way let Trust Funds be created (either on the sponsorship of the State or purely privately) on the models and on the scale of the Ford and Rockefeller Trust Funds with exactly similar functions, to supplement the Government budget, lest democracy in India founders on the rock of finance.

11. *Money to be found for universal education to maintain in India "government of*

the people, by the people and for the people."

Let us now conclude by repeating what has been practically our main thesis, *viz.*, that we must not be chary of investing on universal education, for money, more money for education "must be found." Let financial and administrative heads and experts—we have thrown out only in amateurish fashion some suggestions above—join together and devise ways and means (which should also include an impartial and thorough probe, State-wise and Union-wise, into administrative expenditure) for provision of the "sinews of war," however huge war against illiteracy, war against ignorance. We have deliberately used the expression "sinews of war" just to stress the necessity of tackling the problem of education on a war-footing. It is really an emergency situation that is facing us when we have an infinitesimally small percentage of literacy

even on the eleventh year of our independence. So a sense of emergency, of urgency, must invest all our approach towards this problem. Everything else can wait, but in the present exigencies education can no longer wait, education can brook no further delay. It is therefore high time now not only for a revision of priorities in our Plans, but also for deferment, if not total suspension of some schemes, to make room for universal education. First things first, and the first and most peremptory demand on budget, local or Central, in a democratic country must be education. The charge on education at any stage must never be nibbled down. Let us no longer delay to implement not simply primary, but also sound, general, universal education, so that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall take a firm root and flourish in India.

POTATO CAN SAVE US FROM FOOD SHORTAGE

By J. N. BOSE, F.R.G.S.

The Foodgrains Enquiry Committee (which reported in November last) estimated our present deficit food production at between two and three million tons. Supposing our production remains constant at the present level, and assuming an increase in consumption of one million tons each year, we shall at the present level of nutrition, need to import some twelve million tons of foodgrains ten years hence. Neither can we get such large exportable foodgrains from any country nor we can find the foreign exchange to pay for such huge quantities. At present we are importing foodgrains from the U.S.A. but this advantage cannot last long. Our demands are increasing and we cannot expect Americans to go on producing increasing surpluses to keep us fed. We must step up our production.

Though India has a geographical area of 896 million acres and an estimated culturable area of 467 million acres, at present only 316 million acres are actually cultivated, of this only 18 per cent is irrigated. In India the population has doubled in

the last half century. It has been estimated that by 1975 the population may rise to 492 millions. Adequacy of grain even at the present low level of nutrition must be attained. Our crop yields are among the lowest in the world, so there is scope for increasing the yields. The experience of Western countries has shown that with the aid of modern science and technology, our fields can be made to produce, two, three or four times the yield they are producing today. World experience shows that fertilizers, effectively and correctly used, are the largest single factor increasing crop yields. A point will eventually be reached when further increases of production cannot be obtained at economic cost, but for that we need not tax our brains for the present, as we can hardly do anything about it now.

"In the First Five-Year Plan importance was given to the development of Irrigation and Power, mainly to attain self-sufficiency in food and to provide a foundation for industrial advancement. All the project taken up during the First

Plan form the part of a long range programme. In the next 15 or 20 years the irrigated area of 51.5 million acres in 1950-51 is expected to be doubled, stepping up production by all possible means, i.e., soil fertility, quality of seeds, supply of manure, better technique of agriculture and double cropping is aimed at. At present in India the per capita cultivated and irrigated area is of the order of 0.84 and 0.14 acre respectively. From 1950-51 to 1954-55 the per capita area irrigated was unchanged, though additional land was brought under irrigation. This was because of the corresponding increase in population."

In his presidential address of the 23rd Annual General meeting of the National Institute of Sciences, held at Madras on January 5, 1958, Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis said: "The problem of feeding fresh additions to the population at the rate of 5 millions per year could be tackled in four different ways:—(i) By importing 700,000 tons of foodgrains every year (at the rate of one ton for seven persons) costing Rs. 450 crores of foreign exchange over a period of five years. (ii) By importing, two years in advance of crop seasons, 3500 tons of ammonium sulphate costing Rs. 135 crores of foreign exchange in a five-year period. (iii) By starting every year (4 or 5 years in advance of the crop season) one new fertilizer factory of 350,000 tons capacity at a cost of Rs. 100 crores in a five-year period with a foreign exchange component of Rs. 60 crores only. (iv) By building a heavy machine industry at an apportioned cost of Rs. 12 or 15 crores including Rs. 8 or 10 crores of foreign exchange, once for all which would produce Rs. 8 or 10 crores worth of machinery required to instal a new fertilizer factory (like Sindri) every year."

Of the alternative outlined by Prof. Mahalanobis the (iv) is obviously the best, but it may be five years before such a factory goes into production, and some five years more for the fertilizer plant made by the factory to go into production. Thus it may be ten years hence before fertilizer manufactured by home-made plant goes into soil. What to do in the

interval? If cereals cannot meet the demand we should try tubers, and potato can surely solve our food problem.

The original home of potato is not lost in the mists of antiquity. From Peru-Bolivia the potato was able to spread throughout the world even within the Arctic Zone. It was for the wild potato in the Andean mountains that men of Amazonian basin could move eastwards and westwards and establish a foot-hold on these inhospitable heights, which afterwards flowered into a remarkable civilization. After the discovery of the new world, the great Potosi mines, which brought large fortunes to the Spaniards, were worked with slave labour maintained almost entirely on dried potato. The original potato of Peru was long, deep-eyed, and of poor flavour. In the hands of the breeders, the shape, colour and quality have been much improved; the present tubers express the results of more than three centuries work, though most of the improvements were made after 1845, when potato disease focussed attention on the crop owing to the appearance of potato "blight" in Europe.

The popular belief is that potato was brought from Virginia to England by the Raleigh expedition in 1585. On investigation it appears that true potato did not reach Virginia until over a hundred years after this date. Nor could Raleigh have obtained the potato from Peru, for his ship never visited that country. Claims are made for Drake in this connection. Certainly his ships passed through the straits of Magellan in 1578 and turned northwards, looting the coast towns of Chile and Peru, after which he returned to England across the Pacific and Indian Oceans, thereby completing his second renowned trip round the world. There is, however, no record that potato was brought on his ship the "Pelican," and indeed it was not until 1586 that he is alleged to have introduced the potato. The Germans are exponents of the Drake story, for there stands in Offenbourg, Baden, a monument inscribed: "Sir Francis Drake, introducer of the potato into Europe in the year of our Lord 1580." It is possible,

however, that it was the Spaniards who gave potato to Europe.

Potato played an important part in the economic development of England following the industrial revolution. A cheap diet—potato alone could maintain life at low price and thus proved a boon to the employer and employee. It reduced the cost of production and thus helped the rapid growth of national wealth. Seaweed is much used by the potato-growers of Scotland, Ireland and Cornwall, inland growers, unable to obtain this, have to use artificial fertilizers. Most experiments are agreed that a compound fertilizer which contains potash, phosphates, and nitrogen is desirable, but the exact proportion in which they should be mixed is a matter of controversy. In the trials conducted at the Rathamsted experimental station (England), the nitrogen fertilizers proved over a period of years, an increase of 20 cwt., of potatoes per cwt., of sulphate of ammonia used. The yield of potato was 11 to 13 tons per acre, and usually 4 cwt., of sulphate of ammonia and 4 cwt., of sulphate of potash per acre was necessary to secure this. Economy of either ammonia or potash reduced the yield. The action on other soil would probably be somewhat different.

Potato formed five-sevenths of the diet of the German working classes. In Germany, before the Second Great War, the area under potato exceeded that under wheat by 2 million acres. Without potato the Great War could not have been fought, it furnished a great reservoir of power and food for the German people. Potato production of Germany is of two kinds, the crop of the West is grown mainly for table purposes. In Eastern Germany there exist vast tracts of light sandy soil of little use for grass or cereal production, but continuous cultivation and judicious manuring with fertilizers they have been rendered fertile for potatoes which are grown in great quantities and largely used for making farina (potato starch) or alcohol.

Dr. Dudley Stamp in his 44th edition of the *British Isles* stated that the people

of Eire eat or consume about a quarter of a ton of potatoes per head each year. Potato has been both saviour and ruin of Ireland. It reached there at the end of 16th century, at a time of great civil turmoil, when a very large tract of the country had been completely devastated. It fitted perfectly into the lives of the semi-starved people and spread rapidly. It provided good nourishment for the population and gradually affected the entire social fabric of the people. As the effort required for its cultivation was very little, the people became lazy and the standard of living shrank to the lowest level in Europe. Potato took the place of money and it dictated size and tenure of their holdings. Its general abundance removed from the peasantry any sense of family responsibility, pride of home or person, marriages were entered into light-heartedly and the number of children in the family was of no matter, for there were enough potatoes to go round. It was in these conditions that suddenly in 1845 and 1846 the potato blight caused by the fungus swept all over Western Europe. Ireland, whose dietary was completely dominated by the potato suffered unparalleled disaster. The complete failure of the potato crop not only caused the death of about a million people from sheer starvation, but also culminated in a great wave of emigration which led another million to leave their native land during the next few years.

In Australia, growers, in the rich potato-growing Otay range around Colaba (38°-20'S. latitude and 143°-38'E. longitude) have reaped a harvest which is far beyond our dreams. Their potatoes are as big as footballs and weigh up to 5 lb. The tonnage to the acre in many parts was from 12 to 15, occasionally as high as 18 compared with normal average 5 or 6 tons per acre.

The culture of the potato was brought into colonized America by Irish immigrants and at present in the U.S.A. the ratio of the cereals and potatoes in the diet of a household of the lowest income is 19 to 64. Thus it can be shown that in all countries where the population has increased, cereals have been invariably replaced

by tuber (mostly potato). In many countries of Europe, potato shares with cereals, more or less, on a basis of equality, in the carbohydrate supply of the human diet. The famines which normally devastated Europe became much less frequent after the potato was cultivated as a field crop. The potato crop of the world is used more than any other crop grown, for direct human consumption and no vegetable is served in a greater variety of ways. Potatoes contain about 75% of water, 12 to 15 per cent of starch and from 2 to 2½ per cent of protein material with a small amount of ash and only a little quantity of sugar. From the agricultural point of view, they loosen the lower strata of soil and lead to soil improvement. As a world's crop, potato exceeds, in point of total production, that of any other table food plant grown.

Potato flour is used for cheap bread and as a wheat flour substitute, and dextrine, starch, glucose and industrial alcohol are derived products. Potato solids are similar to flour solids in carbohydrate contents and the replacement of moderate proportion of flour by potato solids will not reduce the calorific value of the bread. Such an addition improves the liveliness of the dough and extends the life of the loaf by retarding the progress of staling. Potato-flesh even at its natural moisture content of 15 per cent is very rich in Vit. B₁, B₂ and even Vit. C, which is not present in the wheaten flour breads. The quality of potato protein is at least equal if not superior to that of the cereals and in vitamin content and salt balance it surpasses them. Potatoes supply Vit. C, Vit. B complex and a small quantity of Vit. A as carotene. Neither Pellagra nor Beri Beri is recorded in persons subsisting mainly on potatoes, showing that Vit. B Complex is well supplied. The good Vit. C content of the potato is perhaps one of its greatest assets. The tubers are capable of storage for many months throughout which Vit. C content is well maintained. The occurrence of scurvy in Great Britain in the spring of 1917, when the potato supply fell short, witnessed to this.

Potatoes yield an alkaloid ash, and are therefore preferable to cereals in diets where a prepondering base-forming principle is desired. Some at least of the cereals appear to be actually rechlorogenic and antagonistic to normal healthy tooth formation; the potato, it seems, has no such property. Whether this property is due to a toxin or to the presence of a large proportion of the phosphorus in cereals in a non-available form, and even in a form which militates against the absorption of calcium also, is still not quite certain. The well-known astonishingly favourable results of the survey of the teeth made recently among the islanders of Tristan da Cunha, were a striking testimonial for the potato: for it, far more than any cereal, is the staple energy producing food of the island. Holmes in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, has presented data to show the amount of energy contributed annually to the world's requirements by the more important food materials. Expressed in trillion calories the figures are: Rice 900, wheat 382, Sugar 209, Rye 164, Barley 119, Potatoes 99, Meat 62.

That scientists and expeditioners of South Pole are still eating powdered potatoes as one of the main items of food bought in long ago is a good certificate for potatoes.

Potato was introduced in India by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1592 and its present acreage and production are as below:

Area (in 1000 acres)					
1949-50	50-51	51-52	52-53	53-54	
577	592	617	629	643	
Production (in 1000 tons)					
1949-50	50-51	51-52	52-53	53-54	
1519	1634	1685	1961	1965	

In India although the soil is suitable in most areas for potato cultivation, only about 0.2 per cent of the total crop area under potato and leaving aside the quantity required for seed purposes, about 9 lb. of potato are available annually per head as against about 500 lbs., per head per annum in some of the Western countries. The average yield per acre in India is one of the lowest in the world. Sri M. Kripal of

Hapur, Meerut district, Winner of the Central Government's first prize of Rs. 5000/- had a record yield of potatoes, namely 726 maunds. The amount of nitrogen and phosphorus per acre used by Sri Kripal as appeared in *Indian Farming*, February issue of 1952 is approximately equivalent to 1.5 tons of ammonium sulphate and 1.2 tons of triple superphosphate respectively. He also top-dressed his crop with superphosphate at 20-25 maunds per acre and the crop was harvested after 5½ months. In the same year a village Brahmin was awarded Rs. 5,000/- by the State Government as the best potato grower in West Bengal. He grew 662 maunds of potatoes on one acre land in Midnapore district.

In a Grow More Food propaganda *Advance* published in 21-3-'49: An irrigated area of wheat land cannot give a crop worth more than Rs. 150/- but in the same area a potato crop valuing from 800 to 1,000 rupees can be raised. The main difficulty is to get proper seed potatoes in right time. Seed potatoes are kept in a dormant condition during storage by placing them under condition of medium humidity, darkness and low temperature. Immediately after harvesting potatoes are in a resting condition and cannot be made to germinate at once. The rest period lasts about 6 to 8 weeks after which the tuber will sprout if conditions are favourable. Storage experiments have shown that dormancy can be maintained for six to 8 months at temperatures ranging from 32° to 40° Fahrenheit. The Bose Research Institute, Calcutta, has also found that by the application of the Ethelene Chlorohydrine and Sodium or Potassium Thyocyanate the dormant period can be reduced. Seed vigour in stored tubers can be measured to a degree, by noting the character of the sprouts, if small, and originating from many eyes, the seed may be adjudged weak. Bengal Government post-war reconstruction had an estimate that 66,000 maunds of seeds will plant 6600 acres and the expected yield in the plains is about 594,999 maunds at 9 maunds to 1 maund of seed. Simla Potato Research Institute is said to have

discovered that potato can be grown when only sproutings from seed potatoes are planted in the soil. It has the advantage of transporting by air sufficient quantities of sproutings from one place to another over a long distance.

Five million a year or every minute some ten additional new-comers are opening their mouths before us for food. F.A.O. reports that to maintain our present nutritional standard (with two-thirds grossly under-fed) we should produce twice as much in 1960 as we did in 1946.

We have advantage of 3:1 over most of the countries in the two limiting factors beyond human control in agriculture, namely, the number of days in the year when the soil temperature is high enough for microbiological activities and the numbers of hours when photo-synthesis can take place, moreover nature has endowed us with abundant water resources.

Twelve years ago Federal Germany's whole economy was shattered, her factories were in ruins, almost every worker of her 70 millions was unemployed. In addition 8 million refugees had been dumped on her from the east. But she did not sit and weep and introduce "family planning." Her answer was hard work and free enterprise (which includes practical, not woolly planning). Today her difficulty is to find enough workers.

The main obstacles in the way of increased production of potato in India are (i) absence of sufficient different varieties of potatoes suited to varying conditions of climate and soil in different parts of the country; (ii) non-availability of sound, healthy seed in adequate quantities, at the right time and at reasonable price and (iii) the heavy toll taken by the fungal, bacterial and virus diseases and insect pests.

But in spite of these obstacles if from now great care is taken so that sufficient germ-free seed potatoes can be supplied to the farmers at the required time and cultivators are encouraged to grow more potato our food shortage can be checked within a year for it will act like blood transfusion to a dying man.



Book Reviews



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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

STUDIES IN THE UPAPURANAS.

VOL. I (*Saura and Vaishnava Upapuranas*). By R. C. Hazra. Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, No. II. Calcutta, 1958. Pp. 39. Price Rs. 25.00.

Dr. R. C. Hazra has already earned by his numerous scholarly writings a reputation as one of our foremost authorities on the literature of the *Puranas*. The present work, the first of a projected series in four volumes, maintains the high-level of scholarship we have been led to expect from his pen. We find here the same qualities of exhaustive study (printed editions of texts as well as unpublished manuscripts in various collections in this country and abroad being laid under contribution), of sound judgment on numerous problems of detail, and lucid exposition of arguments and conclusions. The work consists of five chapters. The first chapter deals generally with the questions of extent, antiquity and origin of the *Upapurana* literature. The author makes the general statement (p. 16) that 'the age of the *Upapuranas* began approximately from the Gupta period.' This, however, would seem to require some modification in view of his ably argued conclusion in the same context (pp. 21-23) that 'the group of the eighteen *Puranas* had been formed before the *Upapuranas* came into existence' and that the *Puranas* had been given their final form by the *Bhagavata* sectaries of the Gupta period. In the case of one particular *Upapurana*, viz., the present *Vishnudharma*, the author pushes back the date of its composition (p. 143) to the period between 200 and 300 A.D. The second chapter gives an exhaustive analysis of the contents of the *Samba Purana*, the most important of the *Saura Upapuranas*, and a very thorough discussion of the problem of its composition and antiquity: the author gives good grounds for stating that it was composed by

Magi priests of the Zoroastrian sun-cult and that it consists of two main chronological strata belonging principally to the period from 500 to 800 and 1250 to 1500 respectively. The problems of composition and antiquity and place of origin of three major Vaishnava *Upapuranas*, viz., the *Vishnudharma*, the *Vishnudharmottara* and the *Narasimha Puranas* are discussed after the usual analysis of contents in the third chapter. The fourth chapter deals similarly with five minor Vaishnava *Upapuranas*, viz., the *Kriyayogasara*, the *Adipurana*, the *Kalki-purana*, the *Purushottama-purana* and the *Brihannaradiya-purana*. Considering the great importance of the last-named work and the interest of the problems arising therefrom, it would have been better to include it in the category of the major Vaishnava *Upapuranas*. In fact, the author devotes nearly forty pages to this particular work. The fifth and the shortest chapter deals with some lost *Saura and Vaishnava Upapuranas* (numbering three and thirteen respectively) which exist neither in manuscripts nor in printed texts but are known only from lists of *Upapuranas* or from isolated treatises claiming to be their parts. The excellent bibliography at the end is divided into six sections, viz., 'printed texts of the Vedic, Sanskrit and Bengali literatures' 'works in manuscripts,' 'ancient works in translation,' 'works on epigraphy,' 'various modern works,' and Journals. It would have been better to incorporate the third section in the first and call the whole *Original works of Vedic and classical Sanskrit literature* (with translations). In this first section one is surprised to find the *Rajatarangini* mentioned in the faulty edition of M.A. Troyer and not in the critical edition of M.A. Stein. The work concludes with a good Index, while Principal Gaurinath Sastri contributes a short Foreword.

U. N. GHOSHAL

ECONOMIC SYNTHESIS: *By Dr. Boris Ischboldin. Published by New Book Society of India, Post Box No. 250, New Delhi. Price Rs. 30.*

A study of economics in the modern world is tending to become more and more mathematical so that any understanding of modern economic concepts is becoming very difficult without a thorough knowledge of higher mathematics. Dr. Ischboldin's book is an attempt to revitalise analytical social economics and make it free from its present bondage of mathematics. He has adopted Synthesis as his approach to social economic problems. The author of the book believes that his analysis contributes a genuine synthesis of socio-economic problems, not only because he establishes a distinct synthesis between the theories of the permanent and the relative economic laws, but also because he reconciles the sound hard core of neo-classicism, and the modern Keynesian thought. Prof. Ischboldin challenges Prof. Boulding's contention that today there are no non-mathematical economists but only those whose principal tool is algebra or geometry and says that the contention of the mathematical economist that their symbols are superior to a literacy mode of expression is wrong. He has explained the difference between national income and national dividend and has called the latter social rent. His study of the structural socio-economic balance-sheet deserves special attention.

D. B.

BUILDING A WELFARE STATE IN BURMA 1948-1956: *By Frank N. Trager. New York, 1958. Pp. 118.*

INDONESIA'S ECONOMIC STABILISATION AND DEVELOPMENT: *By Benjamin Higgins. New York, 1957. Pp. 179. Price \$4.00.*

THE WEST NEW GUINEA DISPUTE (Mimeographed): *By Justus M. Vander Kroef. New York, 1958. Pp. 43.*

CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH BURMA AND VIETNAM: A BRIEF SURVEY (mimeo.): *By Harold C. Hinton. New York, 1958. Pp. 64.*

All the books are published by the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York 14, N.Y.

One of the most unfortunate result of prolonged imperialist domination of Asia was the mutual isolation of the peoples inhabiting different parts of the region. India, for example, had extensive contacts with China, Burma and

other countries of the Far East before the advent of the Western Powers in the area. However with the occupation of the various countries in the area by one or the other European power the age-old relationships were cut off: partly on account of the projection of the intra-European rivalry in Asia and partly because of the desire of the occupying powers to seal off the peoples of the occupied countries from undesirable influences. With the growth of the national liberation movements the restrictions on mutual contacts and intercourse were further tightened up. So much so that when India became free she found herself receiving news from Rangoon *via* London.

The most remarkable fact in our knowledge of modern Asia is that much of this knowledge is derived from the information provided by the Westerner. The approach *via* foreign eyes has two aspects: (a) where the approach to the subject is serious, objective and scholarly we gain a perspective which would perhaps have remained out of our reach otherwise; and (b) where the approach is vitiated by a narrower motive of power or commercial interest the blind reliance on Western writing is likely to distort one's understanding. Unfortunately, however, a good many of the books of the Western authors fall in the tinted category. The tendency to gear scholarship to strategic aims has gained the upper hand in many countries since the end of the Second World War. One has not to go far in seeking an example: a comparison of any two issues of the Moscow *New Times* and New York *Time* magazine would demonstrate to the reader the degree of partisanship even in reporting.

In the post-war period American scholars have accounted for the greater bulk of literature in English in Far Eastern topics. It is, however, an irony of fate that while the American scholars are unexcelled in their search for, and possession of, information on the developments in the area, their writings in general should be such a poor guide to an understanding of the true character of the developments and their significance for history. Any reader of American books on China is bound to encounter this frustration. There are, however, exceptions—as indeed, the first three volumes under review here are. In these volumes the authors, leading experts on their subjects, approach their study with objectivity and understanding and not with any motive to “expose” or find fault with anything. The books have lost nothing for that.

The first two volumes had originally been conceived as papers for the Kyoto conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in November, 1954, and were later developed into their present forms. Dr. Trager, with his wide knowledge and first hand and intimate contact with Burmese developments, traces in outline the Burmese plans for economic development, the difficulties to be overcome and the government's performance. He refers to two chief problems facing Burma: internal political stabilisation (the cost of insurgent activity in destruction of property alone . . . has been estimated at K 4,730 million, a sum almost equal to Burma's gross domestic product in 1954-55) and getting the money to finance her developmental projects. The task is not a hopeless one and according to the learned author, Burma has already been able to extricate herself from the complexities. The book provides a valuable insight into Burmese economy and politics.

Indonesia's problems are also similar to Burma's in many respects. She had to face the destruction of war and then of internal political strife. She also faces the twin problems of political and economic stabilisation and development. Dr. Higgins' study seeks to describe, as the author himself says, "the basic problems in the Indonesian economy; to outline the short-run policies that have been introduced to deal with them; to indicate the inter-relationship of economic and political instability, to relate the chronic short-run disequilibrium to the requirements of long-run economic development; and to outline the general nature and current status of economic development planning in Indonesia." The text fully bears out this promise. The tables in Appendix IV provide valuable statistical data on Indonesian economy.

Prof. Van der Kroef, who is well-known in India, discusses various aspects of the Dutch-Indonesian issue over the future of New Guinea. He sets out to summarise the divergent viewpoints of the two parties which would greatly facilitate a clearer understanding. He considers that the impasse could be resolved through an agreement on some kind of multiple power control of West Irian. It is doubtful if Indonesia would of its free will agree to any such proposal. If, however, she finds it difficult to agree it would be futile to follow such a course. The Dutch, after all, have no business to be in Irian.

Mr. Hinton's study is too much permeated with the strategic sense. He has hardly cared

to put forward any evidence to uphold his thesis that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam "is the Communist show-case for the whole of South-east Asia" which the Chinese Communists could transform into a satellite at any time. The book, however, brings together information on the topics not otherwise available and could be found useful to that extent.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

YOGIRAJ GAMBHIRANATH: *By Akshaya Kumar Banerjee, M.A., Retired Principal, Maharana Pratap Degree College. Published by Sadhu Avedyanath, Gorokhnath Temple, Gorakhpur, U.P. Pp. 216. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The learned author of this well-written book was for many years the professor of Philosophy in the Ananda Mohan College of Mymensingh, East Bengal. He has one or two Bengali books on the life and teachings of his reverend Guru, Gambhiranath. The present book gives systematic biography of this extraordinary Avadhuta of Gorakhpur with a lengthy introduction to the Philosophy and Religion of Gambhiranath and his Sampradaya named Nath Yogi Sect. The late Sadhu Shantinath, Nivrithinath and other monks were his famous Bengalee disciples. It is said that Sadhu Shantinath was his first Bengalee disciple, whom the Yogiraj had initiated into the path of absolute renunciation and deep meditation.

The early life of Gambhiranath is warped in mystery. About the middle of the last century he made his first appearance in the great monastery of Gorakhpur when he was in the full bloom of his youth. It is ascertained now that he had hailed from some village in the Kashmere state, and was initiated into Yogic Sadhana by his Guru Baba Gopalnath. Gambhiranath practised hard *tapasya* for about thirty years at Banaras, Jhunsi and other places and at Kapiladhara near Gaya. In a quiet cave at Kapiladhara he was immersed in whole-time Sadhana for over a dozen years and attained highest wisdom. Then he was placed at the head of the Gorakhanath Temple of Gorakhpur, his Gurusthan. He was universally respected as a Brahmanjani and literally worshipped by hundreds of pious people. He showered heavenly peace and blessedness equally on all who came to him for the same, and passed away there on 21st March, 1917 A.D.

The exact time and date of his final departure were a few days ago fixed by himself in consulting the almanac with the help of the Pandit of his monastery. He remained always in a meditation-mood and radiated serenity and calmness like the full moon. He was an ideal religious teacher and often said, "The Bhagavad Geeta is an infallible guide for all orders of truth-seekers of all ages and countries and sects. It harmonises the teachings of all scriptures and saints and therefore the universal scripture."

The godly life of such a Yogi and Guru should be widely broadcast throughout the many provinces of the Indian Republic for the sake of moral education and national welfare.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

VOTING BEHAVIOUR IN THE UNITED STATES: By Prof. Frederic D. Ogden of the University of Alabama, U.S.A. Institute of Political Science, Ahmedabad. Pages II. Price Re. 0.50.

In this lecture Prof. Ogden tells us that 'voting qualifications shall be a State responsibility' according to U.S. Constitution with a proviso that none should be denied voting right on the grounds of "race, colour, or previous condition of servitude." In spite of this, USA taken as a whole, has no universal adult suffrage as we have in India. There may be some loopholes in every Constitution in spite of the best wishes of its makers. But in some of the States in U.S.A., specially Southern States, provisions have been made (literacy, property, residence and other qualifications) to debar the coloured people. However, this is an informative and interesting study for laymen and also for politicians.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

THE UPANISHADS (A Third Selection): Translated by Swami Nikhilananda. Phoenix House, London. 1957. Price 25s. net.

The Upanishads which are the most valuable treasures of ancient Indian literature constitute the background of the philosophy and religion of India. As such they have been read, re-read and interpreted in various ways by the followers and propounders of different schools at different times. They have also received their share of appreciation at the hands of people outside India as well as of followers of heterodox systems of thought.

They have from time to time been translated into different languages collectively as well as severally. One of the latest of these translations is contained in the volume under review. We have here the translation of two Upanishads, viz., the *Aitareya* and the *Brihad-aranyaka*. This brings the total number translated in the present series to nine including the seven in two previous volumes. The plan followed in all the volumes is the same. The translation of each individual Upanishad is prefaced by a separate introduction pointing out the characteristics of the particular work and giving a short summary of its contents. Besides there is an English translation of Sankaracharya's commentary on it. The translations of the texts closely follow the interpretations of Sankara which are sought to be widely made known to the average reader through these volumes. The translations are followed by explanatory notes based upon Sankara's commentary. The inquisitive reader who wants to know more of the commentary may satisfy himself by its translation as given by Swami Gambhirananda in his recently published *Eight Upanishads*. Those, however, who are not concerned with any particular school will welcome Dr. Radhakrishnan's *The Principal Upanishads* (New York, 1953). Thus these works published almost simultaneously or in quick succession will cater to the varying needs of different classes of people and go a great way in popularising the sublime concepts of the Upanishads.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

BAPUKI KALAMSE: Edited by Kakasaheb Kalelkar. Navajivan Prakasan Mandi, Ahmedabad, December, 1957. Pp. 456. Price 2.50 nP.

This is a collection of Mahatma Gandhi's original writings in Hindi on as many as 239 topics published in the Hindi *Navajivan* and *Harijan Sevak* edited by Kakasaheb Kalelkar. Kakasaheb has carefully indicated in the preface how Gandhiji's mastery over the languages, Gujarati and English, was apparent to all, and how his writings translated into Hindi by friends created a circle of Hindi readers, and how he was gradually using Hindi directly more and more in his correspondence and Ashram directives, prayer meetings. His advocacy of Hindi as the language of communication in India induced him no doubt to use it growingly in his public speeches and writings.

The significance of collecting his original Hindi writings was not lost to Shri Pannalal Jain of Indore who had a volume ready for publication in 1929. But though Gandhiji gave him the necessary permission and the volume was scanned by friendly critics, political upheavals stood in the way till 1949 when its publication was entrusted to Kakasaheb who in his turn sent it to Navajivan.

Direct from Gandhiji's pen, these excerpts will have much that is worth pondering over and over, and educationists in India will surely think of prescribing readings from the volume, and students of Gandhiji's activities may study with profit Gandhiji's style or way of presentation of various topics, as pointed out by Kakasaheb in the preface.

But the first and foremost attraction is the wealth of Gandhiji's thoughts and utterances on topics widely varied in nature—the same attraction as is uppermost when we go

through his post-prayer speeches at the time of the day.

P. R. SEN

GUJARATI

DHARMANA ABHYUTNARTHE (For the Uplift of Dharma): By Bhagirath Mehta. Published in the "Gram Seva", a newspaper published by the Unava Ashram, via Kalol, North Gujarat. Printed at the Sayaji Vijaya Press, Baroda. 1952. Paper cover. Pp. 90. Annual subscription Re. 1.

The spirit of Tulsidas' *Ramcharita Manas* has moved the writer to produce a work in Gujarati, which would, in all cases, take the place of that world famous treatise in the adventures of Sita, Rama, Lakshmana and others of that Royal family and follow them for the purpose of the uplift of *Dharma* in our country,—*Dharma* which is on the wane. It is an intelligently rendered version.

K.M.J.

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Indian Periodicals

East and West

THE CULTURAL BRIDGE TODAY

The first part of an article under the above caption in *The Aryan Path* by Professor H. D. Lewis, is given below:

There can be little doubt in the mind of any thinking person today about the permanent importance of understanding between East and West, and between the inheritors of different cultures in various parts of the world. At the social and political level this is peculiarly obvious and is being forced upon us in the exigencies of events which are rapidly developing and becoming fraught with grim possibilities which are filling our minds with uneasy forebodings of disaster. We are not directly concerned with these social issues in this essay, and it is for the statesman, not the philosopher, to discover the practical measures and institutions by which the sources of power and communication available to us now may be made the means of closer co-operation and friendliness throughout the world. But it is also evident that political understanding is not to be achieved and made permanent without understanding also at the cultural level, where the habits of mind and dominating interests of peoples are formed. We have heard much of late about social engineering, and contemporary thinkers in the West have perhaps been a little too impetuous in adopting these quasi-mechanical concepts of social existence. This may well prove one of the points where a due infusion of the calmer wisdom of the East may enable the West to view its new conceptions in their proper perspective. It is in any case evident that there is a very important cultural side to the social questions which bewilder us today; and, in addition, new advances in scholarship and new insights have made it plainer than ever how valuable in itself, as enrichment of experience, is a fair appreciation of one another's cultures.

It is here that recent philosophy has, in my opinion, a very distinctive contribution to make, but it is not altogether along

the lines laid down by those who shared the same ideals in the last century.

As is well known, the treasures of Eastern philosophy were not made readily available to the West until translations of notable texts began to be made by du Patron and others in the nineteenth century. Occasional and sporadic exchanges there had been, and in many subtle ways the philosophies of the East and the West have affected one another to a greater extent than used to be thought. But it was not until the last century that Eastern philosophy came to be extensively and fairly reliably known in the West; and this was the period also when Western philosophy made its greatest impact in India and other Eastern countries, where Western philosophy became an important item in the curricula of new and expanding universities.

It was not surprising that this should lead to high-minded attempts to discover the factors common to the philosophies of the East and the West, and, on the basis of these, to lay claim to an impressive underlying identity. This procedure had much to encourage it at the time: the optimism of the nineteenth century, for example, and the belief in progress, together with the spread of a liberal and tolerant attitude of mind. But what seems to have prompted it most of all was the dominant position of idealism as a philosophy. Idealism, in this context, means the view that reality is one whole or system of such a nature that the inevitability of its being what it is presents itself as a rational necessity—in other words, everything is bound to happen as it does because of its place in a system which is rationally self-explanatory. For our limited minds the explanation might not always be forthcoming, but we could always see the principle of it and know that there is nothing which will not eventually admit of a complete, rational explanation. For anyone able to view the system as a whole there would remain no element of mystery nor any feature of existence which we had just to accept or

take for granted. The text for this was the dictum of Hegel: "The Real is the Rational and the Rational is the Real."

It is not easy for us today to appreciate the confidence with which this view was held as recently as the first half of the present century. We have lived through a period of profound disillusionment and have had to reckon with irrational factor in our experience well calculated to depress any confidence we have about the prospect of providing a thoroughly rational explanation of all things. We have perhaps swung to the other extreme and now underestimate the place of reason in life. But that, for the moment, is another story. What we need to remember now is that, in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, philosophers generally had an unbounded confidence in idealism in the sense indicated and they assumed that this would remain the prevailing philosophical view for all time. All that was left for the future was to refine the formulations of idealism and apply it more effectively to particular problems.

This confidence in reason and the belief that the universe is one whole or system found a ready response among leading Eastern philosophers. This was due in part to the Western training which many of them had received and their proneness to read their own classical texts, the Vedanta for example, through the spectacles of Western idealism. But the initiate will also readily appreciate that there really are important points of affinity between the monism of the Vedanta and idealism; and that many forms of Hinduism could fairly easily blend with the idealist tradition. The notion, present in much Western idealism, that all things, as we encounter them, are unreal or illusory, being only real in their place in the one Absolute Whole, has a great deal in common with the belief in the illusory or unreal nature of our present existence as it appears in more than one Eastern religion. Nor is the affinity confined to general principles. For there is a great deal in Hindu and Buddhist philosophy that has its origin in preoccupation with subtle difficulties about our knowledge of the external world such as Western philosophers study as the subject called "Perception." Students of perception in Western countries are far from appreciating pro-

perly what extremely suggestive work, some of it of a closely technical character, has been done, in remote times and in quite recent studies, by Eastern thinkers.

The gentle accommodating habit of mind on the part of Eastern and Western philosophers has, however, suffered many rude shocks of late. For one thing, the erstwhile confident system-building idealist philosophy has fallen upon evil days. It has been very largely abandoned in Europe and America. This is due partly to penetrating criticisms of the main principles of idealist philosophy, but in many cases idealism is left high and dry, in favour of various forms of empiricism, without careful, much less sympathetic, scrutiny of its claims. I think this extremely unfortunate, not because I favour an idealist philosophy myself, but because I believe we have much to learn from it which is most sadly neglected today. That is, however, too long a story to tell now. But the fact is that, in English-speaking countries, all forms of metaphysics and system-building have been extensively discarded as wholly unprofitable enterprises, and have been superseded by the so-called philosophies of positivism and linguistic analysis; while, in other places in the West, the movement known as existentialism seems to hold the field.

Among the pioneers of the philosophy of analysis were G. E. Moore, Bertrand Russell and Ludwig Wittgenstein. Of these it is Moore who made the most direct attack upon idealism, but it is probably Wittgenstein who has had the most direct influence in setting the prevailing philosophical fashion.

The substance of this so-called revolution in philosophy was this. It was argued (or assumed) in the first place that nothing can be true or even meaningful unless it can be understood in terms of experience, the latter being thought of exclusively in terms of sense experience or emotional states. This in itself is not very new. It was the position of Protagoras, for instance, among the Greeks, and was subjected to searching examination and criticism by Plato. In modern philosophy it had its supreme exponent in David Hume. Hume seems to be the patron saint of most Western philosophers today, and according to the out-and-out empiricism he advocates there can be no

true or even meaningful assertions about the soul as an abiding entity, about objective moral standards or about God and immortality. Beliefs about these sorts of things have to be jettisoned as containing nothing but "sophistry and illusion."

A story about an influential Oxford professor brings out well the shift of interest and attitude in philosophy in recent years. The professor was asked by a distinguished Indian visitor: "And what do they think about immortality in Oxford these days?"—and gave the abrupt reply: "We haven't heard of it for the last twenty years."

Along with an uncompromising acceptance of out-and-out Humeian empiricism and its inevitable scepticism there appeared a new technique designed to dispose of ideas like the soul and God and immortality. This technique is known as linguistic analysis, and it takes the form of ascribing the apparent meaningfulness of statements about, let us say, the soul, to linguistic confusion. The statement "The soul is immortal" sounds a possible one because it has a normal grammatical form and thus gives us the delusion of speaking meaningfully. But in fact it is in the same class as the statement "Gravity runs faster than virtue," which is of course just nonsense. Metaphysics thus came to be regarded as nonsense by which people allowed themselves to be deluded.

Into the close and ingenious ways in which these procedures came to be commended, and into the finer and more cautious developments of this kind of philosophy, I cannot enter now. But it is evident that it accords ill with attempts to bring all the varied facts of experience and facets of culture under some one comprehensive scheme or principle in which differences of outlook ultimately disappeared or ceased to give trouble. Students of religion, directly or indirectly influenced by the prevailing philosophical fashion, have been increasingly inclined to confine themselves as closely as possible to reporting alleged facts without attempting to press beyond them, to some underlying unity. We are to be told how people bury their dead at different periods and places, how they build temples, what form their ritual takes and so forth; but what this carried with it further in the way of belief or inner experience is thought to be

too treacherous ground to venture upon.

This change of attitude has certainly some important merits. It has brought us down to earth from the rather vague flights of undisciplined metaphysical fancy, and it has brought much common sense to our studies. We are no longer so prone to overlook disconcerting differences in people's intellectual attitudes and cultures, or to treat opposing convictions and practices as of little account by comparison with some alleged underlying unity. We are more cautious and not so ready to allow high-minded enthusiasm to obscure awkward facts and genuine differences; and in this we have no doubt learnt much from the unhappy course of recent world events which have shown us that distressing and stubborn differences are not to be wished away or resolved by dwelling piously on the glories of an imminent millennium.

A most effective illustration of this change was the inaugural lecture delivered by Professor Zaehner on his appointment to the Spalding Chair of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford. Succeeding Radhakrishnan, who has brought his wealth of learning and profound insight to the task of interpreting the East and the West to one another, Professor Zaehner sounded a much more cautious note in warning us not to set aside too lightly the undoubted differences of belief and practice which appear in the religions of the world. He declared:

Thus to maintain that all religions are paths leading to the same goal, as is so frequently done today, is to maintain something that is not true.

Not only on the dogmatic, but on the mystical plane, too, there is no agreement.

It is then only too true that the basic principles of Eastern and Western, which in practice means Indian and Semitic, thought are, I will not say irreconcilably opposed; they are simply not starting from the same premises. The only common ground is that the function of religion is to provide release; there is no agreement at all as to what it is that man must be released from. The great religions are talking at cross purposes.

It is therefore foolish to discuss either Hinduism or Buddhism in Christian terms; and it is at least as foolish to try to bring the New Testament into harmony with

the Vedanta. They do not deal with the same subject-matter. Even Indian theism is not comparable to Christianity in a way that, for example, Zoroastrianism and Islam are: nor are the various avatars of Vishnu really comparable to the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation.

Eton's Proud Record of 500 Years

M. V. C. Rao writes in *The Indian Review*:

"The Battle of Waterloo was won on the playfields of Eton," the Duke of Wellington, an old Etonian, proudly proclaimed. That is one instance of the remarkable number of successes turned out by the Public School of Eton College, during its distinguished record of over 500 years.

The Eton School which was founded in 1440 by Henry VI when he was 19, by itself constitutes the greatest challenge to

the sceptics of the Public School system. It has survived not only the ravages of war but—along with the other British public schools—also sweeping social reforms in the educational field in England.

The famous English statesmen turned out by Eton include Sir Robert Walpole, Harley, Bolingbroke, Chatham, Fox, Canning, the Duke of Wellington, Gladstone and Lord Halifax, besides its poetic geniuses, Thomas Gray (who wrote on 'A Distant Prospect of Eton College'), Shelley (who remembered with affection "the excellent brown bread and butter") and Bridges. Scientist Robert Boyle, who founded the Royal Society, was an old Etonian too. Oliver Cromwell also sent one of his wards to this school, which survived the civil war of the former's time.

On an average, 17 per cent of the members of inter-war Parliaments and one out of four members of the war Coalition Government were old Etonians. The

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majority of them turned out conservatives, constituting nearly one-quarter of the strength of the non-labour M.P.'s at one time. Only 1.5 per cent were labourites but of the six of these, three were in the Government when a fourth Dr. Dalton had resigned as Chancellor of the Exchequer!

The first mile-stone of the King's College of our Lady at Eton—as it was originally called when founded by Henry VI—was established in its fourth year when the number of scholars was raised to seventy. Originally, it had been conceived as a mixture of college, almshouse and school. The boys were now educated free of charge for priesthood or minor orders. Twenty commoners of noble birth were admitted to the college, marking the origin of the Oppidans or town boys, who therefore continued to outnumber the colleges and scholars. Apart from the aristocratic families, boys of wealthy grocers and inn-keepers also attended the school.

Even after five centuries, despite a few changes of rules necessitated from time to time, Eton has retained its original constitution in essence. The seventy King's Scholars of the foundation still form its core, drawn in the main from the professional classes in recent times. The King's scholar or collegier is selected through an open competition and receives considerable advantages amounting even to a completely free education. And side by side with this, the number of Oppidans or town-boys has been gradually increased until they formed the majority among about eleven hundred boys and eighty to ninety masters. The Oppidan is in complete charge—often from his birth—of a master of a boarding house and gains entrance by passing a qualifying examination. He pays for his course and has no share in the endowments of the King's Scholar Foundation. The more than thousand Oppidans are distributed among the twenty-five houses, each in charge of a master separately. The lower school consisting of about 350 boys is entrusted to the charge of a lower master.

In the highly decentralised system of Eton, the Headmaster, though he holds complete control over the internal matters of the school and its all categories of students—independently of the governing

body—very rarely addresses even the Upper School, only in the Chapel usually. Only boys of exceptional eminence come in direct contact with the Headmaster, who otherwise remains a somewhat distant figure to the students. The boy's immediate and almost sole authority in his housemaster, who looks after his boy's physical as well as mental and moral well-being. The system of a separate room for each boy gives excellent opportunities for direct contact between the Housemaster and a boy and mutual talk on subjects varying from the pleasantest to the most serious, thus doing away with the usual irksome officious formalities.

The "pupil-room" with a classical or modern tutor in charge is another special feature which is invaluable in developing the special interests of the boys in subjects outside their curriculum. This involves the informal study by the boy of a general subject such as architecture or music, with weekly exercises corrected by the tutor. Latin, French, History, Mathematics and Science are the subjects in the Lower and Middle School, with possibility of inclusion of German and Greek too, the latter for the abler boys alone. After the School Certificate a boy specialises in some subject but he has also to devote time to a subject of 'Extra Study,' the subjects for which range widely, including Russian, Music, Pottery, Drawing, Agriculture and Archaeology. The greater proportion of the boys go on to the University while the rest go for service or business. The degree of healthy freedom and privacy enjoyed

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by even the smallest boys to pursue subjects or arts is of special interest. The various societies cater to such a wide range of interests as Aeronautics, Agriculture, Archaeology, Debating, Heraldic, Literary, Music, Natural History, Philately, Photography, Play, Reading, Political, Scientific and Shakespeare Societies—all managed by the boy officials themselves.

In addition to the usual free time and Sundays the boys enjoy whole holidays occasionally. Eton is the last place for all work and no play.

The Eton Society or Pop is a highly coveted body for membership composed of some twenty to thirty boys elected each half by a ballot, the Pop carries the privileges of a special costume, immense prestige and authority and the right to punish all lower boys. Equally coveted is the position of 'Captain of a House' who is appointed by the Housemaster and along with three or four boys forms the "Library" to manage the House and all its internal matters including discipline. Except in very grave matters demanding the personal attention of the Housemaster, the boys' offences are punished by the boys

themselves. These organisations, foster beyond doubt the invaluable qualities of leadership and responsibility.

Games have an important place in the school, both for the boys and the masters. Foot-ball, Cricket and Rowing are the three most important games and the Field Game, a type of Foot-ball peculiar to Eton, is compulsory for all during the Michaelmas term. The House Foot-ball cup excites keen interest, particularly because a boy can win his house colours in the Field Game alone. In the lent term, a boy has to choose between association and Rugby Football, Eton Fives, Beagling, Rackets, Squash and Athletics. In summer it is cricket or rowing for which the School colours are awarded.

The College Chapel is the devotional centre of Eton and an architectural beauty. There are two services on Sunday and a daily service of quarter of an hour. Choir boys are trained in a separate day school and the choir has musical standard of a Cathedral. The spirit of belonging to a large and respectable institution is so well enbalmmed here that it is usually one of the enduring memories in an Etonian's life.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Agreement between China and Tibet in 1951

The following text of the agreement between the Central People's Government and the Local Government of Tibet has been published in *China Today*, April, 1959:

The Tibetan nationality is one of the nationalities with a long history within the boundaries of China and, like many other nationalities, it has performed its glorious duty in the course of the creation and development of our great Motherland. But over the last 100 years or more, imperialist forces penetrated into China, and in consequence also penetrated into the Tibetan region and carried out all kinds of deceptions and provocations. Like previous reactionary government, the Kuomintang reactionary government continued to carry out a policy of oppressing and sowing dissension among the nationalities, causing division and disunity among the Tibetan people. And the Local Government of Tibet did not oppose the imperialist deceptions and provocations, and adopted an unpatriotic attitude towards our great Motherland. Under such conditions, the Tibetan nationality and people were plunged into the depths of enslavement and suffering.

In 1949, basic victory was achieved on a nation-wide scale in the Chinese People's War of Liberation; the common domestic enemy of all nationalities—the Kuomintang reactionary government—was overthrown; and the common foreign enemy of all the nationalities—the aggressive imperialist forces—was driven out. On this basis the founding of the People's Republic of China was announced. In accordance with the Common Programme, passed by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the Central People's Government declared that all nationalities within the boundaries of the People's Republic of China are equal, and that they shall establish unity and mutual aid and oppose imperialism and their own public enemies, so that the People's Republic of China will become a big fraternal and co-operative family, composed of all its nationalities; that within the big family of all nationalities of the People's Republic of China, national regional autonomy shall be exercised in areas where national minorities

are concentrated, and all national minorities shall have freedom to develop their spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their customs, habits and religious beliefs, while the Central People's Government shall assist all national minorities to develop their political, economic, cultural and educational construction work. Since then, all nationalities within the country, with the exception of those in the areas of Tibet and Taiwan, have gained liberation. Under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government and the direct leadership of higher levels of People's Governments, all national minorities are fully enjoying the right of national equality and have established, or are establishing, national regional autonomy.

In order that the influences of aggressive imperialist forces in Tibet might be successfully eliminated, the unification of the territory and sovereignty of the People's Republic of China accomplished, and national defence safeguarded; in order that the Tibetan nationality and people might be freed and return to the big family of the People's of China to enjoy the same rights of national equality as all the other nationalities in the country and develop their political, economic, cultural and educational work, the Central People's Government, when it ordered the People's Liberation Army to march into Tibet, notified the Local Government of Tibet to send delegates to the central authorities to conduct talks for the conclusion of an agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet.

In the latter part of April 1951, the delegates with full powers of the Local Government of Tibet arrived in Peking. The Central People's Government appointed representatives with full powers to conduct talks on a friendly basis with the delegates with full powers of the Local Government of Tibet. As a result of these talks, both parties agreed to conclude this agreement and guarantee that it would be carried into effect.

1. The Tibetan people shall unite and drive out imperialist aggressive forces from Tibet; the Tibetan people shall return to the big family of the Motherland—the People's Republic of China.

2. The Local Government of Tibet

shall actively assist the People's Liberation Army to enter Tibet and consolidate the national defence.

3. In accordance with the policy towards nationalities laid down in the *Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference*, the Tibetan people have the right of exercising national regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government.

4. The central authorities will not alter the existing political system in Tibet. The central authorities also will not alter the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama. Officials of various ranks shall hold office as usual.

5. The established status, functions and powers of the Panchen Erdeni shall be maintained.

6. By the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama and of the Panchen Erdeni are meant the status, functions and powers of the 13th Dalai Lama and of the 9th Panchen Erdeni when they were in friendly and amicable relations with each other.

7. The policy of freedom of religious belief laid down in the *Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference* shall be carried out. The religious beliefs, customs and habits of the Tibetan people shall be respected, and Lama monasteries shall be protected. The central authorities will not effect a change in the income of the monasteries.

8. Tibetan troops shall be reorganised by stages into the People's Liberation Army, and become a part of the national defence forces of the People's Republic of China.

9. The spoken and written language and school education of the Tibetan nationality shall be developed step by step in accordance with the actual conditions in Tibet.

10. Tibetan agriculture, livestock raising, industry and commerce shall be developed step by step, and the people's livelihood shall be improved step by step in accordance with the actual conditions in Tibet.

11. In matters related to various reforms in Tibet, there will be no compulsion on the part of the central authorities. The Local Government of Tibet should

carry out reforms of its own accord, and when the people raise demands for reform, they shall be settled by means of consultation with the leading personnel of Tibet.

12. In so far as former pro-imperialist and pro-Kuomintang officials resolutely sever relations with imperialism and the Kuomintang and do not engage in sabotage or resistance, they may continue to hold office irrespective of their past.

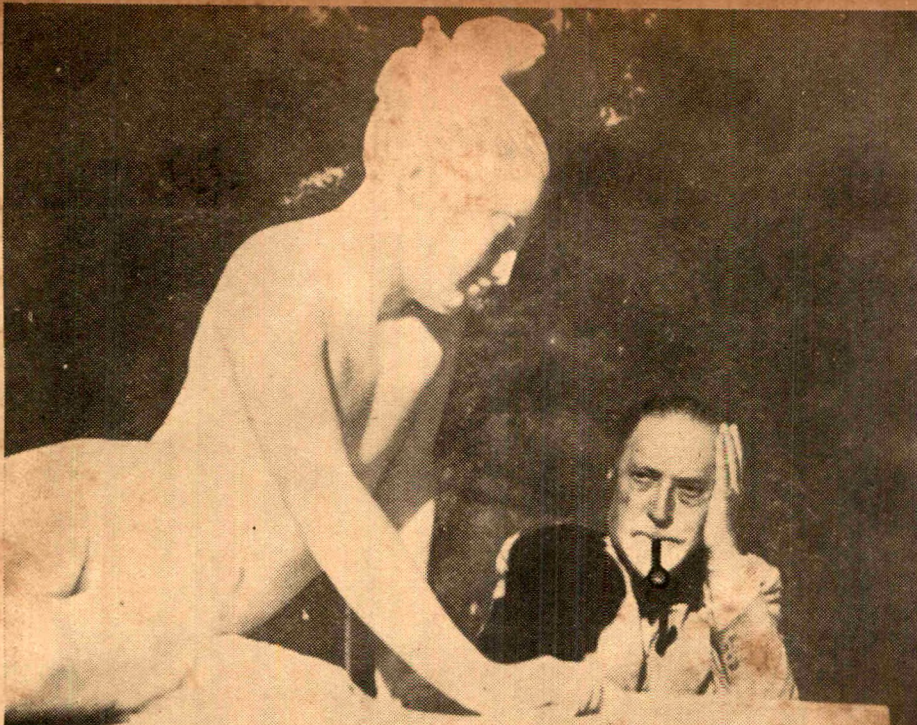
13. The People's Liberation Army entering Tibet shall abide by all the above-mentioned policies and shall also be fair in all buying and selling and shall not arbitrarily take a single needle or thread from the people.

14. The Central People's Government shall conduct the centralised handling of all external affairs of the area of Tibet; and there will be peaceful co-existence with neighbouring countries and establishment and development of fair commercial and trading relations with them on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territory and sovereignty.

15. In order to ensure the implementation of this agreement, the Central People's Government shall set up a military and administrative committee and a military area headquarters in Tibet, and apart from the personnel sent there by the Central People's Government shall absorb many local Tibetan personnel as possible to take part in the work.

Local Tibetan personnel taking part in the military and administrative committee may include patriotic elements from the Local Government of Tibet, various districts and leading monasteries, the namelist shall be drawn up after consultation between the representatives designated by the Central People's Government and the various quarters concerned, and shall be submitted to the Central People's Government for appointment.

16. Funds needed by the military and administrative committee, the military area headquarters and the People's Liberation Army entering Tibet shall be provided by the Central People's Government. The Local Government of Tibet will assist the People's Liberation Army in the purchase and transport of food, fodder and other daily necessities.



Beside the statue of 'The Spirit of Greece' at Missalonghi the famous Scottish writer Sir Compton Mackenzie is seen reflecting on the *'Glory that was Greece'*



Interviewing the Head of B.O.A.C.



EXILED YAKSHA'S BELOVED

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

By Manabendranath Barua

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

A Policy of Drift

Elsewhere in these notes, we have given long extracts from the speeches of the sponsors of the new opposition party, which explain the reasons behind its inception. It is too early to give any considered opinion on either the prospects or the quality of such a party as Sri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari envisages. But we are in full agreement with him when he says that decadence has set in the body politic of the official Congress and unless a strong opposition is set up in action at once to check its errors of omission and commission, the entire country and nation will be in danger.

For there is no doubt whatsoever that the policy of drift and *laissez faire*, in all matters of momentous urgency, that the official Congress, with Pandit Nehru at the helm has been following for the last few years after the death of Sardar Patel, has brought the ship of State perilously near the rocks. There is the same indecision when the nation is faced with enmity or unfriendly acts from external sources and the same unwillingness to come to grips with internal sources of corruption and disruption. Together with this androgynous attitude when faced with strong foes or powerful anti-social and anti-national elements, we have the sudden flare-ups of temper and either petulant or high-and-mighty reactions where there is any suggestion or request for redress, restitution or justice from the inoffensive and perfectly law-abiding and long-suffering common citizen. This ludicrous lion-like attitude at home coupled with the apologetic—almost cringing—

jackalwise behaviour abroad has not enhanced either our prestige or our credit anywhere. Indeed, on the contrary.

The executive, from top to bottom, have gone out-of-hand where the public is concerned and harassment, nay, oppression is reaching a peak that is almost on a par with the last days of the British Raj. Corruption has eaten deep into the vitals of the nation spreading as it does from the highest to the lowest rungs of the administration. The waste of public moneys has become commonplace and due to exactions of the State to make-up for this tidal flow of expenses in the name of "Nation-Building" the living standards of all, excepting the High and Mighty and their satellites the corrupt, have fallen below the levels of the last five decades. We would suggest Nation-bleeding as a catchword for the Second and Third Five-Year Plans.

It might be asked why the need for a new opposition, when there are so many opposition parties in the field. Sri Rajagopalachari has gone into details, which are given elsewhere in these Notes. Without going into his arguments we would say that his idea of *Swatantra* as opposed to *Paratantra* is good if it means freedom from all shibboleths and *isms*. Today we have a whole host of opposition parties but none that are solely devoted to the cause of the entire nation in its complete entity. The strongest of these parties, the Communist Party of India, should really be called the Communist Party inside India. Formerly they were the Fifth Column of International Communism, actively engaged in the destruction of the State. After

the entente between the Soviets and India they took up an anomalous attitude; but the links of extra-territorial loyalties were still distinct to all excepting Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Tibet incident gave even him a shock and he characteristically uttered the mild incongruity that they had no "nationalistic" sympathies, instead of making the forthright statement that their attitude was anti-national and thus traitorous. Their latest move on the Dargeeling areas shows that they are back again on the Fifth Column ranks, as they are trying to pave the way for the march into India from Tibet along the broadest route. The P.S.P. is a loose heterogeneous organisation with divided ideals and leadership. It is ineffective, therefore, and further, being strongly party conscious, they put the parties' interests far above those of the hundreds of millions of the Indian nationals, outside their party. As for the other groups they are all power-seeking splinters, with strictly limited interests and activities, not all of which is helpful to the nation as a whole.

Co-operative Farming

Controversy is raging over Co-operative Farming in India. Pandit Nehru thinks that Co-operative Farming is the best way to augment our food production and the alternative to Co-operative Farming is big land-holding. Those who are against this move invoke democracy and say that Co-operative Farming is anti-democratic and it will destroy the freedom of the cultivators. Mr. Masani has gone so far as to threaten a civil war over the issue of Co-operative Farming. Co-operative Farming is, however, not a new thing in this country and it is making rapid strides in many parts of India. Those who oppose the move to introduce Co-operative Farming on a larger scale necessarily support the cause of big landholders. Co-operative Farming is not altogether a new thing in India and it deserves to be expanded on a wider scale.

There are 2020 Co-operative Farming Societies in India and these include joint farming, collective farming, tenant farming and better farming societies. In Andhra Pradesh there are 31 Co-operative Farming Societies, in Assam 170, in Bihar 27, in Bombay 402, in

Jammu and Kashmir 7, in Kerala 55, in Madhya Pradesh 140, in Madras 37, in Mysore 100, in Orissa 28, in Punjab 478, in Rajasthan 105, in Uttar Pradesh 255, West Bengal 148, Delhi 22, Manipur 3 and Tripura 12. The area of land under Co-operative Cultivation in December 31, 1956 was 180,671 acres. During the four years 1954-55 to 1958-59 the Central Government had made grants to the extent of Rs. 3.32 lakhs to State Governments for this work. The State Government provided assistance for development of Co-operative Farming Societies in various forms, such as loans and subsidies, grant of Government waste lands, concession in land revenue, technical guidance, etc.

It is now agreed that food production is of crucial importance for the planned economic development of the country. Self-sufficiency in food production is essential for enlisting the entire man-power to the economic development of India, for ensuring a correct balance between rural and urban incomes, and for providing guarantees against any inflationary pressure. The growth of population is now estimated to be at a much higher rate than was assumed earlier. The population of India is now estimated to exceed 400 million and the rate of annual increase is over two per cent per annum. By 1986 India's population would increase to 775 million and only 10 per cent of the country's national income would be available for direct growth investments from that year. The Ford Foundation Team that recently visited India came to the conclusion that in order to be self-sufficient in food production India must produce 110 million tons by 1966. This quantity, however, makes allowances for seed, wastage and safety margin. By 1966 India must produce this quantity of food-grains in order to feed her people with a minimum level of nutrition which requires a daily intake of 15 oz. of cereals and 3 ounces of pulses. By 1966 consumption will rise to 88 million tons. As against this requirement, the current production stands at 70 million tons. At the present rate of increase, production in 1966, that is, at the end of the Third Plan, would rise to 82 million tons, leaving a shortfall of 28 million tons. This deficit of 28 million tons can hardly be made up by imports and

in consequence India shall have to depend on her own internal production. It is necessary for India to raise her rate of food production from 3.2 per cent during the period 1952-53 to 1958-59 to an average rate of 8.2 per cent during the next seven years. The current rate of increase in food output always lags behind the growth of population and it is therefore needed that the productivity rate must be raised to a level of nearly 9 per cent a year.

There is, however, no immediate and simple solution to India's food problem. But there is also no need for despondency. The best in Indian agriculture can well stand in comparison with the best in other countries. But the average level of production is unduly low in India although she is the second largest rice producing country in the world, coming next only to China. India today requires to raise her rate of agricultural production and ways and means should be devised and directed towards the achievement of higher production target. The Ford Foundation Team warns that the target of 110 million tons of food production can be achieved only if an all-out emergency food production programme is undertaken.

The Ford Foundation Team recommends the adoption of an experimental and objective approach. It observes that the success of Co-operative Farming depends on competent management, and capable managers may not be available in the immediate future. The Report of the Team suggests that "management assistance to cultivators, combined with supervised credit, and perhaps with joint ownership of equipment, offers a way to obtain the advantage of better management, while still retaining the incentives gained by individual operation." The Report emphasises that limitation on food production are not set by physical resources. This country has the soil, climate, water and other physical resources for abundant food production. But to these physical resources must be added human effort in the form of improved agricultural methods in effective combinations suited to particular soils and crops. The importance of human effort can best be realised through co-operative farming; we think so.

The yield per acre in India in respect of

all crops is very low as compared with the other countries of the world. The yield of rice per acre in India is about 750 lbs. as against 2,461 lbs. in Italy, 2,000 lbs. in Japan and 1,468 lbs. in the U.S.A. The most serious defect in the agricultural system of India accounting for the low yield is the small size of the holdings. The average holding in India varies from about 3 acres in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to 12 acres in Bombay, as compared to 40 acres in Denmark, 82 acres in the United Kingdom, 159 acres in the U.S.A. and 234 acres in Canada. About one-third of Indian cultivators are landless peasants, while there still remain big landholders who are nothing but small zamindars in reality. If land is to be distributed among the landless peasants it is quite in the fitness of things that joint farming should be developed in India.

The consolidation of holdings will be a step in the right direction. Recently the Japanese method of individual farming is held out to be better than co-operative farming. But Japan has various advantages which India does not possess and therefore the Japanese method will not bring about the desired result in respect of food production in this country. From very ancient times there has been family farming in India, but in recent years the higher growth rate of population has rendered the system of family farming ineffective. Improved methods of farming is necessary and that will be possible only if the holdings are of sufficiently large size. Unless the size of holdings are not enlarged, farming cannot be improved. There are three ways of enlarging the size of the holdings, viz., (i) acquisition of small holdings by the State and converting them into State farms in which the former owners will work as labourers; (ii) large landholders acquiring the interests of small holders who are then to work as labourers; and (iii) pooling of lands of the small holders for the purpose of joint farming, each landholder retaining his title to the land or in the alternative getting shares in the joint farming society to the extent of the value of land, cattle and implements contributed by him.

The first proposal does not seem to be feasible because agriculture cannot altogether

be converted into a State industry. There may be some State farms but their number will be insignificant and the whole field of agriculture should continue to be covered by private enterprise. The second proposal is not desirable from the social point of view. But since the abolition of the zamindari system, some States are trying to bring it back through backdoor at least to a moderate system. As for example, Bihar is reported to have decided that the ceiling of land holding will be 40 acres per head and this means that the individual holding of agricultural land will come to about 120 bighas and that is in a country where the average landholding does not exceed 3 acres. In other words, the authorities are in favour of maintaining landholders so as to use them for political purposes. The Leftist parties are no exception. In West Bengal, the Leftist parties are said to be supporting big landholding and they have suggested that the individual holding should be not less than 40 acres or 120 bighas. In a village a person having 40 bighas is looked upon as a small zamindar. This rather high ceiling of individual landholding will defeat the purpose of zamindari abolition. All political parties are now in favour of maintaining big zotedari system and nobody is thinking in terms of land belonging to the tillers. That idea has been thrown to winds. It may be recalled that the Flood Commission recommended that individual landholding should not exceed 5 acres and 15 bighas per head would constitute an economic holding. But any way, the zamindari abolition system has created a vacuum in the land system of the country and this defies any easy solution because both the party in power as well as the parties in opposition still think in terms of big landholding.

The third proposal of pooling the land by small holders for the purpose of cultivation, or what is known as co-operative or joint farming, will enable the farmers to retain interest in their land and at the same time obtain all the economies of large-scale farming. In some countries where average holdings are small or where large holdings have been split up and allotted to a large number of small holders, the farmers have been encouraged to adopt joint farming. Co-operative farming is

highly developed in a democratic country like Palestine.

In India, there is an erroneous notion that co-operative farming is an essential feature of a totalitarian economy and that it destroys the sanctity of a democratic set up. But the U.S.A., which is regarded as the leader of the democracies, has adopted co-operative farming system. In India, those who are raising their stentorian voice against the introduction of co-operative farming are doing so not on economic considerations, but on political grounds. The U.S.A. certainly is not a totalitarian State, and still she has introduced co-operative farming system because it has been effective in bringing about the more advanced farming methods into formerly backward rural areas. By pooling of resources cultivators have availed themselves of advantages of large-scale farming. By this method they have raised their output and increased their standard of living. The co-operative farming system is needed in India because it will make possible the large-scale exploitation of the land using all resources of science and machinery. It will raise food production and provide more food for a vast population that is insufficiently fed and suffers from concealed famine and food scarcity. The co-operative farming will liberate more labour for other industries and by this move the total divisible wealth of the country will augment.

Trend and Progress of Banking

The Report on the Trend and Progress of Banking in India during 1958 recently published by the Reserve Bank spotlights the impact on the banking system of the major developments in the Indian economy which generally reflect the progress of the Plan. The Indian economy in 1958 presented a mixed trend of inflationary conditions and recessionary tendencies in certain sectors of the economy. While the main inflationary influence stemmed from a further step-up in the public investment, its effect was to some extent offset by the slackening in the rate of growth of investment in the private sector which in its turn slowed down the credit expansion by banks. Thus the bank credit at Rs. 830.6

crores recorded a moderate increase of Rs. 11.1 crores as against Rs. 74.6 crores in 1957 and Rs. 151.3 crores in 1956. This development coupled with an impressive rise in deposits rendered the liquid position of banks very comfortable throughout the year under review.

Despite the lower level of bank credit both in the aggregate as also to particular sectors, the credit policy of the Reserve Bank continued to be one of restraint and vigilance especially in view of the underlying inflationary trends in the economy. In the case of bank advances against foodgrains, the situation warranted the continuance of the restrictive policy initiated on the eve of the 1957-58 busy season with a further tightening up in respect of wheat. There was a shortfall of about 10 per cent in foodgrains output and this factor, rather than the rise in aggregate monetary demand, exerted a great pressure on food prices which increased by about 9 per cent over the year. In sugar also, the fairly high level of bank advances in the context of a sustained rise in prices, suggested some stockpiling by traders with bank finance. The Reserve Bank, therefore, tightened the existing restrictions against bank advances against this security. Apart from the close vigilance kept on foodgrains and sugar advances, the Reserve Bank also took action during the year to curb the speculative use of bank credit on the stock exchange. As a result of the fewer avenues of employment of funds it became evident that banks were seeking new outlets for credit and the extension of credit for stock exchange operations provided such a new outlet.

As a result, scheduled banks' advances against shares and debentures rose from Rs. 73.3 crores at the end of 1957 to Rs. 77.5 crores in August 1958 and the rise caused concern as it coincided with the speculative bulge in the prices of shares on the stock exchange. The Reserve Bank therefore directed banks to be cautious in extending credit against shares. On the whole the credit policy pursued by the Reserve Bank, though restrictive in its general tenor, continued to assist the flow

of bank credit to essential sectors of the economy. This was evident from the fact that the share of industrial credit over the year ended October rose from 43.6 per cent to 47.9 per cent of the total scheduled bank credit.

Turning to the resources side of banks we find that the most striking feature was the continued growth of bank deposits and the reduced reliance on the Reserve Bank for funds. Net deposits of scheduled banks rose by Rs. 219 crores though the rise was largely confined to banks each with deposits of Rs. 100 crores and over. Apart from the deposit of U.S. counterpart funds and the inclusion of some of the non-scheduled banks in the second schedule to the Reserve Bank of India Act, the trends in deposit expansion revealed the growing evidence of the spread of banking habit amongst the people. The record expansion in time deposits of Rs. 228 crores over the year though partly accounted for by a shift from demand deposits was clearly indicative of a satisfactory growth of savings through the banking system.

The substantial accretion to deposit resources in conjunction with the moderate increase in bank credit resulted in improved liquidity position and induced the banks to enlarge their investment portfolio by Rs. 206 crores, Government securities alone accounting for as much as Rs. 202 crores—the highest on record in recent years. The share of the State Bank of India in the increase in investment was particularly large as a sequel to its policy of investing in gilt-edged securities the counterpart funds deposited with it by U.S. authorities.

On the organisational side, the Reserve Bank Report refers to the adaptation of the institutional and functional framework of the banking system to the requirements of the expanding economy. Further progress was made in bringing about integration of some State associated banks with the State Bank of India. As part of the scheme for mobilising rural savings, rural debentures are being issued by central land mortgage banks. The scheme has been modified in terms of which the Reserve

Bank has agreed to subscribe to the 15-year debentures issued to it at the relatively low rate of 4 per cent. The State Bank, apart from opening 105 additional branches during the year under review, particularly in places lacking in banking facilities, took further steps to liberalise remittance facilities to co-operative credit institutions as also to provide short-term accommodation to co-operative marketing and processing societies. In the field of bank finance to small-scale industrial units, the State Bank, in the light of experience gathered in the operation of the pilot scheme has now extended the scheme to all its branches. As regards provision of term-credit to industries, the Report draws attention to the setting up in June 1958 of the Refinance Corporation, which by the close of the year, had sanctioned refinance aggregating Rs. 178 lakhs to some specified industries.

The Report contains other useful information. It contains a broad assessment of the working of the Banking Companies Act, 1949, over a decade and shows how it has been instrumental in imparting strength to the banking system. As regards the personal loan scheme introduced by a few banks in India, the Report while welcoming this move as an evidence of the flexibility of operations of banks, sounds a note of caution to banks, particularly regarding extension of such scheme in respect of goods in short supply because of its inflationary consequences.

The Reserve Bank liberalised its Bill Market scheme by bringing within its purview export bills in order to enable banks to provide finance to exporters on a liberal scale. The minimum limit of a loan as also of the promissory note has been lowered making it possible for small exporters to obtain the benefit of the scheme. The amount to be advanced to a bank at a time for the amount of an individual usance promissory note to be accepted as security have been fixed at Rs. 2 lakhs and Rs. 20 thousand respectively as against Rs. 5 lakhs and Rs. 50 thousand in other cases. Only those documentary time export bills as have a usance of not

more than ninety days and are drawn on any place in any country outside India which is a member of the International Monetary Fund would be eligible for being held by the banks as security for the loans intended for conversion.

On account of rapid industrialisation of the country, inflationary finance both in the public sector as well as in the private sector is getting bigger in volume and without corresponding increase in the availability of consumer goods and prices are, therefore, progressively going up. Deficit financing in the public sector is almost equivalent to bank credit in the private sector. These are desirable to a certain extent to foster economic development of the country. But these have a baneful effect in an underdeveloped country like India where prices go up owing to the shortfall in the output of consumer goods. To counteract that evil effect the Reserve Bank can have resort to the use of variable reserve ratios to the maximum limit as provided under the Reserve Bank Act, that is, up to 20 per cent for the demand liabilities and 8 per cent of the time liabilities.

Curtain Drawn on L.I.C. Deals

Much ado about nothing—that is the result of the L.I.C. deals. We wonder why the Government of India rushed to appoint the Chagla Commission and the Vivian Bose Commission when their opinions have been ignored and when the Union Public Services Commission as well as the Central Government have acted in a manner as if they are the best known authority on the controversial deals and therefore they are the best judges of the issue. The Union Public Services Commission has been treated by the Central Government as the Court of Appeal over the Vivian Bose Commission and it is strange that administrative law has been brought into existence in manner most prejudicial to democratic ideals and principles. If the Central Government knew that Mr. Patel and Mr. Kamath were not guilty then why did they appoint the Chagla Commission and Bose Commission and ignored their verdict? The Central Government have

no right to waste public money on whimsical decisions.

It is admitted that the L.I.C. deals were improper and somebody must be responsible for it. But nobody is held responsible for the deal that raised so much public consternation and disapproval. In the same day the news was published that Sri R. K. Dalmia was convicted for default of public money to the extent of about Rs. 2 crores, although the money was paid by him later on and the money was not lost. And it was also published that Mr. Patel was exonerated of charges brought against for the L.I.C. deals in Mundhra shares and that Mr. Kamath would be simply censured. These two high officials were responsible through their positions for a deal which cost the national exchequer nearly Rs. 2 crores, for, this money was not recouped. These two news, published on the same day gives a curious impression about the process of law as practised in India. The Government decision about these two officials indicate that many things have occurred behind the scene.

There should have been either a full dress trial or else, if the Government was not prepared to take that step, the matter should have been nipped in the bud by indicating a departmental or a U.P.S.C. enquiry when the matter was raised in the Indian Parliament. If the views of Enquiry Commissions are flouted in this manner by the Executive and if they take upon themselves the right to ride roughshod over semi-judicial decisions, then evil days are awaiting for this country where the Executive tends to constitute itself the final judge over all matters of judicial importance.

Water for Irrigation

One of the greatest handicaps of Indian agriculture is the absence of adequate facilities for the supply of water required for cultivation. Out of the total of an estimated 13,560 lakh acre-feet of water resources, approximately 4,500 lakh acre-feet are believed to be utilisable for irrigation. Actual utilisation in 1951, the latest year for which figures are available, did not exceed seven per cent of the total or about twenty per cent of the utilisable water resources. The construction of the various development projects in the inter-

vening period has undoubtedly greatly facilitated the use of water but, providing one of the curious phenomena of present-day Indian life, actual utilisation has fallen far short of the opportunities available, while production has suffered from the scarcity of water. In the context of a severe food crisis and the acute difficulties confronted by the country in the field of international trade, the importance of increasing agricultural production needs no elaboration. If, therefore, production has suffered through the non-utilisation of available facilities it must necessarily become the country's first concern to know what has been responsible for such a paradoxical situation.

The Public Accounts Committee of the Lok Sabha in its report on the audit report on the accounts of the Damodar Valley Corporation had some sharp comments to make on this topic. "The Committee are distressed to see the poor rate of utilisation of the water for irrigation purposes," the report said. Among the reasons for the shortfall in the utilisation of water in the particular case were: (1) lack of adequate appreciation and co-operation from the public who opposed the removal of gaps at certain points and elsewhere interfered with the flow of the water by raising cross bunds; (2) sideslip of canal banks; (3) breaches at certain points of the canals and (4) the absence of legislation in West Bengal for the levy of compulsory water rates. If the technical defects, which might be peculiar to the D.V.C. are left out, the one significant point which remains for consideration is the lack of public co-operation.

Public co-operation, it would seem, has been slow to come in the matter of the utilisation of irrigation waters almost throughout India. Recently, there was a great agitation in the Punjab over the levy of betterment fee in which the Government's position was far from being above board. More often than not, the administration of the river valley projects is conducted as in other fields, on the presumption of the infallibility of the administrative bureaucracy. As the latter

hardly cares to keep itself in touch with the needs of the people, frequently its decisions come up against popular hostility as it was the case in Punjab. The importance of public co-operation is given by the fact that one of the factors responsible for the slow or inadequate utilisation of water is the delay in the construction of field channels which is the responsibility of the farmers. Sometimes water rates are levied without due consideration of the factors involved which in turn gives rise to public hostility.

The Government of India had appointed a Committee of experts in November last to go into the problem of inadequate utilisation of water. In its report, which awaits publication, it is understood to have recommended for a phased levy of water rates. Under the proposed scheme no water rate will be charged for the first two or three years and the full rate will be collected only from the sixth year of the completion of the irrigation projects. This is a very sensible recommendation and its acceptance, coupled with other measures to induce public co-operation, will undoubtedly encourage the cultivators to make more use of the available water and thus to give the much-needed push to raise the agricultural output of the country.

Nationalization of Text Books ✓

The importance of the preparation and the selection of proper text-books, which form a vital part of any sound scheme of education, cannot be over-emphasized. A person's knowledge and understanding are largely derived from what he has read or heard during his student days. To the beginner his book offers him the ultimate answer to all his questions. It is, therefore, not unoften that a man's initial interest in, or repugnance toward, a particular subject, which is largely dependent upon the manner in which it is introduced to him, determines his future attitude towards the subject for all time to come. Very few can succeed in totally disabusing their minds of what they had learnt during their school days. In a country like India where the overwhelming majority of the people are illiterate, where a good number of people even of those fortunate

few who have a chance to gain admission into a school never can hope to go beyond the primary stage, where only one in fifty persons ever reads a book in a whole year, the printed word has a peculiar charm and an aura of infallibility—the need for ensuring balanced text-books at the primary classes thus assumes a bigger proportion than would have been the case if students could be expected to correct their notions in course of future study.

Notwithstanding much lip-service to the need for securing the preparation and the selection of proper text-books for schools and colleges, the situation in this regard has been very very disappointing in this country. For obvious reasons text-books meant for primary and secondary stages have assumed an importance in this country which is denied to them in the more advanced countries where the social system offers them further scope for education. And it is precisely in these fields that the situation is most deplorable. It would be no exaggeration to say that almost the greater majority of the titles which are prescribed, or relied upon, as text-books in schools and colleges are not only unsatisfactory, but are absolutely unsuitable for reading by anyone. What is of greater concern is the fact that no one—the authors, the publishers, the teachers or the Government—can escape criticism for this state of affairs. With notable exceptions, publishers in this country have not shown any particular concern for the authenticity and correctness of the text of their publications which are often full of factual and grammatical mistakes. The publishers consider their duty done so long as their prospect of a steady return is not disturbed. If the attitude of the publishers, who are openly out for money, is understandable (though by no means pardonable), that of some of the distinguished educationists and teachers, who either lend their name as authors to undeserving books or select such books for their students, is less so. It is not unoften that books, full of horribly shocking mistakes, are found to bear the names of some of the most illustrious professors and academicians as authors. Lastly, the Government has done nothing effective to discourage the dishonesty either of the publishers or of the authors. Education has not unnaturally been the chief casualty.

In the existing state of affairs there is undoubtedly a great scope for State intervention in the preparation and selection of text-books. Yet, as has happened in so many other fields, State intervention in this field has given rise to more problems than it has solved. In most cases the text-books prepared under the auspices of the departments of governments betray a lack of understanding and imagination on the part of editors and compilers. The Text-Book Inquiry Committee of Kerala has, for example, adversely commented upon the poor quality and scheme of text-books prepared under governmental direction. The Committee has correctly held that the poor quality of the text-books is a very serious defect and particularly so where the schools have no choice in the matter of selection of text-books and are under an obligation to use the books published by the State. The Committee has noted the following defects: errors in subject-matter which could have been avoided with careful scrutiny, unsatisfactory presentation of subject in social studies and general science and errors in printing and defective illustrations. Kerala certainly is not an isolated case and a similar enquiry will hardly fail to disclose comparable defects in the text-books published by other State Governments. While the Kerala Government will no doubt devote its earnest consideration to the specific points of criticism in the report of the Committee, the rest of the country can also derive much valuable lesson from the publication of the full text of the report which the State Government should arrange forthwith.

While the idea of a State monopoly of text-books is repugnant to any democratic mind in Indian conditions it seems unavoidable—for primary and secondary stages and for a specified period of at least a decade. Once a standard has been set in the removal of monopoly will not affect quality. However, if State publications should fail to show any superiority over privately produced books, or should even prove to be much worse than those, the arrangement for State intervention has to stop there.

In the case of Kerala there is, however, another question, that of indoctrination and prevention of free imparting of secular and

religious education. We have to emphasise on the point of education being free from political or 'party' control at all times.

Religious Funds

One of the arguments put forward in favour of the continued existence of the class of priests is that having renounced worldly pleasures they are eminently suited to cater to the spiritual needs of the people in general; consequently society should not grudge to bear the cost of their maintenance. If that be so, the organization of priests as guardians of property—the *mohants*, *sebaits* and *mutwallis* of temples, mosques, gurdwaras and churches cannot essentially be described otherwise—is hardly compatible with the calling of a true priest. Nevertheless, in almost all the countries of the world, we have the strange spectacle of men, openly pledged to repudiate world by pursuits, wielding authority over vast material treasures and even quarrelling among themselves to retain their position of supremacy. Clearly, therefore, the management of property by spiritual figures has not meant any real difference in the nature of such management nor has that meant any lessening of the attending evils.

On the other hand, experience has conclusively demonstrated that the institutionalization of spiritual authority has inevitably led to degeneration of values and the introduction of exploitation and other moral vices. In India, for example, there have been innumerable complaints and scandals involving centres of great public reverence. Most distressing facts have been revealed wherever an impartial investigation was carried out into the affairs of any religious institution with monetary involvements. Mismanagement apart, the holding of vast property by religious institutions raises the more important question of the most beneficial use of the resources. According to a very conservative estimate, the value of resources at the disposal of Hindu religious institutions in this country would alone exceed Rs. 300 crores. Add to this the vast property held by other religious institutions and the magnitude of the whole thing comes out in truer light. Except for enriching the pockets of a few this immense property remains largely unutilized. The benefits that can accrue to our society

from the utilization of these funds are obvious. In view of the marked reluctance of the holders of this property to part with their authority, the task can be achieved only through legislation. However, the use of legislative means to bring these funds into the general social pool to be used for "socially beneficial" purposes has some inherent danger whereby, unless proper safeguards are maintained, the whole process may degenerate into substituting a set of wasteful managers for a set of miserly and selfish managers.

Singapore Independent ✓ Lee Kuan Yew

Singapore—the 140-year-old British colony became an internally self-governing State within the Commonwealth on June 3, in accordance with constitutional agreement signed in London in April, 1957. Sir William Goodie, Governor of Singapore was sworn in as the State's first Yang Dipertuan Negara (Head of State). After six months a Malayan would take over as Head of State under the provisions of the Constitution. Singapore will have full powers regarding the internal administration of the country but the defence and foreign relations would continue to be the responsibility of the British Government.

In the first ever general elections in the territory, the People's Action Party (PAP) led by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew came out victorious with a thumping majority. The PAP won 43 seats to the 4 won by the ruling Singapore People's Alliance, 3 of the United Malay's national organization—Malayan Chinese Association and one Independent. Out of 194 candidates more than 65 including the Malaya Indian Congress President, Mr. A. K. Alexander lost their deposits. Among the defeated were Mr. David Marshall, a former Chief Minister; Mr. M. P. D. Nair and M. Jumbhary, Ministers in the outgoing People's Alliance Cabinet headed by Mr. Lim Yew Hark.

The new Ministry was sworn in on June 5. It was headed by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, Secretary-General of the People's Action Party. The Cabinet consisting of nine members was as follows: Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister; Dr. Toh Chin Chye, Deputy Prime Minister; Ong Eng Guan, National Development; Ahmad Ibrahim, Health; Go Keng Co, Finance; Ken-

neth Byrne, Labour and Law; S. Rajaratnam, Culture; Ong Pang Boon, Home Affairs; Young Nyuk Lin, Education.

The majority of the people of Singapore are of Chinese origin. Six of the Ministers are Chinese, the other Malay, Eurasian and Indian.

Answering questions on the fiscal policy of the PAP Government, Mr. Lee said on June 1, that foreign capital was welcome to Singapore and they would be given stable conditions to operate. But foreign capital which entered into propaganda business (meaning foreign-owned papers), would be dealt with suitably. He added, Singapore's fiscal policy would continue to be in line with that of the Federation (for years the two territories have a common approach to this question). There would be no breach in the economic unity of the two territories. He said, his Government, once formed, would draw 100 million dollars out of 800 million dollars of assets in London for the development of Singapore's economy.

Regarding the attitude of the PAP towards secret societies (thugs' organisations which thrive on illegal activities, such as extortion, robbery, murder, etc., and they number hundreds), he said: "We will stop this menace once and for all."

On the future of the Singapore City Council, Mr. Lee said that its main functions would be taken over by the local Government Ministry. "We are not going to have any monkey business. If we govern, we govern efficiently and with the will of the people on our side." The PAP has a slender majority in the City Council and it was having a rough time until recently when Mayor Ong Eng Guan headed it.

In the interests of the public there should be no competition between the Council and the Government, Mr. Lee said.

Mr. Lee then turned his attention to Communist menace in Malaya and explained at length how his party would combat it. He said, the Communist menace was a long-term problem. "It will be futile to kill them if they could recruit more men than you could kill." He said, the former Government was shouting at Communists but it only made them recruit more. "The ultimate pull depends on whether we can convince the people of Singapore and

whether we can make the democratic socialist system work in Malaya and make it succeed. He said, the momentum of revolution among the Chinese and the momentum of revolution among the Malayas were different. They could be best reconciled only through democratic socialism. "This is exactly what we are aiming at doing," he added.

Mr. Lee pointed out that there was no danger of Communists taking over Malaya. But, any false move in this question, he added, would bring down the entire organisation of PAP and its years of work. Touching on the problem of youths on which the PAP's main strength depended, Mr. Lee said that every year 30,000 youths entered the labour market in Singapore. It was estimated that 100 million dollars would be needed every year to provide them with employment.

One other question which Mr Lee referred to—rather delicate in the context of Singapore today—was the British National Anthem, "God Save the Queen." When asked whether the PAP would respect it, Mr. Lee said: "Surely you cannot expect Asians to respect that which symbolises British power."

Political observers expected that a compromise agreement would be reached with the Governor enabling the PAP to form the island's first home-rule Government.

India and Britain

The British Government has offered to mediate in the dispute between India and Portugal over the future of Goa. The British Prime Minister's offer was contained in a letter which he wrote to Mr. Anthony Wedgwood Benn, a Labour Member of Parliament, which was published in the London press on May 15. In that letter Mr. Macmillan said: "The United Kingdom would naturally be prepared to give any assistance in their power to bring the two parties (meaning India and Portugal) together, though it is not their practice to take such an initiative unless there is clear evidence that this would be welcome to the principals concerned."

The objects of the British mediation have not been made clear and as such it is very difficult to comment upon the merits of the proposal. Though India has intimate relations

with Britain, the relations between the two countries during the past decade have been far from happy. On all major international issues, the British Government—whether Labour or Conservative—has been found to oppose India—whether the matter related to Kashmir, Goa or Indian nationals in South Africa. It is an open secret that but for the open encouragement given by the Governments of the U.K., U.S.A. and their NATO allies, Portugal would never have dared to antagonise India over the tiny territory of Goa.

The British Government's rejection of the Government of India's proposal for reconvening the International Supervision Commission for Laos comes as a fresh reminder of the continuing divergence between the British and Indian attitudes towards major developments in the Far East. It is difficult to think in this context that the news about British willingness to mediate over Goa is indicative of a point of new departure for British policy. Moreover, the term "mediation" itself connotes the possibility of some sacrifice on either side. What concessions are expected of India over Goa? While maintaining—correctly—that Goa is an integral part of India and should be integrated into the rest of the country without any further delay, the Government of India has all along refrained from taking steps which might precipitate armed conflict. The people of Goa on the other hand, have more than once and in more than one way indicated their eagerness to be reunited with their brethren in India. On the face of all this the Portuguese position—which has been upheld by the Western Powers—is that Goa is a part of Portugal. No amount of mediation can be of any use in reconciling these two mutually incompatible views—unless one of the parties agrees to see reason and give up its obstinacy. No one even faintly acquainted with the geography, history and culture of Goa can fail to see that it is only Portugal who can be asked to reconsider her stand in this case.

Accidents on the Rise ✓

The statistics of accidents on the Indian railways for the year 1957-58 which have just been released discloses a disquieting rise in the number of accidents during the year. The total number of accidents of various types, including minor accidents,

in that year was 15,397 as against 13,987 in the previous year. According to an analysis of the causes of 2,747 out of a total of 4,027 train accidents under main categories, 1,082 accidents had occurred due to failure of human element, 1,228 due to technical defects and the remaining 437 due to various miscellaneous causes. Out of eighteen accidents into which statutory enquiries were held eleven are ascribed to the failure on the part of the railway staff in fulfilling their duty. By no standard the number of train accidents on the Indian railways can be regarded as normal; nor does the proportion of accidents occurring due to the failure of the railway staff bring great credit to the railway administration. To the extent that the number of accidents arising out of technical defects could also be kept down if a greater care had been taken by the persons concerned in their examination, the responsibility of the administration would also seem to increase in proportion.

An unfortunate tendency has been evident on the part of the Railway authorities to put all, or the major share of the blame for their own failure upon the public. A section of the press has also been taken in unawares by this campaign. The laws regarding ticketless travel and the pulling of alarm-chains have been made more stringent giving almost dictatorial powers to the railways. It is, however, necessary to look at the inconvenience suffered by the travelling public. There is everywhere a terrific overcrowding, demanding of the passengers great patience and nervous strain. A man may be queuing for half an hour in a ticket counter to find that the booking clerk is absent, or there is no ticket or there is some other trouble. The number of such counters is hardly sufficient to cope with the heavy rush—particularly in Howrah and other big stations. The trains are almost always behind schedule. Without improving these if the efficiency drive should be construed to consist in creating greater harassment for the travelling public this can certainly bring no good.

Nehru on Kerala Situation

We reproduce from the weekly *Hindu* an extract from its correspondent's report dated

June 6, on Pandit Nehru's speech. One has to only read it to realise the helpless attitude of the head Executive of India in an emergency:

Mr. Nehru, in a statement issued here today before his departure to Delhi, said that his concern and anxiety about the situation in Kerala had increased since his arrival at Ootacamund.

Mr. Nehru in his statement said: "For some time, I have been concerned about the situation in Kerala. Since I came to Ootacamund, I have had much more information about it from a variety of sources and my concern and anxiety have increased. It seems clear that a dangerous situation, full of the possibility of violent conflict, is rapidly developing in that State. I have remained silent over this issue because I have been reluctant to interfere in matters concerning the Kerala Government. I did not wish to take any step which might lead people to think that I was acting unfairly towards a Government which belonged to a different party. In many matters, I differ considerably from the policy of that party. In so far as the State Government is concerned, I had to deal with such matters as were of all-India concern or such as might affect the Constitution of India. On a few occasions, I expressed my concern at some of the activities of the Kerala Government which I thought were not in keeping with the spirit of our democratic constitution and our basic policies. But, generally speaking, I refrained from even comment and did not interfere in any way.

"The situation, that is developing in that State now, is, however, such that I cannot remain wholly silent. The thought of going there myself occurred to me, but it is difficult for me to do so now as I am on my way from Ootacamund to Delhi. But if at any time I think that my visit to Kerala will be helpful, I shall endeavour to go there."

"I do not propose, in this statement, to enter into the merits of the controversies at present raging in Kerala, the chief of which is connected with the legislation passed in regard to education. It is clear to me that the basic differences in Kerala are much deeper. All kinds of forces are at play, such as communalism and casteism, apart from political rivalries,

and the language used in the Press and in speeches is often full of violence. Apparently preparations for violent conflict are being made. The communalism and casteism of Kerala are somewhat different from the variety I am acquainted with in other parts of India, but they belong to the same species, and in so far as our Government and the great organisation to which I belong are concerned, we are entirely opposed to them as we are convinced that they are harmful to our unity and progress. Violence is even more objectionable and cannot be accepted as a method of action in a democratic State.

"It appears that a very considerable upsurge among large masses of people is taking place in Kerala against the Government there. I cannot measure the extent of this, but there can be no doubt that it is on a big scale. I do not think that any particular legislative measure, even though it is disliked, could have led to this upsurge. It is rather due to a feeling of distrust against the Government that has grown in the course of the past many months. The *bona fides* of the Government are doubted by many people and many charges have been made against it. These include accusations of unfairness to other parties and partiality in many ways to the Government party in Kerala, that is, the Communists, charges of violence towards members of other parties have also been made. Normally, in a democratic Government whatever the differences may be, issues are settled peacefully. The majority treats the minority with consideration and there is even a measure of co-operation—the minority while opposing any measure that it disapproves of, yet functions within the limits of democratic conventions and practice and seeks to change that measure or even the Government by democratic methods. If these conventions and practices are not followed, then democracy breaks down and the law of the jungle prevails.

"If there is now a deep and widespread distrust of the Kerala Government among large sections of the people there, it is for that Government to consider how this has arisen and how it can be removed. It is the duty of the Government to prevent such developments by its policies and approaches to the people

generally, and even to its opponents. In particular, it is unfortunate if the very basis of faith in Government's *bona fides* is shaken. There is no doubt that there is at present this feeling of unfairness in considerable sections of the people.

"Even so, however, the duty of those who oppose is to adhere strictly to democratic and peaceful ways. They are entitled to agitate peacefully and try to convince the people of the rightness of their views and policies. They may look forward to changing the Government, provided always that this is brought about by democratic and peaceful processes. The abandonment of peaceful methods might well lead to the abandonment of democracy itself. Peaceful methods, of course, mean an avoidance of violence. But they mean something more. The language of violence is itself opposed to peaceful methods. Indeed, all civilised life demands civilised and peaceful behaviour.

"Therefore, I would appeal most earnestly to all people of Kerala, to whatever party they might belong, to adhere strictly to peaceful methods and to avoid violence in speech or act at all cost. We seek the solution of even international problems through peaceful methods. It would be a tragedy for us to fail to solve our own problems through these methods and to have recourse to violence and coercion. We have been taught by our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, that means are always important and often even more important than ends. If we forget this lesson, we do so at our peril.

"Our broad policies are well-known, whether in the political, social or economic spheres. Recently, the National Congress gave special emphasis to some basic policies for the progress of the nation and our people. I came to Ootacamund to join in a Seminar on planning and during the past week many eminent men and women from all over India have met to consider our basic problem connected with planning. We were not all of one opinion in some matters. But we laboured hard, and I believe that we have achieved substantial results which we hope will advance the great cause we have at heart. It is a matter of regret that when we face these mighty problems affecting four hundred million people, the people of Kerala,

should be confronted with a situation full of mutual conflict and violence.

"I do not seek to impose my views or opinions on others of a different way of thinking, even though I would like to win them over to what I consider the right path. But I think that I have a right to ask the people of Kerala to avoid the path of violence and conflict which can do no good to them or to India. In Kerala, the primary responsibility for the peace and welfare of its people rests on its State Government. But Kerala also is an integral part of India, and the whole of India is interested that peace must prevail there and nothing should be done which causes injury to its people. All over India, people from Kerala occupy the highest positions in the public services. They do so because of their ability and worth. In the days to come, they will no doubt play an ever-increasing part in the great drama of an advancing and progressing India. For them to lose themselves in conflict would be tragic."

New Opposition Party ✓

We reproduce below, from the *Hindu* of June 6, the texts of the speeches by Mr. Masani and Sri Rajagopalachari, on the question of an Opposition Party, with special emphasis on the demerits of co-operative farming. It is to be noted, however, that no remedy for the defects of small holdings has been suggested:

Both Mr. Rajagopalachari and Mr. M. R. Masani, who was put down as the principal speaker at a meeting—held under the auspices of the Council of Public Affairs at the Vivekananda College, Mylapore,—made a vigorous reply to the Prime Minister's speech at Ootacamund on June 1, in the course of which he had referred to their speeches made at a meeting in Bangalore earlier.

Mr. M. R. Masani, who spoke on "The present situation—a challenge to Democracy," said that Mr. Nehru had said that what he (Mr. Masani) had spoken might not be important, and said that he agreed with it, but he added that when people thought of something, that something was of great importance. "The views I expressed a few days ago do represent a substantial section of Indian public opinion," Mr. Masani stated.

Today, he ventured to think, that 10 years after freedom, there was a groundswell in India rising slowly against the socialistic pattern. People were getting disillusioned with that. People saw Ministers and others getting preferential treatment, a disproportionate growth in the size of the administrative services and increasing corruption. Hence, people were looking forward to the coming up of a new leadership, devoid of dogma, which could give a "realistic and practical leadership." Mr. Nehru had said that Rajaji's reasoning seemed to be based on fear. Mr. Nehru might not be afraid of India going 'Red,' but he must be a little afraid of Peking for the "bravery with which he attacked the French Government in Algeria" was not apparent when he was speaking of Peking.

As one who had heard Rajaji, the speaker would point out that the latter had said a situation had arisen in India where the farm and the family had to be protected. Proceeding, he said that it had been stated that Canada practised joint farming, and he himself had studied the available literature on the subject. He had found that there were only a few such farms, about 27, out of about a lakh of farms in one State in Canada.

"What he (Mr. Nehru) is proposing to do is to destroy peasant proprietorship as an institution," Mr. Masani charged. In this part of the country and in his own, peasants had owned their lands from times immemorial—unlike in Zamindari areas. Joint farming, he explained, practically deprived the peasant of the ownership of his land. "If the Zamindari abolition was right, then joint farming is wrong," he said. He did not believe that joint farming was different from collective farming, as Mr. Nehru said, and the speaker stated that "every item" of the Nagpur resolution had been lifted from the Soviet collective system.

Mr. Nehru had said that Rajaji was trying to live in the middle of the 18th century, the implication being that he, Mr. Nehru, was up-to-date and the rest were reactionary. The speaker personally ven-

tured to think that Rajaji was much more up-to-date than Mr. Nehru.

Mr. Masani pointed out how in Poland and Yugoslavia, which were Communist countries, collective farming had been found unworkable, and how gradually a great many of these farms had gone out and the peasants had come into their own.

Rajaji, Mr. N. G. Ranga and himself, Mr. Masani said, were nearer such communist like Gomulka than Mr. Nehru, who, he stated, seemed to be 50 years behind the times. "He is a pre-Revolution Marxist, we are post-Revolution Marxists," the speaker added.

Whether their party was called Conservative or Liberal, did not matter. What mattered was it should be a People's Party, and it should have a clear answer to the problems before them. After setting out what all the Party should aim at, Mr. Masani expressed the hope that in the next few months, "with Rajaji's blessings, we shall be able to create such a party."

Mr. Rajagopalachari spoke of the reference made by Mr. Nehru about fear, and said that Mr. Nehru had been carried away and had said something which was a "bad example to the young." He was afraid Mr. Nehru must have been misled by the ambiguity of English words. There were many kinds of fear—some good, some bad. Amongst other things, we fear God. One of his friends, after reading Mr. Nehru's speech had written to him, quoting from the Psalms. "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom." He personally did not think that Mr. Nehru really meant that he was not afraid of God. He must have been saying just as one did sometimes, "I do not fear Hitler, I do not fear Mussolini, or Stalin—I do not fear God himself."

But, when one was in politics, and every young man in India "is ready to copy Pandit Nehru and his manners—even in petulance and in anger—it is a dangerous thing for him to say, "I do not even fear God."

Here, digressing, Mr. Rajagopalachari said that the term, fear of God, was a new expression. In our own languages, so far

as God was concerned, we did not often attach fear to that concept. The fear of God was a Semitic idea. An Indian would say, "I must be afraid of Papam, that is to say, wrong-doing."

Mr. Nehru was not a technical man and did not know the technique of farming, nor even that of co-operation, he would tell them. Generally, the word "co-operation" was very good, and Mr. Nehru said, "How can I understand Rajaji when he says he is against co-operation?" Mr. Nehru was so general in his outlook, so balanced, that he could not understand any point made against a particular aspect.

Rajaji asked: "Do I use ambiguous terms?" (Voices of "No, No.") "I say what I say very specifically," he added. Then, why did not Mr. Nehru understand? "I think he has not applied his mind to what I have said." Also, his mind was so full, that there was no room for anything else to go into it, Mr. Rajagopalachari said.

Proceeding, Mr. Rajagopalachari said, that Mr. Nehru did not like the name Conservative Party. "Why do I say a Conservative Party? Because, the opposite is fully represented in Parliament. What is absent is a Conservative Party." Yet, Mr. Nehru had said that he welcomed the formation of an Opposition Party. Therefore, he agreed with him (the speaker), fundamentally that a new kind of Opposition was necessary, only he did not like the name.

A Conservative Party was intended for the preservation of all those things that were good in our country, in our history and traditions. In a democracy what was wrong could not be preserved.

Mr. Nehru's co-operative farming scheme "not only attacks the farm, but it attacks the family" Mr. Rajagopalachari said. The result would be that when it came into effect, the families of the peasants would not go to work on the fields, as they did now in the villages of our country. "Mr. Nehru should not depend upon Socialism alone. Just as the word, conservative, is abhorrent in his case, slogans are abhorrent in my case," Rajaji said.

If Mr. Nehru swore to them "that co-operative services alone" would be there, and no collectivisation, nobody need object. In fact, they wanted more effective services in that regard, the speaker observed.

How were they going to get land for collective farming? They were going to take away lands from the bigger landlords. These lands had all been earned by them—and not been given to them by some Maharaja or other. How could those lands be taken away without compensation? In this connection, Rajaji referred to the amendments effected in the Constitution relating to the payment of compensation, and said, that compensation laws had been altered in recent years. They wanted all these badly amended laws to be abolished, and the original ones restored, Rajaji said.

It was no use opposing, Mr. Nehru had said. The speaker said, "I say, more opposition is necessary. It is very difficult to make people understand and accept the idea for an Opposition." People now had the impression that it was impossible to have an Opposition.

The wave of totalitarianism must be broken. Nobody knew what would happen to his house, his land, and so on. Everyone in India was weighed down by a sense of unhappy unrest. Now, was that state of affairs to be tolerated? The Opposition could prevent the Government from spreading out the uncertainties in the country. Today, nobody was interested in his family or his land. In the old days, a man was interested in providing for his son, nephew or grandchildren. Today, they thought they need not do so any longer, not even for their sons, as the Government would do it.

Mr. Rajagopalachari asked traders, merchants and the like not to be afraid of what would happen to them if they supported the Opposition or apprehend that the Government might take vindictive action against them if they joined it. If they thought so, these persons would be wrong, Mr. Rajagopalachari said. For, Mr. Nehru "won't be unfair," he assured. "I know him for many years. He won't do a wrong

thing." By so thinking, they would be doing the Prime Minister a wrong, Mr. Rajagopalachari said.

Referring to the proposed party, Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "We must have freedom to do what we like with our property, which has been guaranteed under the Constitution." They did not want such taxation as would make life miserable. Taxation now had reached a limit. Tax gatherers should not become tyrants of the country.

Suggesting the name "Swatantra" for the new party. Mr. Rajagopalachari said that it would be appropriate, because it would stand for the freedom of the men on the farm, the freedom of the farm and of the family. It was a good name one which was common in Tamil, Telugu and other languages of the country.

If only there was a strong movement in the country, they would find Mr. Nehru coming down. If they were strong, and in course of time, they had capable leaders, then they could think of having the Prime Ministership of the country later on. "Meanwhile, the movement should be started for the protection of our Swatantra," Rajaji concluded.

The Swatantra Party

We append below an extract from the *Hindu* of June 9, giving the text of the speech by Sri C. Rajagopalachari on the reasons for the formation of his new party:

Addressing a largely attended public meeting held under the auspices of the Lakshmipuram Young Men's Association, in Royapettah last evening, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari explained the aims and policies that would be pursued by the new Opposition party, which he said, would be called the Swatantra Party and appealed to educated young men who were independent bread-winners, to join it in large numbers and work for its aims and objectives. Mr. Rajagopalachari added that he did not want to attract Congress members into the new party.

The new party, Rajaji said was a healthy baby and it would grow. There were wide feelings in the country that there must be a party of this nature. But some people thought,

out of fear, that it would be difficult to make it grow. The Prime Minister was not going to victimise anybody for joining this party or helping it to grow. It was not desirable, Rajaji said, that they should have fear, because the party could not grow if they had this fear and communicated this fear to others. "There is no danger whatsoever in handling this baby. You should not imagine that the step-mother will be very angry if you fondle this baby. That is not correct." As regards officials who ought to be rather more royal than the king, he could give the assurance that if at any time those who wanted to help the party, found any difficulty and complained to the Prime Minister, he (the Prime Minister) would surely punish the more-royal-than-the-king man.

Making a reference to Mr. Nehru's remarks about the formation of the new party, Rajaji said that when Pressmen asked him for his reaction, Mr. Nehru said that he welcomed it saying it was a very good thing. But he did not say anything in anger about it.

The new party which he was blessing, Rajaji said, was called the Swatantra Party, a very good name, and there was difference between the Government party that was now in power and this party. The name had been given to express the content of the philosophy of that party. Swatantra means oneself having control and power of action over oneself. Paratantra means a man or a woman who was in the hands of another and his activities and thinking, all depend on another person. As against paratantra, they should enjoy swatantra. Every citizen in India should have swatantra and should not be a paratantra. The socialist pattern of society, which corresponded to the paratantra philosophy, wanted that the State should have to regulate and control and be the master of the activities of other persons, the citizens being not independent. It meant that society should be so organised that the State took away all the swatantra of the citizens ultimately. There was a threat of confiscating swatantra from citizens by a gradual process. Therefore they had also to defend themselves by a gradual process. That was why the new party was necessary which claimed that social justice and social welfare could be attained without depriving individuals of swatantra.

Rajaji said that it was only when individuals were responsible for working they would produce and save. Men would save only if they could have a share of what they saved. Therefore *swatantra* was absolutely necessary, No man would save when everybody was given a pension by the Socialist State. The Socialist State would be committing suicide if it took away initiative from the individual, because the State was composed of individuals and its life and energy came from individuals.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said that although the rupee note was a simple understandable thing, the complexity of money was very great. Money made life very difficult to understand in modern times. They did not know why prices went up and why they went down. "We think that if the shopkeeper is a good man, prices go down and if prices go up, we infer that the shopkeeper is a bad man. But that is not a fact. All our shopkeepers on the whole are very simple, honest people." They were very vigilant and kept themselves informed about the day-to-day fluctuation in prices. Every little shopkeeper was not only diligent and efficient, but on the whole very shrewd. The little shopkeeper did not ask for much profit. "He just manages to keep his family going. He does not waste his money. It is these people who are the targets of attack day in and day out in Parliament." They did not want intermediaries between the wholesale producer and the Government.

"What is the Government for if all these people are not to be provided?" Rajaji asked. It was quite wrong in a country which was so populous with a high degree of unemployment. If the profits were distributed among a large number of middlemen, it was automatic socialism, he added.

Criticising the scheme of co-operative farming envisaged by the Government, Rajaji said that tilling of land required infinite patience and knowledge of the soil and the seasons, and the Government could not rely on the official experts possessing only book knowledge about farming methods. Whatever experience the official experts had gained was only because of interference. Referring to the suggestion that by removing bunds on paddy fields they could increase the area for cultivation, he said that bunds were as necessary as the cup was neces-

sary to hold coffee. Bunds in paddy fields were not mere superfluities, they really helped in cultivation. Every businessman and every cultivator knew his profession. Therefore, the duty of the Government would be to help those people with whatever facilities that were wanted, otherwise than in the actual practice of the profession. If the Government put its fingers into it, it would be something disastrous.

Referring to the defects of the Congress Party, Rajaji said that all organisations went wrong in course of time, but political organisations went wrong very quickly. Here was an old broom, which had gone wrong. There was more dirt on it than the dirt removed by it. "Therefore let us supply a new broom; it may do well for some time at least and it will be good enough for some time." They could not say what would happen to it in future.

Before concluding, he appealed to educated young men to join the party and work for its aims. The Congress Party had become a closed shop and it was not allowing new members to join it. Had the Congress taken in recent times any members from college graduates or professors? he asked. "I wish we must provide them room in the new party. It should be an enlightened party, which does not wish to close its shop,—members of which do not wish to live on the party. I do not want to attract Congress members into this—God forbid. Let them be in the Congress and let them carry on, and may be, they will improve also by competition. But it is a different matter." This party, he added should consist of people who were independent bread-winners, who were at least sons and brothers of bread-winners, who knew what their work was and how to depend on their work.

Tibet and India

We reproduce below from the *Statesman*, of May 31, a report on the opening days speeches, in the All-India Tibet Convention at Calcutta:

The Tibet situation should be presented to the world in its reality and no attempt should be made for reasons of diplomacy to play down, cover up, belittle or misrepresent what was happening in that country, said Mr. Jai Prakash Narain presiding over the All-India Tibet Conven-

tion which opened at Mahajati Sadan, Calcutta, on Saturday.

Mr. Narain, who strongly criticized India's acceptance of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, felt that the Tibetan question should now be raised in the U.N. and that the Afro-Asian bloc must present a common front on it.

Sonam Gyatso, a Tibetan Lama, who has recently arrived in India, suggested that an impartial commission constituted by representatives of neutral Asian countries should visit Tibet and find out the facts. There should be no delay in taking this step "if this has to be fruitful," he added.

In his speech Mr. Narain said that the Tibetans were fighting to win their national freedom and not to defend the feudal rights of a few nobles and monasteries. The leaders of the movement were not feudal lords but the most progressive elements in the Tibetan society, who stood for reform and change. These facts must be made known and on their basis a strong and united world opinion created against Chinese aggression and for Tibetan independence.

Mr. Narain felt that India's acceptance of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet was a major mistake. The idea that a country might have suzerain powers over another was imperialist in conception. It was also wrong to believe that a powerful totalitarian State could be trusted to honour the autonomy of a weak country.

It was true that Tibet's annexation to China could not be prevented. But India's acceptance of Chinese suzerainty gave the Chinese action in Tibet a moral and legal sanction and prevented the formulation of Afro-Asian opinion on the question.

If communism had been a truly liberating and anti-imperialist force the Chinese Communists, on assumption of power, should themselves have proclaimed Tibet's independence and foresworn, the old imperialist notion of suzerainty and made a treaty with Tibet of equality and friendship. But Communism in Russia and China had become expansionist and aggres-

sive just as 19th century capitalism had been in Britain, France and Germany.

Tibet was not a region of China. The country had sometimes been under Chinese authority by virtue of conquest and never out of its own choice. Still Chinese suzerainty had always been nominal and meant hardly more than some tribute from Lhasa to Peking. After the fall of the Manchu empire in 1911 Tibet had been an independent country till 1951 when Communist China invaded it.

The question of reforms in Tibet did not worry the Chinese. The question plainly was that of subjugation of the country. The Chinese interfered in everything. Revered lamas were purposely ill-treated and humiliated. Monasteries were demolished and their properties confiscated. A new system of administration was imposed in which the Chinese were posted to all key points. Post and telegraphs, the mint and the hydro-electric plant were taken over. Printing of Tibetan currency was prohibited. The powers of the Dalai Lama were clipped. A vast scheme of colonization was taken up by the Chinese. This process to steal Tibet from Tibetans had roused bitter resentment which took the form of a national resistance movement.

"Is Tibet lost for ever? No, a thousand times no. Tibet will not die because there is no death for the human spirit." Tibetan freedom, he added, would be resurrected.

Sonam Gyatso thanked India for her hospitality towards the Dalai Lama and the refugees and asserted that the national movement for Tibet's freedom was led by people whose declared policy was to bring about radical reforms and improvement of living conditions of the Tibetan people. But the Tibetans resisted the so-called reforms which were imposed and did not suit their conditions. The movement wanted complete and unconditional independence for Tibet (Tibet Chhokha Sum) with the Dalai Lama as its head. It was the true voice of the Tibetan people.

Mr. H. V. Kamath said that the Chinese Embassy in India had circulated a pamphlet in which Tibet had been compared with U.P. or Assam. He had visited Nathula and the Sikkim border a fortnight ago and the roads from Yatung and Gyantse built by the Chinese did not appear to him to be for peaceful purposes. He alleged that vandalism was rampant in Tibet where images of Buddha and priceless ancient scrolls were being burnt. Indian merchants in Yatung and Gyantse were not having a peaceful time. They had been threatened with confiscation of their radio sets if they listened to Indian broadcasts. The other day an Indian trader was insulted by a Chinese at Yatung.

Mr. Soumyendra Nath Tagore said that no occupation was for altruistic motives. The progressive benefits that an annexed territory received were natural and a by-product of history. Expansionism could not be supported on this ground. He accused Mr. Nehru of selling Tibet to China, an act he had no right to do and blamed him for the present Tibetan crisis. He also condemned "Stalinist imperialism."

Dr. P. C. Ghosh attacked the Communist Party for a perennial policy of owing allegiance to Moscow even where there were changes in leadership and criticized Mr. Nehru and the Congress for their drift towards totalitarian dictatorship. India wanted to be friendly with China but China should recognize the self-determination of Tibet.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Chairman, Reception Committee, criticized Mr. Nehru for pre-judging the Convention whose main object was to make known to the world the real attitude of India towards Tibet. Chinese suzerainty must recede and Tibetans must have the right to self-determination.

"Able and Baker"

We give the news-report on the first safe journey into outer space by man's nearest relations:

Cape Canaveral, May 28.—Two monkeys—Able and Baker—were today recovered alive from the nose cone of a Jupiter missile which was fished out of the Atlantic after a 1,500-miles space flight.

The Army announced the successful recovery from the compartment of the Jupiter nose cone after the missile had climbed to a height of 300 miles and flown at speeds up to 10,000 m.p.h.

The tiny female monkeys thus became the first living creatures known to have travelled into space in an American missile and returned alive.

The Army's accomplishment means a major step towards man's travel in space and return to earth.

Scientists reported that instruments attached to the monkeys showed they suffered little ill effects from the stress of violent acceleration and a period of weightlessness for some nine minutes of the 15-minute journey.

The Army announcement, 6½ hours after the launching, said simply: "Both animals are alive and perfect with no injuries."

The seven-pound Able was given a telegraph key to press and release throughout the two-way trip. This was to test her reaction during the planned nine-minute period in which she felt no gravitational pull. Her companion Baker was a squirrel monkey, weighing only a pound. She was wired to provide scientific readings of breathing, body temperature, heart action and pressure within the capsule by means of electronic circuits.

As there was no plan to put up an earth satellite containing the monkeys, the experiment differed from the earlier Air Force's Discoverer III attempt, involving the launching, orbiting and recovery of an earth satellite containing four black mice.

The present attempt from Vandenberg Air Force base in California, was set for last week but postponed for technical and weather reasons.

Able was trained before the space

flight to push a Morse key when a red light flashed once each second. This was tried out during the flight to show how she responded to the feeling of weightlessness, but the signals were not received. Experts said the experiment with the Morse key apparently failed because of telemetry difficulties.

Other instruments did record and relay back to earth information about the monkey's heartbeat and breathing rate.

A message sent from the U.S. fleet tug Kiowa, which picked up the monkeys said they would be taken to Puerto Rico and then flown in a special plane to Washington.

The Kiowa had been on watch in the target area with two destroyer escorts, the Snowden and the Brough. The nose cone was reported to have come down within 10 miles of the recovery ship in the selected area 30 to 60 miles north of Antigua Island.

The Jupiter Rocket was fired from here at 07.35 G.M.T. (about 1.5 p.m. I.S.T.). The nose cone containing the monkeys was recovered from Atlantic 92 minutes later.

Able has proved a pioneer. Never before had such a "psychobehavioural" test as the one involving the telegraph key been attempted during extended weightlessness.

Baker is similar to a monkey sent up with similar wires and experimentation in a launching last December, which provided important scientific data about that monkey's physiological reactions, but efforts to recover the nose cone ended in failure.

Besides the monkeys, today's rocket carried biological experiments, chiefly for radiation studies, involving such cellular systems as those possessed by yeast, maize, mustard seeds, fruitfly larvae and human blood.

In addition, the nose cone carried a mould spore and egg fertilization experiment to study the effects of radiation and weightlessness on cell division and the fertilization process.

AGRICULTURE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

By PROF. KHETRA MOHAN PATNAIK, M.A., A.M. (Stanford)

The Agrarian Situation

The problem of the under-developed countries like India is essentially the problem of the poverty of their farm populations. This is so, since an overwhelming majority of the population in these countries depend on agriculture as their mainstay. In India nearly 70 per cent of the population are agricultural, whereas the same percentage for Europe is 33, U.S.A. 4, and U.S.S.R. 50. Heavy population pressure on land gives rise to small and uneconomic agricultural holdings which have long been the most difficult problem in the development of the rural economy. It is estimated that the average size of farms in most states in India is between 4 and 5 acres. Small and fragmented holdings limit the application of scientific methods of cultivation, decrease the productivity of land and render agriculture a way of life rather than a business proposition. As a result, the farmer has to approach the village money-lender for financial help to meet his unforeseen expenditures or for purchase of seed, cattle, implements and the like. Once in debt, he remains always in debt since the agriculturist derives such a low income from land which leaves him no surplus to clear off his obligations. Rigid and oppressive land tenures enrich the landlords and increase the misery of the tenant-farmers; in most cases, of the net income from cultivation, less than one-fifth is enjoyed by the actual cultivator and the rest goes to the absentee owner of land. Thus absentee landlordism and economic serfdom of tenants coupled with the rapacity of the money-lender weaken incentives and become responsible for backward agriculture and low productivity.

Necessity of Agricultural Improvement

Under these conditions, if economic development is to be brought about then the problem of the cultivators should engage our primary attention. If economic development means "the growth of output per head of population," it necessarily

means increasing the productivity of the seventy per cent of the population now engaged in land. For, "it cannot be expected that industrial development can be successful if the standard of living in rural areas does not rise, since otherwise the low level of incomes of the farm population will prevent an expansion of the market. So long as a large proportion of the additional income generated by industrial development is absorbed by rents and interest, the domestic market for industrial products will remain restricted. Agrarian reform, by changing the distribution of income, will allow industrial expansion to generate its own purchasing power and create its own market. The approach to the problem of raising living standards in under-developed countries must be an integrated one; and in this approach the reform of the agrarian structure should play an integral part."¹

Not only are agrarian reforms necessary to provide a wider market for the industries but also to provide the initial capital for industrial development. This point can be explained in some detail. Small and uneconomic holdings, which are the outstanding evils of the agrarian structure in under-developed countries like India, do not provide full employment for the farm families. In other words, there is disguised unemployment in the sense that, even with unchanged techniques in agriculture, a large part of the population engaged in the subsistence sector could be removed without reducing farm output. The same agricultural output could be got with a smaller labour force. As Ragnar Nurkse points out: "Population pressure has led to a steady reduction in the average size of the farm. In consequence peasants and their family members simply do not have enough to do: they are under-employed. The subdivision of land into

1. "Land Reform, defects in agrarian structure as obstacles to economic development." (U.N.O.), page 87.

smaller and smaller holdings means that, given the prevailing state of techniques, the work to be done on the land is shared among growing numbers of people. It amounts to a system of work-spreading."² The extent of such under-employment is indicated in the Second Five-Year Plan in the following terms: "There appears to be an agreement on the broad conclusion that under existing conditions, with present techniques of agriculture being continued, if cultivating units were to approach what might be described as family holdings affording the possibility of fairly full-time work in agriculture for a family of average size, agricultural production could be maintained with about 65-75 per cent of the number of workers now engaged in it. In other words, on certain assumptions, one-fourth to one-third of the existing labour force in agriculture may be surplus to its requirements." (P. 35.) According to the 1951 census the agricultural labour force (including persons classified as "self-supporting" together with "earning dependents") numbered just over 100 million people. This means that the extent of overcrowding in agriculture today is between 25-30 million people.

This state of disguised unemployment implies to some extent a disguised saving potential which can be tapped for industrial development. As things stand, the unproductive surplus labourers on the land are sustained by the productive labourers.³ The productive labourers are performing 'virtual' saving; they produce more than they consume. But the saving runs to waste, the saving is abortive, it is offset by the unproductive consumption of the people who could be dispensed with. If the productive peasants were to send their useless dependents to work on capital projects and if they continued to feed them there, their virtual saving would become effective

saving. The unproductive consumption of the surplus farm population would become productive consumption.

The above analysis is perhaps clear in explaining the sense in which disguised unemployment in overpopulated peasant economies may be said to contain a hidden source of saving available for economic development. Everything depends upon the mobilisation of the concealed saving potential in the shape of the food surplus that becomes available to the productive peasants when their unproductive dependents go away. This mobilisation will be incomplete if the remaining peasants cannot be stopped from eating more than before.

The saving potential inherent in disguised unemployment emphasises the necessity of effective measures to stop the remaining peasants from consuming more, when the 'unproductive' members go away to work on capital construction. The peasants are not likely to save the surplus voluntarily since they live so close to subsistence level. It may be possible to tax them through increasing their rents and taxing the landowners. Japan passed a new land tax law in 1873, which was highly effective and apparently very important in Japan's economic development in the late 19th century. Until 1882, indeed, it furnished over 80 per cent of the revenues. This crucial problem of collecting agricultural surplus was solved in Soviet Russia by the system of collective farms.

All this shows that overpopulated countries like India should tackle the problem of heavy population pressure on land in order that the saving potential inherent in conditions of disguised unemployment may be canalised in the direction of industrial development. Such a step becomes indispensable in view of the paucity of capital in such countries for large-scale industrialisation. This would also enable these countries to have substantial technical progress in agriculture, which is not possible without reducing the numbers engaged in agriculture.

Thus agricultural improvement helps industrialisation by releasing people from

2. "Reflections on India's Development Plan," by Ragnar Nurkse, in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May, 1957.

3. It is convenient to use these terms even though personal identification and hence separation of the two groups is impossible.

land for employment in the urban sector, providing food for the growing population and thereby counteracting the inflationary pressure; and, by making food imports less necessary, it relieves pressure on the balance of payments.

The Experience of other Countries :

The Case of Japan

The experience of countries like Japan and Russia bears out the truth of the statement that agricultural development is always the basis of industrialisation. Let us take up the case of Japan first. The year 1868 marks the beginning of an era of economic development. In 1873 about 78 per cent of the employed Japanese population were engaged in agriculture, but this percentage came down to 52 by 1920. Rough estimates of the growth of national income and the contribution of agriculture to it are indicated in Table 1. A study of these figures shows that income from agriculture and fishing increased by about 75 per cent between 1887 and 1914, while total income rose by 121 per cent. The increase of income from agriculture and fisheries accounted for about 40 per cent of the growth in national income during this period of 27 years.

Table 1

Estimate of National Income of Japan
(Million yen at 1935 Prices)*

Source	1887	1897	1908	1914	1925
Agriculture and fishing	1,860	1,950	2,490	3,250	3,269
Other	1,065	1,460	2,620	3,210	9,085
Total	2,925	3,410	5,110	6,460	12,354

(*Data from Colin Clark, *The Conditions of Economic Progress* (New York, 1940, p. 113, quoted in B.F. Johnston's article in *Journal of Political Economy*, sec. 1951).

The increase in agricultural productivity was siphoned off through land taxes into investment projects. Consequently, a large proportion of the increased agricultural product was available for urban

consumption and for capital accumulation. This was achieved through the stiff land tax introduced in 1873. The tax was based on the assessed value of farm land and, unlike the collections in kind, did not vary with fluctuations in the farmer's harvest. The tax was fixed initially at 3 per cent, which seems to have amounted to about 13 per cent of the value of a normal crop.⁴ The growth of farm tenancy in Japan has been attributed to changes in land taxation which led farmers to increase their indebtedness and eventually to lose their holdings. The growth of tenancy is shown in Table 2. "At the beginning of Japan's industrialisation the land tax accounted for nearly all the revenue of the national government—50 out of 58 million yen of tax revenue in 1875-76 (nearly 86 per cent). In 1893-94 the land tax yielded approximately 38.8 million yen, or 45 per cent of the tax revenue....the land tax revenue... in 1906-7 still represented 22 per cent of the tax revenue."⁵

Table 2*

Year	Tenant land as Percentage of Total Cultivated Land.
1873	31.1
1883	36.8
1887	40.0
1915	45.5

*Reproduced from B.F. Johnston's article in *Journal of Political Economy*.

It is evident that the gains in productivity in agriculture were drawn upon by taxation in order to finance a larger share of the government's programme for fostering industrial development. "It has been estimated that, during the decade 1900-1909, capital investment average about 12 per cent of national income, increasing to about 17 per cent of national

4. "Agricultural Productivity and Economic Development in Japan" by B.F. Johnston, in *Journal of Political Economy*, December 1951," p. 502.

5. *Ibid.*

income in the following decade. Applying the 12 per cent figure to Kaya's estimate of national income in 1905, we obtain an indication that capital investment was perhaps of the order of 150 million yens (in current prices), as compared to the revenue from the land tax in 1906-7, which amounted to 86 million yen."⁶

The Case of Soviet Russia

Planned economic development was initiated in Soviet Russia in 1928. The First Five-Year Plan laid emphasis on the collectivisation and mechanisation of agriculture to step up agricultural production. Collective organisations accounted for only 1.7 per cent of the peasant households and 2.3 per cent of the crop area in 1928. By 1933, 93.5 per cent of the households and 99.3 per cent of the planted area had been collectivized.⁷ Collectivisation was stressed, not so much as a means to increase agricultural productivity, but for ensuring food supplies to the urban sector and giving the state effective control over the disposal of farm produce. In the words of Dobb, "The significance of the collectivisation-drive in agriculture during the First Five-Year Plan, and of its close connection with a program of industrialisation and high investment, is to be sought less in its effect upon total production and yield per acre than in its effect the marketable surplus."⁸ By permitting mechanisation and improved organisation of labour they raised the per capita productivity of labour in agriculture, released labour from the land, and thus enabled both man-power and a larger share of the produce simultaneously to move towards industry and the towns. In addition to this, there was a political reason behind this programme. According to Baykov, there were almost 26,000,000 separate peasant farms in the Soviet Union in 1928. To the Soviet leaders, it was obvious that such an unwieldy mass of individual small producers was incompatible with the centrally directed, large-scale industrial economy they hoped to build.

The collectivization programme⁹ achieved its aims of providing labour for carrying out the stupendous industrialisation programme. Lorimer estimates that the population dependent on agriculture and rural industries declined from 114 million in 1926 to between 92 and 97 million in 1939. By contrast, the numbers in manufacturing, mining, construction, transportation and trade increased from 15 million in 1926 to an estimated 41-45 million in 1939, and the population dependent on public administration and social services rose from less than 5 million to 17-18 million.⁹ The total agricultural output increased by about 15 per cent between 1928-1939. This represents an increase in the productivity of labour in agriculture of between 30 and 40 per cent.¹⁰ Dobb estimates that the marketable surplus of agriculture, available to supply the expanding towns and industry, increased considerably; and, in the case of grain, it was in 1938 some 2½ times what this surplus had been ten years previously.

The increase in productivity in agriculture in the Soviet Union was of great significance as a source of finance for industrialisation. With the system of compulsory collection of food-grains enforced through the Machine Tractor Systems, the farm population was squeezed enough to supply the wherewithal to carry out industrial development programmes. Thus forced collection of grains appears to have played the same role in the U.S.S.R. as land taxation in Japan; it was the principal weapon through which the gains in agricultural productivity were canalised in the direction of rapid industrial development.

Objectives of Agrarian Reforms in India

Planned economic development was initiated in our country since April, 1951 through the Five-Year Plans. In both the plans the objectives of land reforms have been two-fold: firstly, to remove such impediments upon agricultural production as arise from the character of the agrarian

6. *Ibid.*, p. 504. 7. *Ibid.*, p. 508.

8. *Some Aspects of Economic Development*, by M. Dobb, p. 74.

9. & 10. "Agricultural Productivity and Economic Development in Japan," by B. F. Johnston in *JPE*, December 1951, page 509.

structure; and secondly, to create conditions for evolving, as speedily as may be possible, an agrarian economy with high levels of efficiency and productivity. These aspects are interrelated; some measures bearing more directly on the first aim, others to a greater extent on the second. Thus the abolition of intermediaries, which was carried out during the First Plan period in most of the states, was intended to give to the tiller of the soil his rightful place in the agrarian system. The work of consolidation of holdings carried through in the same period was intended to reduce waste and create conditions of efficient production.

Land Reform During the Second Five-Year Plan Period

During the First Five-Year Plan period substantial progress was attained in the abolition of intermediaries giving security of tenure to the tenants by legislation and consolidation of scattered holdings. But the question of redistribution of land was not tackled during this period. It is felt that in the conditions of India large disparities in the distribution of wealth and income are inconsistent with economic progress in any sector. This consideration applies with even greater force to land. "Land is the only form of capital which is not reproducible. One can always create new machines or new stocks; one can very seldom create new land. Land, therefore, has especially in an agricultural country, a very special scarcity value of its own. This value reflects itself in the feeling people have about land; a man takes joy in his ancestral acres; he scraps his ancestral machines. It also reflects itself in the special position which attaches to those who hold land. Power has always been attached to land ownership, whether by squire or kulak. No corresponding power attaches to the ownership of Tata Ordinaries or Government of India 3½% stock. A case can, therefore, be made for land ceilings on the basis, first, that since land is a commodity in short supply, it should be rationed, and secondly, that since power and land go together, land must be split

more evenly amongst groups (which really means castes) so that the Harijan and the tribal, for instance, can rise from their present low position." This has led the Planning Commission to advocate that during the Second Five-Year Plan period steps should be taken to redistribute land in excess of a ceiling so as to afford opportunities to landless sections of the rural population to gain in social status. This is also essential for developing a co-operative rural economy, for, co-operation thrives best in homogeneous groups in which there are no large inequalities.

It is proposed that by the end of 1959 steps should be taken in each state to impose ceilings on existing agricultural holdings. An important question which has to be considered in this connection is whether the ceiling should apply to holdings of individuals or to holdings of families. In favour of the latter proposal, the main consideration is that in agriculture the appropriate unit is the family rather than the individual. On the other hand, in the census of land holdings and cultivation carried out in the different states in the recent past, the entire agricultural land held by a person in a State was taken to constitute a single holding, and in the case of joint holdings, the share of each co-sharer was treated as a separate holding. Since land census records and other returns which may be obtained will generally be the basis for carrying out the policy of ceilings in different parts of a State, there would appear to be administrative advantages in adopting the view taken in the census. Against this has to be set the consideration that thereby the area available for redistribution would be smaller.

Next comes the question of determining the level at which the ceiling should apply. It is suggested that for this multiples of what may be regarded as a "family holding" in any given area may be used. A family holding is described "as an area equivalent, according to local conditions and under existing conditions of technique, either to a plough unit or to a work unit for a family of average size working with such assistance as is customary in agricultural operations." Each State should work out the area of land which may be declared to be a family holding, according to the condi-

tions in different regions, classes of soil, irrigation and the like. The Planning Commission suggests that it will be convenient to put the ceiling at about three times the family holding. But it is left for the States to decide it as they think fit. The categories of farms exempted from the operation of the ceiling are:

1. Tea, coffee and rubber plantations;
2. Orchards where they constitute reasonably compact areas;
3. Specialised farms engaged in cattle breeding, dairying, wool-raising etc.;
4. Sugarcane farms operated by sugar factories;
5. Efficiently managed farms which consist of compact blocks, on which heavy investment or permanent structural improvements have been made and whose break up is likely to lead to a fall in production.

In the settlement of lands acquired in consequence of the application of ceilings, tenants displaced as a result of resumption of land for personal cultivation, farmers with uneconomic holdings and landless workers will receive preference. Settlements are proposed to be made as far as possible on co-operative lines. Farmers with uneconomic holdings below the basic level will be admitted into co-operatives constituted with surplus lands if they also agree to pool their lands.

REFLECTIONS ON THE PROPOSED LAND REFORMS IN INDIA

The question that crops up is how far such a land reform programme is helpful in the context of economic development. Breaking up of large holdings and redistribution of land among the uneconomic holders and landless labourers would increase the already innumerable small holdings existing in India. Will such a state of affairs enable us to get a higher investible surplus from agriculture? Would it not have been better if the Planning Commission had aimed at collective farming of the Russian type and mechanised cultivation? The question then boils down to the size of the farming unit in the context of economic development in India.

Under the conditions prevalent in India—where 59 per cent of the farms are 5 acres or below, while those up to 25 acres are 94 per

cent of the total employment of heavy machines by establishing large holdings does not appear feasible and desirable. The necessary background for such a change presupposes a fundamental structural reorganisation within agriculture and a rapid expansion of the non-agricultural sectors to absorb a large labour force which will be thrown off the land. Apart from numerous other favourable factors, it will be agreed that rapid advance in farm mechanisation in the West was and is even today conditioned by the scanty supply and the consequent heavy cost of human labour and the need to effect substantial economies in its employment in agriculture. In contrast, in India we have an abundant supply of labour while land and capital are extremely scarce. Hence in any plan of agricultural development or technical change in India, we are inevitably bound down to labour-intensive rather than capital-intensive techniques.

Estate farming has been indicated as an alternative under which it would be possible to mechanise agriculture and achieve substantial measure of increase in productivity without displacing agricultural population to any considerable extent. It has been pointed out that the peasants would find employment not only in these commercialised farms but also in the factories that would rise as ancillary growth to process and manufacture the agricultural products. Under Indian conditions, the peasant would earn a better wage, as a labourer than as an independent cultivator. But it will be too much to expect that this process of change in the scale of farming operations would be universally adopted in India. This will not bring about an equitable distribution of land and social justice which are essential to increased productivity. Judged by whatever standards, peasant farming will inevitably remain the basis of Indian agriculture and hence we should aim at such technical changes which are suitable to it. Given certain conditions, the superiority of peasant farming over large-scale farming has been established. Under the rural set-up obtaining in India, and other countries similarly situated, the peasant farm leaves scope for intensification of cultivation, and for a combination of enterprises to ensure to the peasants fair incomes and living standards. That is why Shri-

man Narayan points out: "It is wrong to think that in large mechanised farms production per acre is greater than in small-scale and intensively cultivated farms. In fact, figures of agricultural production per acre clearly indicate that, in general, it is larger in smaller and intensively cultivated farms than in 'giant' farms. For example, smaller farms in Japan yielded twice as much, and in Denmark and Switzerland four times as much as the bigger farms in America and Australia. It is true that on the 'giant' farms, productivity 'per man' increases, but 'not per acre.' This is an important point which must be clearly understood by all those who are interested in the development of agriculture in India."¹¹ The attachment of the Indian peasant to his land is so great that a large-scale conversion of the economic status of the agricultural population from that of the independent peasants to landless labour is fraught with serious socio-economic consequences and would gravely undermine the democratic set-up in our country. Structural reorganisation of the farms to improve the lay-out and pave the way for heavy mechanisation is possible in two stages. The consolidation of farms and their subsequent voluntary conversion into co-operative units of operation would open out possibilities for agricultural mechanisation without disturbing the social values. Till this can be done—and the forces to bring these changes are already at work in India—reliance will have to be placed on minor technical innovations and the use of improved practices to increase productivity which have demonstrated their utility and efficacy.

All this points out that overpopulated and capital-poor countries like India cannot afford to have large-scale farming with mechanised cultivation for fear of heavy displacement of labourers, who cannot be employed in the urban sector. "If labour is super-abundant, as it is in India or China, the main effect of introducing mechanisation is to create still more unemployment, at the cost of using up scarce foreign exchange to import the mechanical

equipment and its fuel. In such a situation the objective of economic policy is to maximise output per acre, and not output per worker."¹² These considerations have, perhaps, led the Planning Commission to put emphasis upon the more intensive use of land which would result if some of the large holdings are broken up and converted into small family farms.

Redistribution of land, to be successful, should probably be followed by certain complementary measures. These are:

- (a) The area of economic holding should be fixed for different regions and surplus land taken out after the fixation of ceilings should be redistributed among such holders who would come up to this basic level. Unless this yardstick is fixed for the land-distributing authorities, there might be scope for nepotism in actual distribution.
- (b) All farms with uneconomic holdings, after redistribution, should be compulsorily organised under co-operative joint farming societies. Here ownership of land, which is pooled together for purposes of cultivation, is preserved and the area of land contributed is one of the factors which is taken into account when income is shared.
- (c) The present law of inheritance and succession should be changed so that the holdings that are economic today may not get fractionalised in the next generation. Here the experience of the East European countries during the inter-war years may be of some help to the policy-makers in India.

All these measures of land reform, no doubt, are aimed at expansion of agricultural output. Abolition of intermediaries, transfer of land from the absentee landlord to the tiller, fixation of ceilings on land-holdings have a profound psychological and political value; and these reforms coupled with the growth of 'Service Co-operatives' give incentive to the farmer in the direction of greater productive effort. But the question is: how far are they helpful for capital accumulation? Can they mobilise the 'saving potential' inherent under

11. 'Co-operative Farming,' by Shriman Narayan, in *Hindustan Standard*, March 3, 1959.

12. *The Theory of Economic Growth*, by Arthur Lewis, p. 129.

conditions of disguised unemployment in agriculture?

THE DARK SIDE

A little reflection would reveal that, if redistribution of land after fixation of ceilings is not accompanied with *compulsory organisation of at least the uneconomic holders* under co-operative joint farming societies, the above policy of land reform would augment the number of small holdings in India. That this realisation has dawned in the minds of the policy-makers is evident from the Nagpur Resolution that "the surplus land should vest in the Panchayats and should be managed through co-operatives of landless labourers." It is true that co-operative joint farming is our ultimate ideal and hence it has been laid down that "the main task during the Second Plan period is to take such essential steps as will provide sound foundations for the development of co-operative farming so that over a period of ten years or so, a substantial portion of agricultural lands is cultivated on co-operative lines." But at this moment co-operative joint farming, which would have increased the size of the farming unit, seems to have the same tinge of incorrigible optimism as Tennyson's "far-off-divine event towards which the whole creation moves." That multiplication of small holdings prevents capital accumulation and that the expansion of the size of farms has a healthy effect in this sphere have been proved by the available statistical data. The estimates of capital formation for big cultivators for all-India averaged to Rs. 618 as against Rs. 56 for the small cultivators. The average for both small and big cultivators amounted to Rs. 160 as against an average of Rs. 41 for non-cultivators in the rural areas.¹³ That is why it seems that the best way to increase the percentage of capital accumulation is to increase the size of farm business.

The land policy of the Second Five-Year Plan might result in increased agricultural

production; but the latter, though important, is not enough in the context of a developing economy, as the Japanese or Russian experience shows. The history of economic development in these countries shows that it is the surplus from agriculture which sets the tempo of industrialisation. But our land policy does not seem to have been based on this lesson. Increased primary production may enlarge the marketable surplus and to that extent counteract the pro-inflationary bias of development in under-developed countries. But this does not necessarily mean an increase in savings in the agricultural sector, which is the basis of rapid economic advance. As the U. N. Report points out, "The more equitable income distribution resulting from land reform does not ordinarily promote savings for productive investment but leads to higher consumption of essential goods by the peasants and a reduction in non-essential consumption by the landlords."¹⁴ In other words, the land policy of the Government does not make a clear distinction between the "marketable surplus" and the "investible surplus" of agriculture. "The farm sector's marketable surplus of farm products evidently determines the volume of non-farm employment. It has no direct bearing on the volume of employment in investment. . . . A large marketable surplus is surely compatible (i) with a zero rate of investment in the economy or (ii) with a substantial rate of investment financed by (a) non-farm saving or (b) saving originating in the farm sector. The last case may become relevant when surplus labourers are transferred and farms appropriately reorganised."¹⁵

Finally, let us consider whether it is reasonable to hope for any *substantial* improvement in agricultural production significant for economic development by adopting a land policy which does not aim at wiping out the problem of over-crowding on land. Deliberate creation of innumerable small holdings by a policy of fixation of ceilings and re-

13. Reserve Bank of India, *All-India Rural Credit Survey, The Survey Report*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 726. Quoted by Dr. K. V. Srinam in his article "The Possible Anti-Inflationary impact of Co-operative Credit in a Developing Economy," *I.J.E.*, April 1958.

14. *Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East*, Vol. VIII; No. 3; November 1957, page 58.

15. "Reflections on India's Development Plan," by Ragnar Nurkse, in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May 1957, pp. 201-202.

distribution of land among the landless do not . . . while the smaller farmers may sometimes have been taxed rather heavily (mainly through indirect taxes), the larger owners and tenants have got off lightly. . . . The land tax, which until recently has been the major tax in a number of countries, has proved inflexible and non-progressive and has failed to keep pace with increases in production and prices. The only exceptions are in those countries where this tax is collected in kind, as for example, in China (Taiwan and mainland). Although some States in India and Pakistan have introduced an income-tax in the agricultural sector as a complement to the land tax, its yield has been too small to cause any significant change in land taxation. One of the major fields of tax reform would therefore be to introduce flexibility and progressivity in the taxation of land and its income."¹⁸

It represents, as it were, a policy of "back to the village," which is contrary to the experience of other countries which have progressed through the division of labour and the saving of overhead capital made possible by urban concentration. As a result, there cannot be any farm-reorganisation and substantial investment in the urban sector by tapping the saving-potential inherent in agriculture under conditions of disguised unemployment. It is worthwhile in this connection to take heed of the warning given by the U.N. Experts, who point out: "In a country where there is no surplus labour, industrialisation waits upon agricultural improvement. The way to industrialisation lies through the improvement of agriculture The reverse is the case in a country where population is so large in relation to cultivable land, that the land is carrying more people than can be fully employed in agriculture. Substantial technical progress in agriculture is not possible without reducing the numbers engaged in agriculture."¹⁶

The experience of Japan or U.S.S.R., as discussed above, indicates that the surplus extracted from agriculture plays a crucial role in the early stages of economic development. That is why the U.N. Experts, writing about "Economic Development and Planning in Asia and the Far East," point out that "in most countries of the region, agriculture, which supports 60 to 80 per cent of the population and contributes 40 to 60 per cent of the national income, has to make a sizable contribution to development programmes despite its low per capita income."¹⁷ But it may be argued that the agriculturists in our country are already over-taxed and it would be unreasonable to expect them to bear the brunt of heavier taxation. The answer to this objection is ". . . .

TABLE 3
(Rs. Crores)

	1952-53	Rural Sector	Urban Sector	Total
National Income (at current prices)	6850	2980		9830
Tax Revenue	289	386		675
	1955-56			
National Income (at current prices)	6580	3410		9990
Tax Revenue				776
	1956-57			
National Income (at current prices)	7900	3500		11400
Tax Revenue				860
	1957-58			
National Income (at current prices)	7900	3500		11400
Tax Revenue	430	576		1006

(Source: "Resources for the Third Plan." by Dr. K. N. Raj, in *The Economic Weekly*, Tenth Annual Number, January 1959. Dr. Raj has given elaborate explanations of his estimates in his article).

16. *Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries*, p. 59.

17. *Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East*, Vol. VIII, No. 3; Nov. 1957, p. 76.

18. *Ibid*, p. 76.

Unlike other countries in the early phases of their industrial development, we have not squeezed agriculture enough. This is evident from Table 3, which shows that though the rural sector accounts for 70 per cent of the national income of our country, it contributes only 40 per cent of the national tax revenues. Thus the surplus extracted from agriculture for purposes of investment in India is of the order of 6 per cent of the value of agricultural produce. In China, the corresponding figure lies between 10-15 per cent of the agricultural produce, derived largely from a grains tax. In this connection, Dr. K. N. Raj remarks that "A preliminary analysis of the available data, based inevitably on a great deal of guesswork, suggests that the increase in tax revenues since 1952-53 has been realised more from the urban rather than the rural sector and that, while Government taxation has probably absorbed nearly 40 per cent of the increase in incomes in the urban sector, the share of the Government in the increased income of the rural sector has been perhaps not more than about 14-15 per cent."¹⁹ This can be calculated from the figures furnished in Table 3. Again, Dr. Raj, with the help of figures given by the Taxation Enquiry Commission, shows that while the lowest income groups in the rural sector (*i.e.*, households, earning Rs. 600 per annum and less) paid, by way of indirect taxes as much as 2.2 per cent of their total expenditure (in 1952-53), the share of such taxes in the income-groups Rs. 600-1200, Rs. 1200-1800, and Rs. 1800-3000 per annum was only 2.3, 2.7, and 2.8 per cent respectively of their total expenditure. These statistical data substantially prove the thesis of the U.N. experts that the bigger farmers are not comparatively heavily taxed. It may also be mentioned that, in the urban sector, the households in the expenditure groups Rs. 1200-1800, Rs. 1800-3000, and over Rs. 3000 per annum pay, by way of indirect taxes alone, 5.1, 5.1 and 8.3 per cent respectively of their total expenditures as compared to 2.7, 2.8 and 4.4 per cent respectively in the rural sector (in 1952-53).

THE TASK AHEAD

To sum up, agriculture in the over-populated under-developed areas is called upon to foster the process of economic growth in four principal ways: to serve as a reservoir for an expanding labour force; to provide for food consumption standards at levels designed to foster increased productivity of labour and the maintenance of political stability; to furnish a source of foreign exchange; and to supply the initial wherewithal for larger investment in the urban sector. But in India, agriculture has not even fulfilled the elementary purpose of providing food enough to the population for a bare existence. This is evident from the persistent food imports and the per capita availability of foodgrains per day of 18 ounces as against 25 ounces as recommended by the nutrition experts. That is why Prof. Ragnar Nurkse remarks: "In any case there is some doubt whether an agricultural revolution such as occurred in England, Japan and Russia as a basis for industrialisation has yet begun in India. In particular, the deep-seated concern with employment may be a serious obstacle to the necessary reorganisation of farm holdings and to other improvements as well. Without such reorganisation the labour surplus in agriculture remains largely potential. On the other hand, reorganisation may well prove impracticable without an active policy of absorbing the surplus manpower. The way to absorb it is by putting it to work on capital construction—the familiar roundabout way of increasing productive efficiency."²⁰ If this is the result of planning for eight years, the common man seems justified in losing faith in the efficacy of planning. Hence, the necessity has arisen for serious thought on the task ahead so as to avoid the danger of snap decisions at the last moment.

Agriculture must be regarded as the hard core of the Third Plan. *Immediate steps should be taken by different states towards fixation of "economic" or "family holdings" and all surplus land after fixation of ceilings should be utilised to raise up all holdings above the "economic" level so as to bring them to the point at which the ceiling is fixed. Other holders below the economic level should be compulsorily organised under co-operative joint*

19. "Resources for the Third Plan," by Dr. K. N. Raj in *The Economic Weekly Annual*, January 1959.

20. "Reflections on India's Development Plan," by Ragnar Nurkse in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May 1957.

farmings societies. Such a step has definite advantages. It would eradicate the problem of small and uneconomic agricultural holdings which have long been the most difficult problem in the development of the rural economy. Again, it would facilitate the introduction of co-operative joint farming without any more delay by circumscribing the area of application of compulsion. As against this, if the Nagpur resolution of vesting surplus lands in the Panchayats and managing them through co-operatives of landless labourers is put into effect, co-operative joint farming would, of necessity, have to be introduced in a wider area so as to wipe out tiny and fragmented holdings from the rural scene. This would result in heavy displacement of labour from the villages with all its repercussions on the industrialisation programme. For, as J. L. Buck remarks: "Where three men are required to do the work on individual farms, only two are needed for the same amount of land in a co-operative. But those who propose extending this system over all China fail to say what will be done with the third man."²¹ But every thinking man would be sceptical about the

ability of our country to afford the high degree of industrialisation, which is the inevitable corollary of translating into actuality the Nagpur resolution about the redistribution of the surplus land. Finally, our leaders fail to understand one thing. If agriculture is considered to be the basis of any industrial development, it is high time that our Government should abandon its policy of tinkering with this fundamental problem and adopt a bold policy which strikes at its roots.

Not only should the land policy be shaped on the lines indicated above but there should be also greater reliance on resources still available in the agricultural sector for financing industrial development. In this connection, the following proposals for additional taxation proposed by Dr. K. N. Raj are worth considering:

- (1) Doubling of land tax on holdings above five acres;
- (2) A tax on agricultural rent;
- (3) A surcharge on holdings, above five acres, under commercial crops.

The above suggestions may look unpopular and hence may be rejected on the ground of political feasibility. But the results of any alternative policy, it should be remembered, appear to be dangerous and suicidal.

21. Quoted by Ragnar Nurkse in "Reflections on India's Development Plan," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May 1957, p. 192.

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(XVIII) Fundamental Rights: Right to Constitutional Remedies

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IV

WHAT we have shown above with regard to the position of our High Courts, and particularly of our Supreme Court, in relation to our Fundamental Rights, is an illustration, in the Indian context, of the operation of the doctrine of judicial review of legislation (and executive action). This doctrine is, as is well-known, a salient feature of the American constitutional jurisprudence. It has been deduced in the United States of America as a "reasonable and necessary implication"³³ from the following provisions³⁴ of the American Constitution:

"This judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish . . . The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their

33. Also see in this connexion Howard Lee, *The Story of the Constitution*, 1932, pp. 213-15.

34. See Articles III and VI of the Constitution of the United States of America.

authority This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding All judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution."

Explaining this feature of the American Constitution, Professor Willoughby has observed:³⁵

"The fundamental principle of American constitutional jurisprudence is that laws and not men shall govern. This means that when a power, exercised by an official or by a governmental organ, is challenged, legal authority therefore derived from some existing law must be shown, and that no valid law can exist save that which is recognised as such by the Courts Independently of express statement to that effect, it has become axiomatic that no provision of a statute law is valid if not consistent with the provisions of the Constitution from which the enacting legislature derives its powers. A State statute inconsistent with the Constitution of that State is, therefore, invalid, and an act of Congress not warranted by the provisions of the Federal Constitution is similarly void. And the same legal invalidity attaches to the unconstitutional act of an executive or judicial organ of government. In addition to being subordinate to the provisions of the State Constitution, every act of a State official or organ must conform to the requirements of the Federal Constitution, and this applies as well to the provisions of a State Constitution, as to the statutes of its legislature The principle that statutory law, in order to be recognised as valid by the courts, must, in all cases, be in conformity with constitutional requirements, is a product of American law, and though now found in the jurisprudential systems of some other countries, has nowhere received the development and extended application that it has received in the United States."

Although in 1796 the Supreme Court of the United States had for the first time taken

"jurisdiction of a case³⁶ involving the constitutionality of an Act of Congress" and upheld the Act to be constitutional and valid, the doctrine of judicial review of legislation "first found formal and explicit statement and application by the Supreme Court" in 1803 in *Marbury V. Madison*.³⁷ In this case the Supreme Court held unconstitutional and invalid that provision of the Act of Congress known as the Judiciary Act of 1789, "which purported to give original jurisdiction to the Supreme Court to issue writs of mandamus to public officers of the United States."³⁸ It declared that the Constitution of the United States did not give to Congress any "authority to grant this authority."³⁹ Delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court in *Marbury V. Madison*⁴⁰ Chief Justice Marshall stated on 24th February, 1803, among other things:

"The (Judiciary) Act (of 1789) to establish the judicial courts of the United States authorizes the Supreme Court 'to issue writs of mandamus in cases warranted by the principles and usages of law, to any courts appointed, or persons holding office, under the authority of the United States' The authority given to the Supreme Court, by the Act⁴¹ establishing the judicial courts of the United States, to issue writs of mandamus to public officers, appears not to be warranted by the Constitution; and it becomes necessary to inquire whether a jurisdiction so conferred can be exercised.

"The question whether an Act repugnant to the Constitution can become the law of the land, is a question deeply interesting to the United States; but, happily, not of an intricacy proportioned to its interest. It seems only

36. *Hylton V. United States*, 3 Dallas, 171, U.S., 1796.—See Howard Lee, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-14; also Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1950, pp. 67-68; also Dodd, *Cases and Materials on Constitutional Law*, 1949, pp. 13 and 63.

37. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4; also Howard Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

38. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

39. *Ibid.*

40. Supreme Court of the United States, 1803: 1 Cranch 137. See Dowling, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-104; also Dodd, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-6.

41. I.e., the Judiciary Act of 1789.

35. See Willoughby, *The Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1929, Vol. I, pp. 1-3.

necessary to recognise certain principles, supposed to have been long and well established, to decide it.

"That the people have an original right to establish, for their future government, such principles as, in their opinion, shall most conduce to their own happiness, is the basis on which the whole American fabric has been erected. The exercise of this original right is a very great exertion; nor can it nor ought it to be frequently repeated. The principles, therefore, so established, are deemed fundamental. And as the authority from which they proceed is supreme, and can seldom act, they are designed to be permanent.

"This original and supreme will organizes the government, and assigns to different departments their respective powers. It may either stop here, or establish certain limits not to be transcended by those departments. The Government of the United States is of the latter description.

"The powers of the legislature are defined or limited; and that those limits may not be mistaken, or forgotten, the Constitution is written. To what purpose are powers limited, and to what purpose is that limitation committed to writing, if these limits may, at any time, be passed by those intended to be restrained. The distinction between a government with limited and unlimited powers is abolished, if those limits do not confine the persons on whom they are imposed, and if acts prohibited and acts allowed are of equal obligation. It is a proposition too plain to be contested, that the Constitution controls any legislative Act repugnant to it; or, that the legislature may alter the Constitution by an ordinary Act.

"Between these alternatives there is no middle ground. The Constitution is either a superior paramount law, unchangeable by ordinary means, or it is on a level with ordinary legislative Acts, and, like other Acts, is alterable when the legislature shall please to alter it.

"If the former part of the alternative be true, then a legislative Act contrary to the Constitution is not law; if the latter part be true, then written constitutions are absurd attempts, on the part of the people, to limit a power in its own nature illimitable.

"Certainly all those who have framed written constitutions contemplate them as forming the fundamental and paramount law of the nation, and, consequently, the theory of every such government must be, that an Act of the Legislature, repugnant to the Constitution, is void.

"This theory is essentially attached to a written constitution, and is consequently to be considered, by this court, as one of the fundamental principles of our society. It is not, therefore, to be lost sight of in the further consideration of this subject.

"If an Act of the Legislature, repugnant to the Constitution, is void, does it, notwithstanding its invalidity, bind the courts, and oblige them to give it effect? Or, in other words, though it be not law, does it constitute a rule as operative as if it was a law? This would be to overthrow in fact what was established in theory; and would seem, at first view, an absurdity too gross to be insisted on. It shall, however, receive a more attentive consideration.

"It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is. Those who apply the rule to particular cases, must of necessity expound and interpret that rule. If two laws conflict with each other, the courts must decide on the operation of each.

"So if a law be in opposition to the Constitution; if both the law and the Constitution apply to a particular case, so that the court must either decide that case conformably to the law, disregarding the Constitution; or conformably to the Constitution, disregarding the law; the court must determine which of these conflicting rules governs the case. This is of the very essence of judicial duty.

"If, then, the courts are to regard the Constitution, and the Constitution is superior to any ordinary Act of the Legislature, the Constitution, and not such ordinary Act, must govern the case to which they both apply.

"Those, then, who controvert the principle that the Constitution is to be considered, in court, as a paramount law, are reduced to the necessity of maintaining that courts must close their eyes on the Constitution, and see only the law.

"This doctrine would subvert the very foundation of all written constitutions. It would declare that an Act which, according to the principles and theory of our government, is entirely void, is yet, in practice, completely obligatory. It would declare that if the legislature shall do what is expressly forbidden, such Act, notwithstanding the express prohibition, is in reality effectual. It would be giving to the legislature a practical and real omnipotence, with the same breath which professes to restrict their powers within narrow limits. It is prescribing limits, and declaring that those limits may be passed at pleasure. . . .

"The judicial power of the United States is extended to all cases arising under the Constitution. Could it be the intention of those who gave this power, to say that in using it the Constitution should not be looked into? That a case arising under the Constitution should be decided without examining the instrument under which it arises?

"This is too extravagant to be maintained

(Some extracts from the Constitution of the United States are quoted here.)

"From these, and many other selections which might be made, it is apparent that the framers of the Constitution contemplated that instrument as a rule for the Government of Courts, as well as of the legislature. Why otherwise does it direct the judges to take an oath to support it? This oath certainly applies in an especial manner to their conduct in their official character. . . . The oath of office, too, imposed by the legislature, is completely demonstrative of the legislative opinion on this subject. It is in these words: 'I do solemnly swear that I will administer justice without respect to persons, and do equal right to the poor and to the rich; and that I will faithfully and impartially discharge all the duties incumbent on me as—, according to the best of my abilities and understanding, agreeably to the Constitution and Laws of the United States.' Why does a judge swear to discharge his duties agreeably to the Constitution of the United States, if that Constitution forms no rule for his Government—if it is closed upon him, and cannot be inspected by him? If such

be the real state of things, this is worse than solemn mockery. To prescribe, or to take this oath, becomes equally a crime.

"It is also not entirely unworthy of observation, that in declaring what shall be the Supreme Law of the Land, the Constitution itself is first mentioned; and not the laws of the United States generally, but those only which shall be made in pursuance of the Constitution, have that rank.

"Thus, the particular phraseology of the Constitution of the United States confirms and strengthens the principle, supposed to be essential to all written Constitutions, that a law repugnant to the Constitution is void; and that courts, as well as other departments, are bound by that instrument."

The reasoning of Kent, Webster, Story, and Cooley is essentially the same as we have shown above in the judgment of the American Supreme Court in *Marbury V. Madison*. Thus we find in Kent⁴²:

"The people of the United States have declared the Constitution (of the United States) to be the supreme law of the land, and it is entitled to universal and implicit obedience. Every act of Congress, and every act of the Legislatures of the States, and every part of the Constitution of any State, which are repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, are necessarily void. This is a clear and settled principle of constitutional jurisprudence. The judicial power of the Union is declared to extend to all cases in law and equity arising under the Constitution; and to the judicial power it belongs, whenever a case is judicially before it, to determine what is the law of the land. The determination of the Supreme Court of the United States, in every such case, must be final and conclusive, because the Constitution gives to that tribunal the power to decide, and gives no appeal from the decision."

Again:⁴³

"It is a principle in the English law, that an Act of Parliament, delivered in clear and intelligible terms, cannot be questioned, or its

42. James Kent, *Commentaries on American Law*, Volume 1, 10th Edition, 1870; pp. 349-50.

43. See *Ibid.*, pp. 502-506.

authority controlled, in any court of justice . . . The principle in the English Government, that the Parliament is omnipotent, does not prevail in the United States; though, if there be no constitutional objection to a statute, it is with us as absolute and uncontrollable as laws flowing from the sovereign power, under any other form of Government. . . . The law with us must conform, in the first place, to the Constitution of the United States, and then to the subordinate Constitution of its particular State. . . . The courts of justice have a right, and are in dutybound, to bring every law to the test of the Constitution, and to regard the constitution, first of the United States, and then of their own state, as the paramount or supreme law, to which every inferior or derivative power and regulation must conform.⁴⁴ The constitution is the act of the people, speaking in their original character, and defining the permanent conditions of the social alliance; and there can be no doubt on the point with us, that every Act of the legislative power, contrary to the true intent and meaning of the constitution, is absolutely null and void. The judicial department is the proper power in the Government to determine whether a statute be or be not constitutional. The interpretation or construction of the Constitution is as much a judicial Act, and requires the exercise of the same legal discretion, as the interpretation or construction of a law. To contend that the courts of justice must obey the requisitions of an Act of the legislature

when it appears to them to have been passed in violation of the Constitution, would be to contend that the law was superior to the Constitution, and that the judges had no right to look into it, and regard it as a paramount law. It would be rendering the power of the agent greater than that of his principal, and be declaring, that the will of only one concurrent and co-ordinate department of the subordinate authorities under the Constitution, was absolute over the other departments, and competent to control, according to its own will and pleasure, the whole fabric of the Government, and the fundamental laws on which it rested. The attempt to impose restraints upon the exercise of the legislative power would be fruitless, if the constitutional provisions were left without any power in the Government to guard and enforce them. . . . It has accordingly become a settled principle in the legal polity of this country, that it belongs to the judicial power, as a matter of right and of duty, to declare every Act of the legislature, made in violation of the Constitution, or of any provision of it, null and void."

"The Constitution," says Webster,⁴⁵ "being the supreme law, it follows, of course; that every Act of the legislature contrary to the law must be void. But who shall decide this question? Shall the legislature itself decide it? If so, then the Constitution ceases to be legal and becomes only a moral restraint for the legislature. If they, and they only are to judge whether their acts be conformable to the Constitution, then the Constitution is advisory and accessory only, not legally binding; because, if the construction of it rest wholly with them, their discretion, in particular cases, may be in favour of very erroneous constructions. Hence the courts of law, necessarily, when the case arises, must decide upon the validity of particular acts."⁴⁶

"Two ends", says Story,⁴⁷ ". . . of paramount importance, and fundamental to a free Government, are proposed to be attained by

44. As Bryce has pointed out, there are in the United States "laws of four different degrees of authority. . . .

I. The Federal Constitution.

II. Federal statutes.

III. State Constitutions.

IV. State statutes.

"Of these, the Federal Constitution prevails against all other laws. Federal statutes, if made in pursuance of and conformably to the Constitution, prevail against III. and IV. If in excess of the powers granted by the Constitution, they are to that extent invalid. A State Constitution yields to I, and II, but prevails against the statutes of the State. Treaties have the same authority as Federal statutes (they may be altered by statute)."

See Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, 1928, pp. 248 and 248-49n.

45. See Willoughby, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 4-5n; also see Howard Lee, *Op. Cit.*, p. 217.

46. Also see in this connexion Bryce, *Op. Cit.*, Chapters XXIII and XXIV, and Dicey, *The Law of the Constitution*, 9th Edition, pp. 157-65.

the establishment of a national judiciary. The first is a due execution of the powers of the Government; and the second is a uniformity in the interpretation and operation of those powers, and of the laws enacted in pursuance of them. The power of interpreting the laws involves necessarily the function to ascertain whether they are conformable to the Constitution (of the United States) or not; and if not so conformable, to declare them void and inoperative. As the Constitution is the supreme law of the land, in a conflict between that and the laws, either of Congress or of the States, it becomes the duty of the judiciary to follow that only which is of paramount obligation. This results from the very theory of a republican Constitution of Government; for otherwise the Acts of the legislature and executive would in effect become supreme and uncontrollable, notwithstanding any prohibitions or limitations contained in the Constitution, and usurpations of the most unequivocal and dangerous character might be assumed without any remedy within the reach of the citizens. The people would thus be at the mercy of their rulers in the State and national Governments; and an omnipotence would practically exist, like that claimed for the British Parliament. The universal sense of America has decided that in the last resort, the judiciary must decide upon the constitutionality of the Acts and laws of the general and State Governments, so far as they are capable of being made the subject of judicial controversy. It follows, that when they are subjected to the cognizance of the judiciary, its judgments must be conclusive; for otherwise they may be disregarded, and the Acts of the legislature and executive enjoy a secure and irresistible triumph."

Again, referring to Clause 2 of Article VIth of the Constitution of the United States, Story has observed⁴⁷:

"From this supremacy of the Constitution and laws and treaties of the United States, within their constitutional scope, arises the duty of courts of justice to declare any unconstitutional law passed by Congress or by a State legislature void. So, in like manner, the

same duty arises whenever any other department of the national or State Governments exceeds its constitutional functions."

Cooley has stated⁵⁰:

"In Great Britain constitutional questions are for the most part to be discussed before the people or the Parliament, since the declared will of the Parliament is the final law; but in America, after a constitutional question has been passed upon by the legislature, there is generally a right of appeal to the courts when it is attempted to put the will of the legislature in force. For the will of the people, as declared in the Constitution, is the final law; and the will of the legislature is law only when it is in harmony with, or at least is not opposed to, that controlling instrument which governs the legislative body equally with the private citizen."

Further⁵¹:

"Under some circumstances, it may become the duty of the courts to declare that what the legislature has assumed to enact is void, either from want of constitutional power to enact it, or because the constitutional forms or conditions have not been observed. . . . The courts may declare legislative enactments unconstitutional and void in some cases, but not because the judicial power is superior in degree or dignity to the legislative. Being required to declare what the law is in the cases which come before them, they must enforce the Constitution as the paramount law, whenever a legislative enactment comes in conflict with it. But the courts sit, not to review or revise the legislative action, but to enforce the legislative will; and it is only where they find that the legislature has failed to keep within its constitutional limits, that they are at liberty to disregard its action. . . . 'In exercising this high authority, the judges claim no judicial supremacy; they are only the administrators of the public will. If an Act of the legislature is held void, it is not because the judges have

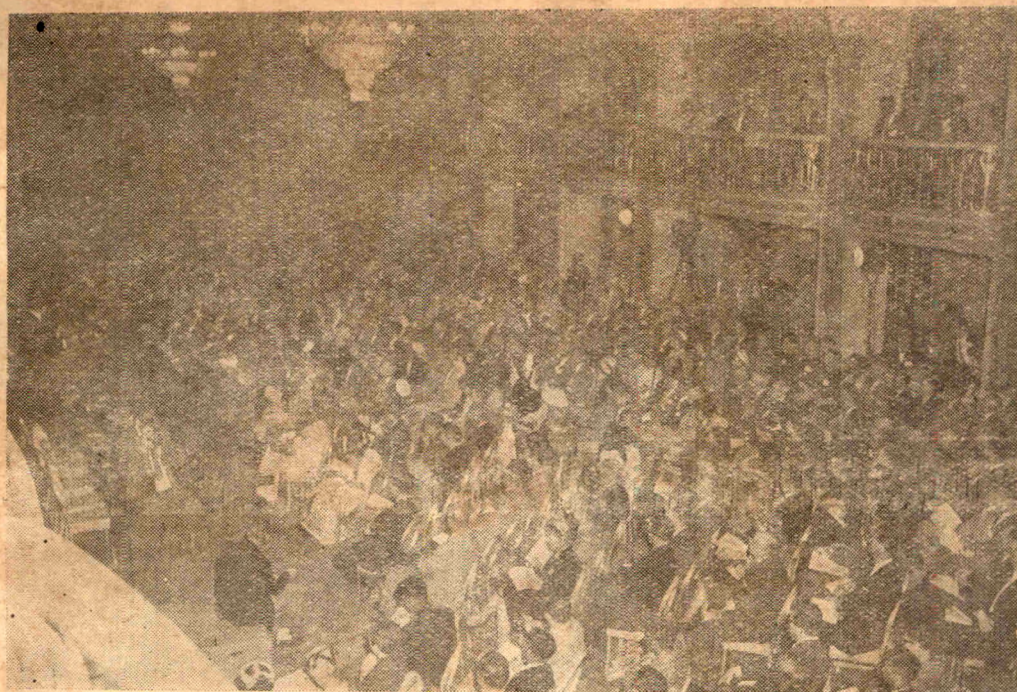
48. Previously quoted by us. Also see the Constitution of the United States.

49. See Story, *Op. Cit.*, Section 1842.

50. See Thomas M. Cooley, *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., 1903, p. 6.

51. See *Ibid.*, Chapter VII and in particular pp. 227-28.

47. See Joseph Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, Vol. II, 5th Edition, 1891, Section 1576.



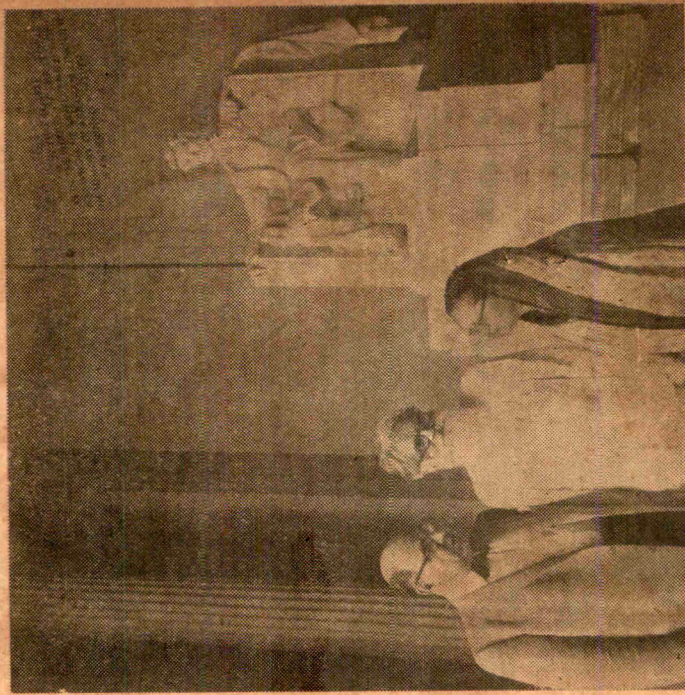
The opening scene of the two-day conference, May 4, on India and the United States in a Washington hotel ball-room



Madame Kaissuni (*second from left*), wife of U. A. R. Minister of Economy opened recently in Cairo an exhibition of Indian handicrafts of feminine interest



One of the forty-three Indian steel engineers who came to the United States in 1957 in a "cake and punch" reception



Accompanied by Dr. Mordecai Johnson (left), President of Howard University, and Secretary, Miss Sarojini Nair, Kakasaheb Kalelkar visits the Lincoln Memorial in Washington D.C.

any control over the legislative power, but because the act is forbidden by the constitution, and because the will of the people, which is therein declared, is paramount to that of their representatives expressed in any law.⁵²

Perhaps the classic argument for the judicial review of legislation has been put forward by Alexander Hamilton. He has said⁵³:

"The complete independence of the courts of justice is peculiarly essential in a limited constitution. By a limited constitution, I understand one which contains certain specified exceptions to the legislative authority; such, for instance, as that it shall pass no bills of attainder, no *ex post facto* laws, and the like. Limitations of this kind can be preserved in practice no other way than through the medium of the courts of justice; whose duty it must be to declare all acts contrary to the manifest tenor of the constitution void. Without this, all the reservations of particular rights or privileges would amount to nothing.

"Some perplexity respecting the right of the courts to pronounce legislative acts void, because contrary to the constitution, has arisen from an imagination that the doctrine would imply a superiority of the judiciary to the legislative power. It is urged that the authority which can declare the acts of another void, must necessarily be superior to the one whose acts may be declared void. As this doctrine is of great importance in all the Ameri-

can constitutions, a brief discussion of the grounds on which it rests cannot be unacceptable.

"There is no position which depends on clearer principles than that every act of a delegated authority, contrary to the tenor of the commission under which it is exercised, is void. No legislative act, therefore, contrary to the constitution, can be valid. To deny this would be to affirm that the deputy is greater than his principal; that the servant is above his master; that the representatives of the people are superior to the people themselves; that men, acting by virtue of powers, may do not only what their powers do not authorize, but what they forbid.

"If it be said that the legislative body are themselves the constitutional judges of their own powers, and that the construction they put upon them is conclusive upon the other departments, it may be answered that this cannot be the natural presumption, where it is not to be collected from any particular provisions in the constitution. It is not otherwise to be supposed that the constitution could intend to enable the representatives of the people to substitute their *will* to that of their constituents. It is far more rational to suppose that the courts were designed to be an intermediate body between the people and the legislature, in order, among other things, to keep the latter within the limits assigned to their authority. The interpretation of the laws is the proper and peculiar province of the courts. A constitution is, in fact, and must be, regarded by the judges as a fundamental law. It must, therefore, belong to them to ascertain its meaning, as well as the meaning of any particular act proceeding from the legislative body. If there should happen to be an irreconcilable variance between the two, that which has the superior obligation and validity ought, of course, to be preferred; in other words, the constitution ought to be preferred to the statute, the intention of the people to the intention of their agents.

"Nor does the conclusion by any means suppose a superiority of the judicial to the legislative power. It only supposes that the power of the people is superior to both; and that where the will of the legislature declared

52. *Lindsay V. Commissioners* (1796), 2 Bay, 38, 61-62 (S.C.). See *Ibid*; p. 228n; also Willoughby, *Op. Cit.*, p. 9.

53. See *The Federalist* No. 78 (written by Alexander Hamilton). It may be noted here that *The Federalist* "is the name given to a series of essays written and originally published in a serial form in the New York press between October, 1787, and August, 1788, with a view to influencing votes in favour of the proposed new Constitution of the United States which had just (September, 1787) emerged from the deliberations of the Federal Convention at Philadelphia," and that "the single signature Publius stood for three authors, Alexander Hamilton and John Jay of New York, and James Madison of Virginia."—See Max Beloff, *The Federalist Or, The New Constitution*, 1948, Introduction, p. vii; also Howard Lee, *Op. Cit.*, Chapters III and V.

in its statutes stands in opposition to that of the people declared in the constitution, the judges ought to be governed by the latter, rather than the former. They ought to regulate their decisions by the fundamental laws, rather than by those which are not fundamental."⁵⁴

Again*—

"I admit . . . that the constitution ought to be the standard of construction for the laws, and that wherever there is an evident opposition, the laws ought to give place to the constitution."

Regard being had to the time when it was given, this is really a remarkable exposition by Alexander Hamilton of the doctrine of judicial review of legislation. However, it should be evident from what has been shown above in this connexion that in the United States the judicial "power to veto is latent," to quote the words of Professor Fenn,⁵⁵ "in the power to interpret." It is, as noted before, implicit, rather than explicit, in its Constitution. As Professor Dowling⁵⁶ has rightly said, "there is no express provision in the Constitution (of the United States) authorizing judicial review by the Supreme Court as established in *Marbury Vs. Madison* . . . Article III (Section 2) and Article VI (Section 2)⁵⁷ are the usual Constitutional premises from which the power of national judicial review is deduced."⁵⁸ Although the doctrine of judicial

review has been deduced from its Constitution in the United States as an implied doctrine, yet its importance in American constitutional jurisprudence is great indeed. Attorney-General⁵⁹ Howard Lee is hardly guilty of any exaggeration when he says:⁶⁰

"The authority of the Supreme Court (of the United States) to determine the constitutionality of Acts of Congress is the keystone of the arch which not only preserves our priceless constitutional guarantees of personal and political freedom, but supports the whole fabric of our government. Tear it out and the whole structure will collapse like a house of cards."

V

We have dealt above, at some length, with the American doctrine of judicial review of legislation as it has a bearing on our constitutional system. Although this doctrine has been well established in the United States for a long time now, yet it was the subject of a bitter controversy among American publicists in the early days of its history,⁶¹ chiefly on account of the absence, as we have seen before, of any express constitutional provision for it. Fortunately, so far as our Fundamental Rights are concerned, the authors of our Constitution have expressly provided for judicial review of legislation and executive action in Articles 32 and 226 of our Constitution, read along with Article 13⁶² thereof. Thus what is implicit in the American Constitution has been made explicit in the Indian Constitution. In this way the doctrine of judicial review has been rightly placed in India above all controversy. Moreover, as in the United States, and as will appear from what follows, the Judges of our Supreme Court as well as the Judges of our High Courts are bound, by oath or affirmation, to support our Constitution:

"I, A.B., having been appointed Chief

the Constitution the 'supreme law of the land'. The question was definitely settled by Chief Justice Marshall in the celebrated case of *Marbury V. Madison* . . . decided in 1803."

—See Howard Lee, *op.cit.*, p. 177.

59. Of West Virginia (in 1933).

60. See Howard Lee, *op.cit.*, pp. 203-204.

61. Howard Lee, *op.cit.*, Chap. VIII.

54. See Max Beloff, *op.cit.*, pp. 397-99; also Story, *op.cit.*, pp. 393-94n.

* See *The Federalist* No. 81 (written by Alexander Hamilton).—Max Beloff, *op.cit.*, p. 412.

55. See Fenn, *The Development of the Constitution*, p. 4.

56. See Dowling, *op.cit.*, p. 59. Also see in this connexion *The Federalist*, No. 81 (written by A. Hamilton).

57. Previously quoted by us. Also see the Constitution of the United States.

58. We also find in Howard Lee: "The authority exercised by the Supreme Court (of the United States) to determine the constitutionality of Acts of Congress is neither conferred upon that tribunal by the Constitution in express terms nor given by any statute. It was established by decisions of the Court itself as a necessary implied power in order to make

Justice (or a Judge) of the Supreme Court of India (or, as the case may be, Chief Justice or a Judge of the High Court at, or of, . . .) *swear in the name of God! do solemnly affirm* that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of India as by law established, that I will duly and faithfully and to the best of my ability, knowledge and judgment perform the duties of my office without fear or favour, affection or ill-will, and that I will uphold the Constitution and the laws." The Judges are required by our Constitution⁶² to take this oath, or make this affirmation, as the case may be, before they enter upon the duties of their respective offices.

The authors of our Constitution acted very wisely in expressly providing in the Constitution for the judicial review of legislation and executive action relating to our Fundamental Rights. As we have stated before,⁶⁴ our Constitution has been duly enacted and adopted by the People of India acting in its aggregate and sovereign capacity through the Constituent Assembly of India, and is, therefore, an Act of the sovereign People of India in its collective capacity. As such, it is the supreme law of the land—"the paramount and Fundamental Law" of our nation. Any rule of human conduct therefore claiming the force of law in India, whether existing before the 26th of January, 1950, the date of the commencement of the Constitution, or since that date, found to be in any way inconsistent with any provision in Part III of the Constitution which is, to use an American expression, our "superior paramount law," will, to the extent of such inconsistency, be void. This is one of the basic principles of our Constitution. When, therefore, our courts of law declare void any legislative or executive Act inconsistent with any constitutional provision relating to our Fundamental Rights, they only give effect to the real will of the People of India as has been previously embodied in our Constitution with

a due solemnity. This does not, however, mean any superiority of our judiciary over our Legislature or our Executive. It only means that the will of the People must prevail against everything else; that where the will of the Legislature or of the Executive "stands in opposition to that of the People as declared in the Constitution," our Judges are to be "governed by the latter, rather than the former;" and that they are "to regulate their decisions by the Fundamental Laws" of our country, "rather than by those which are not fundamental."⁶⁵ It need not perhaps be pointed out here that under Clause (2) of Article 13 of our Constitution, read along with Article 12 thereof, our Parliament, functioning in its ordinary capacity with a simple majority, as well as our State Legislatures are all non-sovereign law-making bodies. Under the said Clause (2) they cannot make any law which takes away or abridges any right conferred by Part III of the Constitution.

Before we conclude our discussion of our Fundamental Rights, we may just refer to Articles 33, 358 and 359 of our Constitution.

Article 33 lays down:

"Parliament may by law determine to what extent any of the rights conferred by this Part⁶⁶ shall, in their application to the members of the Armed Forces or the Forces charged with the maintenance of public order, be restricted or abrogated so as to ensure the proper discharge of their duties and the maintenance of discipline among them."

The object of this enabling provision in our Constitution is evident. It is necessary in the interests of efficiency and discipline in the Armed Forces and the Police Forces of the nation. The members of these Forces cannot always have the same Fundamental Rights as an ordinary Indian citizen who does not belong to either of these Forces. This is the price which they have to pay for their official posi-

64. See our articles in *The Modern Review* for September and November, 1954.

65. See Alexander Hamilton's views in this connexion as set forth in *The Federalist* No. 78, quoted before.

66. *I.e.*, Part III of the Constitution of India which deals with our Fundamental Rights.

62. For Article 13, see our article in *The Modern Review* for November, 1954, pp. 377-82.

63. See Articles 124(6) and 219 of the Constitution of India as well as the Third Schedule to the Constitution.

tion with all that it implies, in the governmental organization of the country.

As will appear from what follows, Articles 358 and 359 provide for a *virtual* suspension of some or all of our Fundamental Rights, as the case may be, during the period when a Proclamation of Emergency which the President of India is empowered by Article 352 of our Constitution to issue in certain circumstances, is in operation:

"358. While a Proclamation of Emergency is in operation, nothing in Article 19 shall restrict the power of the State as defined⁶⁷ in Part III (of the Constitution) to make any law or to take any executive action which the State would but for the provisions contained in that Part be competent to make or to take, but any law so made shall, to the extent of the incompetency, cease to have effect as soon as the Proclamation ceases to operate, except as respects things done or omitted to be done before the law so ceases to have effect."

⁶⁷. See Article 12 of the Constitution of India.

"359. (1) Where a Proclamation of Emergency is in operation, the President may by order declare that the right to move any court for the enforcement of such of the rights conferred by Part III (of the Constitution) as may be mentioned in the order and all proceedings pending in any court for the enforcement of the rights so mentioned shall remain suspended for the period during which the Proclamation is in force or for such shorter period as may be specified in the order.

"(2) An order made as aforesaid may extend to the whole or any part of the territory of India.

"(3) Every order made under Clause (1) shall, as soon as may be after it is made, be laid before each House of Parliament."

As these self-explanatory emergency provisions of our Constitution are of a purely temporary character for meeting a crisis, we need not discuss them in connexion with our present article.

—:O:—

HIMALAYAN SALT—A POLITICAL BAROMETER

By A. R. FIELD*

India's Defense Perimeter

Since 1949 political writers have written reams about the limited activities of the Chinese Peoples Republic throughout the sub-Himalayan region. Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, and Northern Burma have been subjected from time to time, to the undermining of their sovereign status either through military intervention or through the activities of agents. Even Prime Minister Nehru has taken an unalterable stand regarding this area. During parliamentary debate in 1950, he said:

"Where the question of India's security is concerned, we consider the

Himalaya mountains as our border. Therefore the principal barrier to India lies on the other side of Nepal (i.e. Tibet). We are not going to tolerate any person coming over that barrier. Therefore much as we appreciate the independence of Nepal we cannot risk our own security by anything not done in Nepal which permits that barrier to be crossed or otherwise leads to the weakening of our frontiers."¹

Sri Nehru, as a responsible member of government would be among the first to re-affirm his words today.

Geo-political Significance of Salt in Himalayan Region

It is indeed extraordinary that not

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1. *Hindu*, December 7, 1950; *Amrita Bazar Patrika*; January 10, 1952.

one of the countless political commentators has noticed the geo-political importance of salt throughout this salt-scarce region. Historically salt has had an abiding significant political influence upon the peoples of the world. A famine, whenever or where-ever it occurs, calls forth the sustained efforts of government, not only for humanitarian reasons. Governments realize that a hungry people constitute a danger to the State itself. In like manner, mankind and even the animals require salt to survive. It is a truism that man is an economic animal and thus his behavior is often influenced by economic goods. Salt (i.e. the lack of salt) has caused revolts. Indians need only recall Gandhiji's march to the sea to make salt. The significance of a salt tax is as great as a head tax—there is no escape for anyone.

The peoples of Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, and Upper Assam depend upon salt from outside, either Tibetan or Indian in origin. Historically both the Tibetans and the East India Company have used salt as an indirect weapon to influence both trade and politics.

Salt As Medium of Exchange

Marco Polo appears to be the first European to have noticed the importance of salt in this region. He mentioned people who lived on the Tibetan marches who made half-pound moulds of salt which were used for "small change." The basic requirements of any commodity that is employed as money are: it must be acceptable, be capable of being easily carried, have divisibility, be easily recognized, and have homogeneity. In Ramusio's edition of Marco Polo, published in 1559, we learn that merchants "travel also about the mountains and districts of Tibet, disposing of this salt money in like manner to their own great gain. For those people, besides buying necessities from the merchants, want this salt to use in their food; whilst in the towns only broken fragments are used in food, the whole cakes being kept to use as money."²

The Tibetan Government, in the Me-Yo (Fire-Hare) year of the 18th century (1747 A.D.) sent one Rabden Sharpa to Sikkim to act as Regent for the young Raja Chogyal Namgyal Phuntso. This Tibetan Regent made it a practice to give a plateful of salt to everyone who came to pay his respects. Salt was rare and the Regent's actions were spoken of, near and far. "It induced every one to come to him, so that they might secure the Bakshis of the plateful of salt. Thus it was a means to obtain a pretty correct census. He had all the names of the recipients of the salt Bakshis, noted down in a roll, and next year the first assessment of taxes was made according to the above roll. This was the beginning of the collection of annual rents from the people of Sikkim."³ We may question the magnitude of the rent roll but certainly not the efficacy of the method. On the other hand, Prithvi Narayan Shah, Raja of Gorkha and conqueror of Nepal valley from its Newar rulers in 1768 imposed a siege on the three main cities of the Valley, Kathmandu, Bhatgaon, and Patan, prior to their fall. Anybody found trying to smuggle salt into these beleaguered cities "was hung upon a tree."⁴

East India Company and Himalayan Salt Trade

Two of the earliest British political and economic intelligence agents of the Himalayan region, George Bogle (1774) and Captain Samuel Turner (1783) have both dealt at some length with the importance of the Tibetan salt trade in the

vels of the East, Trans. and Edited by Colonel Henry Yule, Volume 2, Second Edition, Revised, John Murray, London, (1875).

3. Mss. Eur. E78, India Office Library. *History of Sikkim* compiled by Their Highnesses the Maharaja Sir Thutob Namgyal, K.C.I.E. and Maharani Yeshay Dolma of Sikkim (1908).

4. Additional Mss. 29,210, British Mus. Volume 2 *A Short Description of the Kingdom of Nepal with an Account of the Wars with the King of Gorka*, drawn up by Father Joseph, Prefect of the Mission.

2. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, The Venetian, Concerning the Kingdoms and Mar-*

sub-Himalayan region. Bogle reported that all the wild tribes north of Burma, Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan were supplied with salt from Tibet. Their reports undoubtedly had some influence upon the thinking in London.

The Court of Directors of the East India Company advised the Government of Bengal in 1785 to consider whether the export of salt to the countries to the north of Bihar could not be used as an opening wedge, to promote a market for English woollens being sold to Assam, Bhutan, and Tibet. "If the trade to that part of Hindustan could be promoted in the article of salt even by allowing a considerable drawback of the duty at Patna customs house, important advantages must unavoidably result to the Company's interest."⁵

Brian Hodgson, by far the most astute British statesman-scholar ever to have occupied the Residency at Kathmandu, the Nepalese capital, managed to arrive at a rough estimation of the Valley population by dividing the daily average consumption of salt with the imports of this commodity, based on customs revenue returns. He had successfully used this method of population approximation while assistant commissioner of the Himalayan State of Kamaun, which the British took from the Nepalese during the Anglo-Nepali War of 1814-16.

The British policy of opening Nepal as a transit zone to Tibet, and as a short cut to the Chinese trading areas, was resisted by the Nepalese Government who had watched one Indian State after another come under British domination. Consequently the Nepalese Durbar abrogated a trade treaty which granted safe passage to the natives of India, to trade in Nepal and the regions beyond. Hodgson advised the British Government in Calcutta to require passports from all Nepalese nationals wishing to cross the border into India. The closing of the frontier affected the Nepal produce trade of the Terai, with its natural

markets within India. As a result, "daily petitions to the Durbar from its revenue authorities in the Terai praying for speedy adjustment of the differences between the two Governments" were received. In a secret letter to the British Government dated 11 January 1841, Hodgson reported that "the Nepalese cultivators again could not be kept from abandoning their lands and passing over the border, if the least obstruction were experienced in regard to those supplies of salt and other bulky necessities of life which had always come to them from the British Zillahs but were now interrupted."⁶

Political Importance of Trade in Salt and Nepal

For over a century, the Nepalese Government at Kathmandu has realized the political importance of salt to its people and has classified salt into six categories:

- (1) Sambhar salt (Samar Nun); (2) Khari salt (Khari Nun); (3) Rock salt (Lahori Nun); (4) Black salt (Kala Nun); (5) Tibetan salt (Bhotia Nun); (6) Coarse salt (Panga Nun).

The Durbar is fully aware that Kathmandu received salt from the North as well as the South.

Modern salt statistics for Himalayan trade are not generally available in any meaningful form. In 1890 the British-Indian Government signed a Sino-British Convention which dealt with political and geographic matters relating to Sikkim and Tibet. Trade was mentioned in only one of the 8 articles of the Convention. Article 4 reads: "The question of providing increased facilities for trade across the Sikkim-Tibet frontier will hereafter be discussed with a view to a mutually satisfactory arrangement by the High Contracting Powers." The records show that the British yearly increased the amount of Tibetan salt imported for re-

5. Bengal Despatches, Separate General Letter, Letter from Court of Directors, London; September 21, 1785. India Office Library.

6. Enclosures to Secret Letters from India, Jan.-Feb. 1841: From B. H. Hodgson, Resident of Nepal, To T. H. Maddock, Sec. to Government dated 11 January 1841. India Office Library. Italics added.

distribution in the sub-Himalayan region, and some parts of Northern India. Unfortunately no exact breakdown is supplied for the amount re-distributed throughout the Himalayas.

Year	Quantity in CWT.	Rupee value
1890-91	21,914	1,18,269
1891-92	24,210	1,30,361
1892-93	27,047	1,47,566
1893-94	29,067	1,56,559
1894-95	19,884	1,12,445
1895-96	24,029	1,29,889
1896-97	25,633	1,37,942
1897-98	25,744	1,38,644
1898-99	29,113	1,56,703
1899-1900	26,065	1,40,592
1900-01	28,590	1,53,624
1901-02	27,023	1,44,763
1902-03	33,307	1,79,134 ^r

When Sino-British relations became strained over Tibet (the attack on Lhasa by the Younghusband Expedition) during the first decade of the 20th century, the British reduced the Tibetan salt flow and began to re-export European and Middle Eastern salt through India to Nepal and throughout the Sub-Himalayan region. The salt was carried by country boats and river steamers between Patna and Calcutta and other places on the Ganges and Nadia rivers, and by country boat between Patna and Nepal.

The annual report on the Trans-Frontier trade of Bihar and Orissa with Nepal discloses the following salt statistics. It must be noted that the table relates to the traffic registered at selected points in Uttar Pradesh.

Year	Quantity in maunds	Rupee value
1910-11	309,856	5,96,579
1911-12	323,580	6,83,500
1912-13	397,104	8,23,297
1913-14	346,963	6,93,267

7. *Tibet Trade Statistics* . . . relating to trade with Tibet since the date of the signing of the Convention of 1890, Ordered by the House of Commons, to be Printed, 12 February 1904, His Majesty's Stationary Office.

1914-15	239,106	5,70,132
1915-16	278,680	8,00,322
1916-17*	....	43,71,624
1916-17*	298,446	9,43,644
1917-18	250,692	10,29,317
1918-19	281,292	9,48,569
1919-20	276,155	9,15,554
1920-21	270,686	8,67,710
1921-22	286,861	10,57,805
1922-23	293,171	10,70,667
1923-24	288,542	12,79,812
1924-25	307,013	10,08,401 ^s

A schedule of import duties levied on salt from whatever source, by the Nepal Durbar throws some light on the double listing for 1916-17 of salt exported from India to Nepal. From 1913 to 1915 all duties remained constant on salt imported into Nepal. But in 1916 *only Tibetan salt duties* were raised for Resident and non-Resident Traders alike to 0|8|0 from 0|2|6 and 0|3|0 respectively; and remained at 8 annas per maund from 1916 through 1925, the period under survey. The fighting of World War I in Europe raised the price of Tibetan salt for the Nepalese "jaypo." Perhaps the Nepal Durbar was trying to shut out the ill-winds of political ferment taking place across the Himalayas during this period. This takes on added importance when one remembers that a great shortage of shipping had developed in the Indian Ocean because of the war.

Salt and Current International Policies

It is significant that the Government of India, duly concerned with the political expansion of the Chinese Peoples Republic into Tibet and the ensuing revolution in Nepal of 1950, with its continuing instability, saw fit to rush train loads of salt to Raxaul, a rail-head on the Indo-Nepali border, in 1952. Quite obviously, the Government of India saw a connection between salt and international political developments in the Himalayan region.

*There is no explanation given for the double listing for 1916-17.

8. "The Annual Report on the Trans-Frontier Trade of Bihar and Orissa with Nepal for the Official Year Ending 31st March 1913," Government Press, Patna (1913). Series carried through 1925.

The Government of India, through its Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, publishes the *Indian Trade Journal*; which gives a breakdown of accounts relating to the Foreign (Sea, Air, and Land) trade, and Navigation of India. However statistics relating to India's trade by land with Nepal, Tibet, Sikkim, and Bhutan were totally excluded until October 1955. Since then cursory statistics are issued on salt exports to the Himalayan region, some statistics were published retroactively to 1953.

Salt in mds.

	1953	1954	1955
Month of May	23,388	70,819	46,373
Month of June	34,939	70,353	21,377
Month of July	28,335	27,532	13,701
Two Months,			
April and May	58,516	110,992	109,717
Three Months,			
April to June	93,455	181,345	132,743
Four Months,			
April to July	121,790	208,877	146,449

These figures relate to salt registered at certain selected railway stations, adjacent to India's northern land frontier routes leading to Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, and Tibet. The trade with those countries through Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal and Assam are mainly covered. Quantities are recorded but not the rupee value. Occasionally information is given in regard to place of entry of salt from India into Nepal.

Salt exports through Nepalganj (W. Nepal) for Sept. '56 : 594 maunds.

Salt exports through Biratnagar (East Nepal) for Sept. '56 : 6,458 maunds.

It is very evident that salt has been used for other than eating, within the Himalayan region. The scarcity of common table salt in the mountainous region extending from Kashmir eastward through

Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Upper Assam, and Northern Burma is therefore a geo-political factor of great interest. Without exception, every Himalayan traveller who has reduced his experiences to writing, has mentioned the lack of salt; or the salt trade carried on from Tibet. British officers of Gurkha regiments, during World War II, were often dismayed by the reaction of Nepalese recruits when they first viewed the ocean. The vast expanse of water did not impress these mountaineers but the fact that the water tasted salty, never failed to cause comment. Prof. Fruer von Haimendorf, recently engaged in anthropological research in the Himalayas, during a prior expedition in 1944-45 into Upper Assam, commented on the fact that the peoples of the Upper Subansiri river valley would hardly go through the difficult and involved process of making a synthetic, ill-tasting "black salt" from plant ash, if salt were available to them.¹⁰

Theoretically, there exists a control within the Himalayan region, which with the use of iodized salt, could inform interested officials at what point Indian influence ceased and the influence of another power commenced. That control is the incidence of endemic goitre throughout the Himalayas. Simple goitre may be prevented by the addition of iodine to the diet.

Dr Francis Hamilton-Buchanan, an early 19th century expert on Nepal noticed the frequency of swollen necks in Nepal and the alpine regions of Europe. Simple goitre and mountain water appeared to him to be the common factor between the peoples of the Alps and the Himalayas. He found goitre common, "everywhere north from Patna."¹¹ To this day, it is not uncommon to meet people with enormous goitres which are carried on their shoulders.¹² Snow water or something contained

10. *Himalayan Barbary* by Christoph von Fruer-Haimendorf, John Murray, London (1955).

11. *An Account of The Kingdom of Nepal* by Francis Hamilton (formerly Buchanan), M.D., Archibald Constable and Company; Edinburgh (1819).

9. *The Indian Trade Journal*, Vol. CXIV No. 2565, Oct. 29, 1955, Calcutta.

The Indian Trade Journal, Vol. CXIV No. 2571, Dec. 10, 1955; Calcutta.

therein, was believed to be the causative agent of goitre. Then it was realized that this disease was just as prevalent in Sumatra where snow was unknown. Colonel Robert McCarrison, working as a medical officer in Kashmir, recorded that local people believe "goitre springs" and "wells" exist and that animals and fish are infected in the same manner as people in the area.

In 1912 an exploration party under the leadership of Mr. Bentinck, I.C.S. worked in the Dihang Valley of Upper Assam. This is the routeway of the Tsangpo river, flowing from Tibet into India, where its waters are called the Brahmaputra. The most northerly tribal peoples contacted by this expedition spoke of a tribe called Mimats (the Abor name for Tibetans) as "a race of cave-dwelling cannibals who were described as Loma-mani Trunshar (neckless savages)." Endemic goitre could easily account for this description. Lower Assam produces small quantities of salt at Saidiya but is almost totally dependent on Bengal for supply. There is little published material on Upper Assam but it is very likely that it receives Tibetan salt.

Many Indian nationals have become more and more concerned with the gap on the North-east Frontier zone of India. This concern was reflected by Prime Minister Nehru. "The essence of our struggle for

freedom," said the Prime Minister, "was the unleashing of a liberating force in India." "This force did not even affect the frontier people in one of the most important tribal areas. The result is that while we have had several decades in which to prepare ourselves psychologically for basic changes, the tribal people have had no such opportunity."

Trade is the key to penetration of the Dafia, Miri, Abor, and Mishmi Hill areas from Tibet, Sikang, and Yunnan, and salt is the key product which can direct the flow of the trade pattern in the hill country. Traditionally Tibet has supplied most of the Himalaya region with salt. The trade pattern all along the North-eastern frontier could be reversed by the introduction of iodized salt into this region, from India. This would have an incalculable effect in the whole of the Himalayan region for it would reduce endemic goitre which causes discomfort in breathing, to a people that are for ever climbing upon one hill and down another. As the incidence of goitre was reduced, more northerly peoples would seek the iodized salt and the trade pattern would be reversed. A medical team dispatched to this area could plot a "salt line" based on the positions of goitrous and non-goitrous peoples. New Delhi would then know where Indian influence ceased in this little known part of the world.

Salt can thus be used to close the gap on India's North-eastern Frontier. Its use can serve as an effective peaceful weapon to strengthen India's position both to the advantage of India and the Himalayan people. Ample supplies of salt to this region may have the same effect as a plentiful supply of rice during times of famine.

12. *More Than Mountains* by John A. Jackson, George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd.; London (1955).

**Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, Extra No. "Abors and Galongs: Notes on Certain Hill Tribes of the Indo-Tibetan Border" by George Duff-Sutherland-Dunbar.



PUNJAB STATE MUSEUM, SIMLA

To the Punjab State Museum at Simla goes the distinction of possessing by far the richest single collection of paintings belonging to what is known as the Pahari School of art.

The bulk of these paintings once formed part of the Central Museum at Lahore, which, consequent upon the partition of Punjab in 1947, was also split

Rajasthani and Kangra paintings were brought as India's share from the Lahore Museum. A substantial number of these belong to the Pahari School, which can be regarded as Punjab's major contribution to the enrichment of art in India.

Pahari paintings in the Simla Museum collection represent all the major branches of the art of painting which flowered in the Punjab Hills. There is a fairly representative number of paintings from Sujampur, Teera, Basohli, Guler and Jammu. The collection includes portraits of some former rulers of the Hill States. There are also paintings illustrating well-known incidents from the Ramayana, Mahabharata and other Hindu classics like Bhagavat Puran, Harivansa and Geeta Govinda.

In the course of the last few years, many valuable additions have been made to the original collection. Among the new acquisitions are more than a thousand paintings of the Kangra School and its numerous branches. The enlarged collection contains more than a hundred paintings dealing with Shiva and Pravatī legend alone. An equally large number depicts exploits of the goddess Chandi. The lyrical love-tales of Radha and Krishna form the theme of innumerable other paintings.

The Museum is equally gifted in its collection of modern paintings. Practically all the major currents and tendencies are represented by outstanding works of such well-known contemporary artists as Nandalal Bose, Jaimini Roy, Sarada Ukil and K. N. Dhar.



A painting showing ladies feeding the pheasants in spring
(Kangra Kalam Group)

into two parts, one remaining in Pakistan and the other shifted to India and set up temporarily at Simla.

Some 880 original Persian, Moghul,

Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures

Another major set of exhibits at the Punjab State Museum relates to the famous Graeco-Buddhist School of art. They cover a wide range of what is known as the Gandhara Art which flourished in the north-western region of pre-partition India at the dawn of the Christian era.

These pieces, which include sculptures, fragments and decorative pieces in black slate stone, are characteristic of the composite Indo-Greek art and, though retaining their essentially Buddhist character, carry traces of powerful Hellenistic influence which persisted in the country in the wake of Alexander's invasion of India. British days constitute the arms and armours section of the Museum. Another section contains antique objects of decoration made of cheap alloys, semi-precious stones, copper and silver. These objects display characteristic designs and patterns presenting ornaments worn by Punjab peasantry.

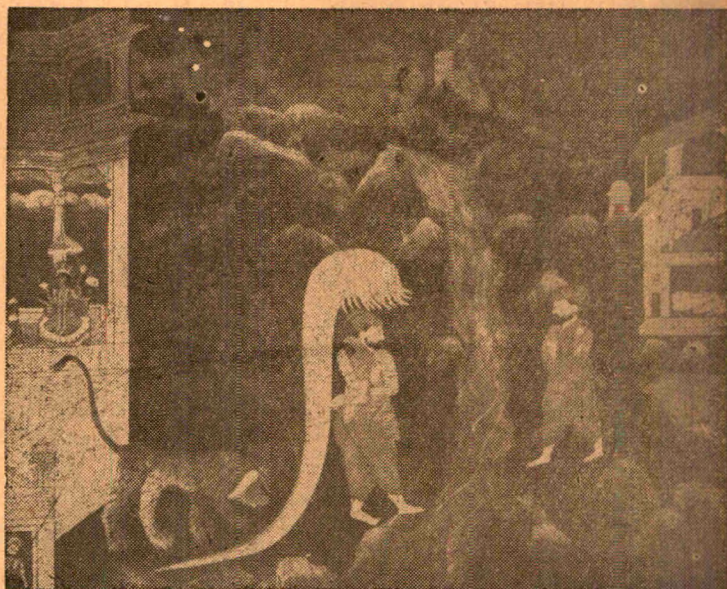
The Indian Antiquities Section of the Museum contains a large number of Jain and Brahmani sculptures and inscriptions on stones. These include beautiful architectural pieces from the famous Murti Temple near Choya Saidan in Shahpur district, and interesting fragments from Agroha near Rohtak and several other places of historical importance in northern India.

There is a small section devoted to the Nepalese and Tibetan wares, comprising images, temple banners, imabronze and marble Buddha ges of deities, metallic ceremonial utensils, clay and wood figures and a variety of bone and stone wares from Nepal and western Tibet.

Ancient and Modern Carfts

Closely allied to this section is the section which displays a large number of illustrated and illuminated manuscripts of various periods. These include palm leaf and block printed volumes from Nepal and Tibet, and religious and literary documents in Sanskrit, Pali, Bengali, Gurmukhi and Persian.

Over 160 weapons of offence and defence characteristic of Punjab of the pre-



Depiction of an incident from Life of Krishna
(Kangra Kalam Group)

A unique feature of the Punjab State Museum is the section devoted to the ancient as well as modern cottage crafts of rural Punjab. This collection includes some of the rarest and the most beautiful specimens of Punjab handicrafts. All kinds of products are represented here ranging from wood, leather and ivory works to cotton, wool and silk textiles.

With its unique collection of Pahari paintings and rare specimens of ancient and modern arts and crafts of Punjab, the State Museum at Simla is an excellent aid to the study of the cultural heritage of this colourful land.—PIB



ISWARCHANDRA PATHABHABAN A Day Students' Home in Calcutta

By MOHONLAL CHATTOPADHYAY

The usefulness of the Directive Principles of State Policy embodied in the Constitution of India is evident from the different kinds of welfare work taken up by the different state authorities. We shall deal here with a concrete economic activity of the West Bengal State Government.

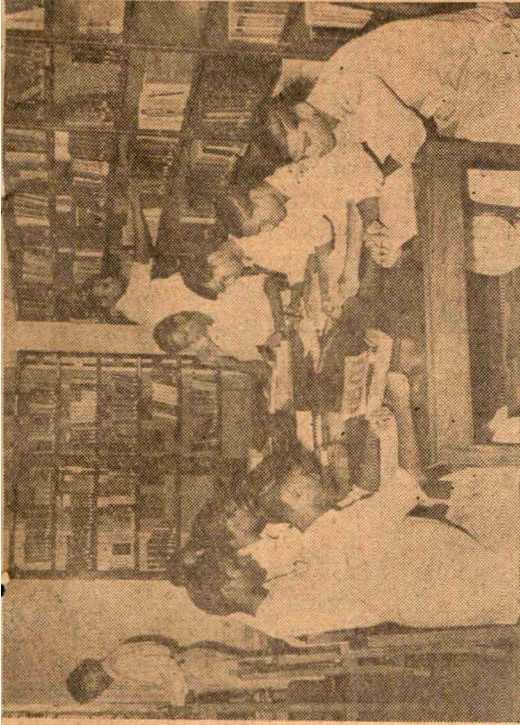


A portion of the Reading Hall

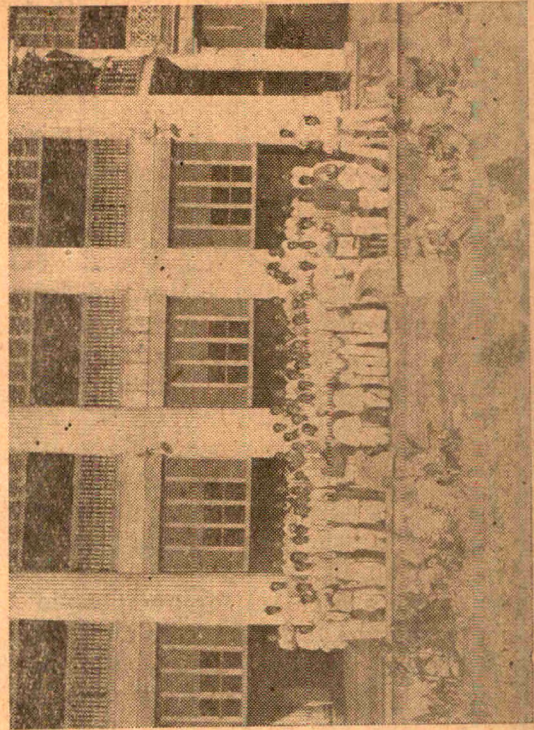
In 1956 under the guidance of the University of Calcutta, a survey of the living and working conditions of the undergraduate students in Calcutta was undertaken. Anyone—who is fully aware of the post-partition pressure of population in the city and of the fact that after independence was attained in 1947 there has been a tremendous rush of students from the many newly-started schools and intermediate colleges in mufasil areas—could have easily anticipated the findings of the Report. Many students residing in Calcutta and suburbs live in an extremely wretched condition. Separate reading rooms are

almost a dream to them. Most of the lower Middle-class families in Calcutta have to live in two rooms only, which are unpleasantly small and with practically no ventilation at all. One is used as kitchen and the other at day-time is used alternately as a drawing-room and a reading-room, and at night as the principal retiring room for the members of the family. Imagine a scene of one of these reading-rooms for a proper understanding of the situation. A student begins to prepare his lessons in the morning. Two of his school-going brothers, a sister and one or two nephews reading in primary schools—all require their tasks to be prepared. The slow humming voice of each of them jointly produce a considerable high pitch of sound and as a result none of the readers in the room remain undisturbed. There are other disturbances also. As a result the keen attention of our serious-minded hero is automatically diverted. Sometimes due to some illness of one of peaceful study is the extreme environment must necessarily change from a reading-room to a hospital-ward. But the most serious hindrance to the prosecution of peaceful study is the extreme poverty of the family, the low income of the father or guardian of the family. Perplexity and helplessness overpower our young hero. The high and noble ideas in the text-books seem to him meaningless and dull.

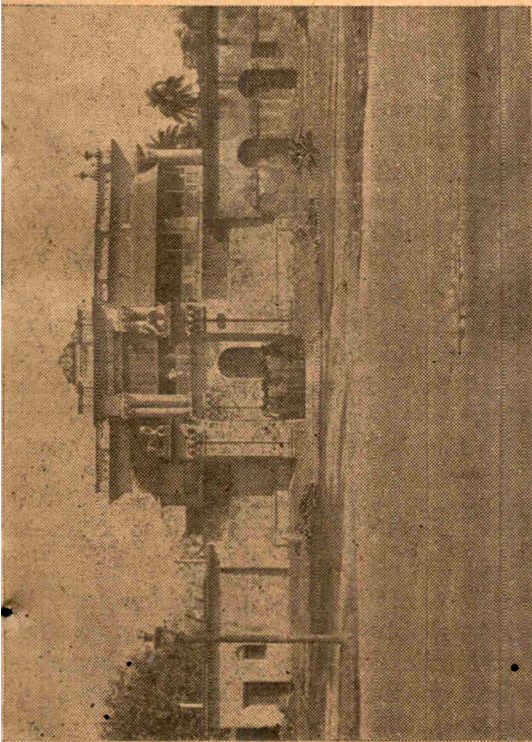
The Survey Report of the University of Calcutta greatly influenced the Government of West Bengal. The Government immediately took the case of the students' welfare as one of its essential functions and started a few Students' Homes in Calcutta to provide "free reading-room facilities to needy undergraduate bonafide students of colleges by providing text-books in quiet places for study from morning to evening." Iswarchandra Pathabhaban in north Calcutta is one of these Homes. Situated at 299, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-9. Iswarchandra Patha-



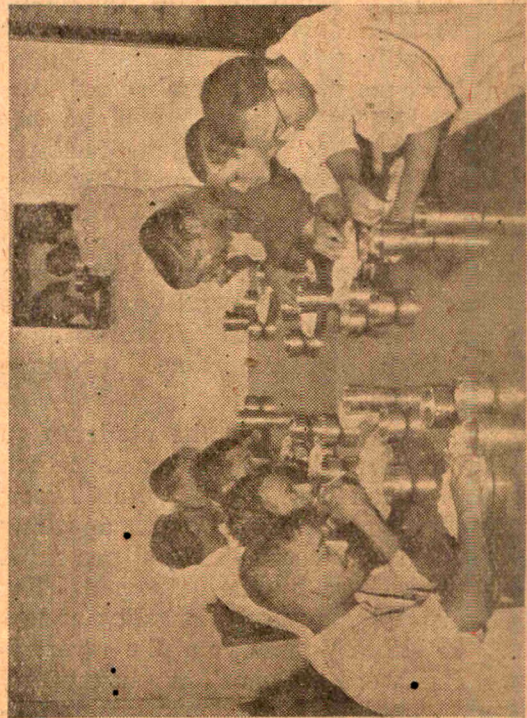
A reading room



A group of students and the staff



Front view of the Pathabhaban



Canteen

bhaban was originally a palace owned by the Taki Zaminder Family. The State Government after purchasing the large building reformed and rebuilt it so that it might be suited to the required purpose.

Generally at 8 o'clock in the morning is the Home opened. Member-students come one by one and enter the Home-yard after showing the gatekeeper their cards. To be a member of the Home a student has to take first of all a prescribed form from the gate-keeper who keeps a record of the names of the candidates to whom the forms are supplied. The candidates return their forms duly filled up and attached with certificates of two respectable gentlemen. All applications are judged primarily on the merit of the candidates' pecuniary condition. Students whose family income is no more than Rs. 300/- per month or Rs. 30/- per capita are called for an interview. The names of the selected candidates are hereafter hung on the notice-board and provisional cards for fifteen days are issued to them. Before the period is over a new form on which the principal of the college must certify is given to the candidate, which he must submit at an early date and if everything is all right, the student becomes a permanent member of the Home. Students who read in night-shift classes may also enjoy the Home-facilities provided the necessary conditions are fulfilled. The gate-keeper (Darwan) of Iswarchandra Pathabhaban is a very dutiful person. He follows every instruction regarding the entrance and exit of the members seriously and searches the students' bags, etc., everytime they come out of the gate.

From the gate-keeper the students go straight to the Requisition-room, where slips are given to them against their membership numbers. Bags, anything except paper, note-books, ink and pen must be deposited here by the students. The students with their requisition slips at last reach the library-room on the ground-floor. The word 'Silence' in beautifully written black letters suddenly present itself on the white wall just in front of the threshold and the young members within

the hall become aware of their responsibilities all at once. Silently they come to a particular book-shelf, take the required books, put their numbers on the requisition slips, duly sign them and after depositing their cards and slips to the lending assistants leave the room quickly through the exit door. The smart and busy lending assistants of the Iswarchandra Pathabhaban assist the students in every possible way.

On the ground floor there are 8 rooms, big or small and on the first floor there is a hall and 11 other rooms well-furnished with electric light and fans. There are well-equipped bath-rooms also on both the floors which the students may use at their own sweet will. Though the Home is under the administrative control of the Assistant Director of Public Instruction, the real management is in the hands of the Managing Committee consisting mainly of non-official members, one of whom is the Warden of the Home who is to serve as the Assistant Secretary. The Warden is a constantly smiling and tender-hearted personality. He resides in his quarters on the second floor. At the particular time he comes down and sits in his chamber on the first floor. The students in the ante-room are busy in their tasks. Somewhere a little buzzing sound is heard. A few seconds pass. A little door with glass pane which separates the Warden's chamber and the reading hall at a corner is silently stretched open. Within a moment or two, the unnoticed figure of the Warden is in the centre of the hall and a soft but heavy hand is slowly laid on the shoulders of a group of two friends, the buzzing voice of whose conversation is even now being heard. The boys turn their heads round and immediately stand up. "That's all right, but do not disturb others by gossiping." Thus the pardoning Warden tactfully manages the strict observance of the rules of the Home. It must be noted here that the Warden is ably collaborated by his young and energetic Assistant who has a separate chamber on the ground floor.

The library had a stock of 4,117 books valued at Rs. 48,453.52 up to 1958. Books are issued exclusively for reading-room pur-

poses. Notes and help-books are also not neglected as these series are thought to be acted as instructors. Honours students face no difficulty in getting their reference-books. In case of non-availability of any book in the library the student may place a demand before the authority and these are immediately paid heed to. In 1958 there were 589 student-members (out of them 250-300 would get reading facilities at a time) who fully utilised the facilities available from the Home. The activities of the students as can be generally expected in all such public institutions are not merely limited to the routine job (i.e. reading) but also express themselves in many voluntary works, the non-performance of which does not harm in any way their rights of membership to the Home. The personal interest and care with which some students of Geology have built up a small collection of rocks and minerals are really praiseworthy. The labour and determination of these students, in our opinion, must have been influenced by the example

of the hardworking Warden, who, though a middle-aged man, does not mind the trouble of standing for two hours at a stretch in operating personally the educational films on Saturdays with the help of a 16 m.m. projector fitted with sound equipment worth Rs. 5,544.43.

Generally 10 A.M. is the canteen time. Now and then you may hear some hurried footfalls toward the canteen yard. Then coupons—issued on payment of twelve Naye Paise in cash in advance on the day before against their names—are crossed and signed by the students. The canteen of the Home is manned mainly by female staff. They remind one of mothers and sisters at home. From the date of its actual operation in 1956 up to 1958 Rs. 1,373.59 worth of utensils of stainless steel have been bought, the staff has been paid Rs. 9,000.00 and the total expenses for food have amounted to Rs. 11,024.63. Students may take either the meal within 9.30 A.M. to 12 A.M. or the tiffin within 2-30 P.M. to 5-30 P.M. The canteen menu is generally as follows:

Meal

Monday	Rice, Dal, Vegetables, Fish
Tuesday	Rice, Dal, Meat, Chatni
Wednesday	Rice, Dal, Vegetables, Egg curry
Thursday	Rice, Ghee, Dal, Vegetable
Friday	Rice, Meat, Chatni
Saturday	No meal

Tiffin

Bread, Butter, Sweets, Banana, Tea
Bread, Egg curry, Banana, Tea
Same as Monday
Bread, Meat, Chatni, Tea
Same as Monday

It is the canteen time when students feel quite at ease at their tables and relax themselves in talks and jests and exchange opinions about their respective personal difficulties. After the meal or tiffin is taken, the plates, glasses and cups, etc., are to be soap-cleaned by the students themselves at the tap-water basin near-at-hand.

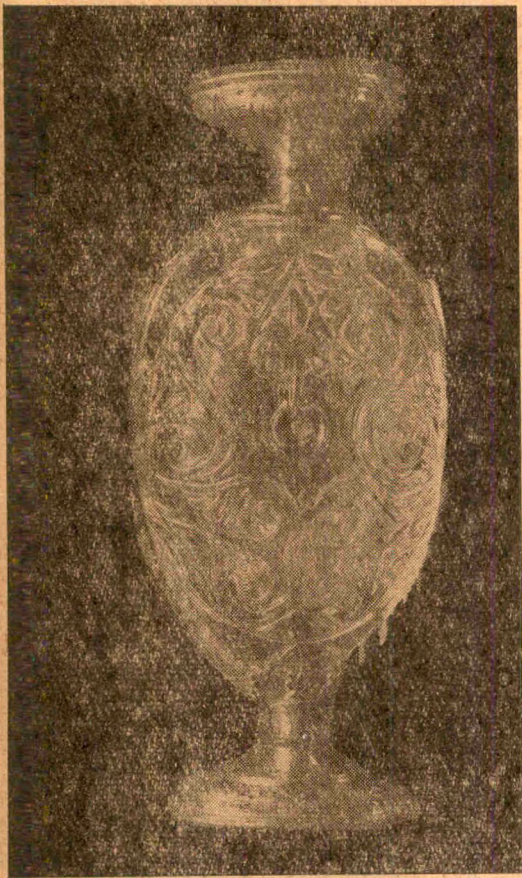
Again the reading-rooms are filled up with the students. At 7-40 P. M. when the bell-man with his usual bell-sounds passes the corridors attached to the rooms, the

students at once become alert, return the books and get their membership cards returned. Just at 8 P.M. the Home is closed down. The students beginning to leave the yard give a sideways glance and it may possibly occur to the mind of any one of them that what splendid silence and peace the little flowers in bloom in the corner of the large green garden belonging to the Bhaban will enjoy throughout the night and if only their own nights would be like that.

WASHINGTON'S TREASURE HOUSE OF MIDDLE-EAST ART

SPRING, to the city of Washington, D.C., brings the blossoming of its famed Japanese cherry trees, and the first waves of an annual tourist invasion. Hotel employees labor wearily to put up thousands of extra guests. Sight-seeing guides enjoy a land-office business. And the museums of the nation's Capital bulge with the curious—young and old.

palace, they wander about the halls, eye the exhibits with curiosity, and read—sometimes with obvious disbelief—the identifications that speak so glibly of antiquity.



Carved rock crystal bottle is an Egyptian glassware on display

Along the green, expansive Mall, chartered buses discharge their loads of 'teen-age passengers' most of them bent upon seeing in the Smithsonian Institution, man's first flying machines, his cantankerous early autos or gowns of the White House First Ladies.

But some of the youngsters go on to a low granite edifice just west of the main Smithsonian building. Inside the structure, which is built in the likeness of a Florentine Renaissance

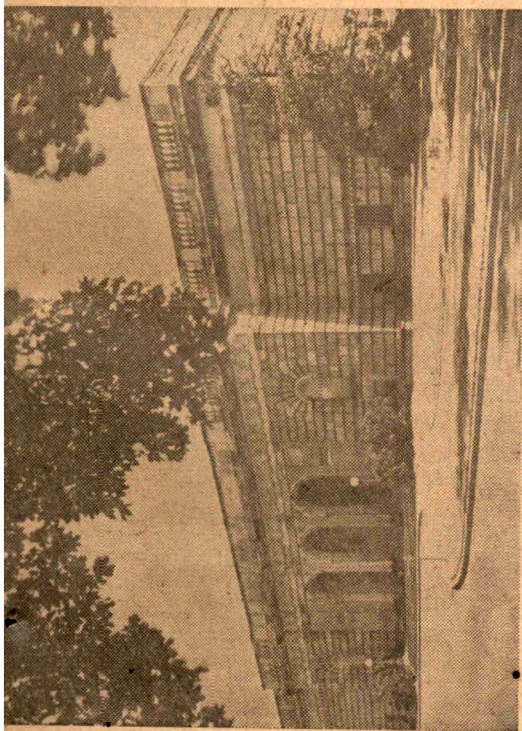


Bronze image of the Hindu goddess Parvati
(South Indian, 12th century)

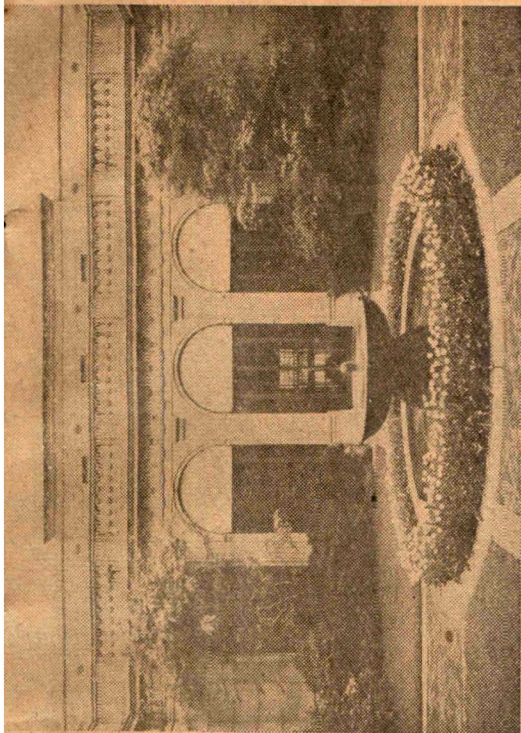


Persian kashan vase of the 13th century

It is the parents of these young people and other adults from the United States and



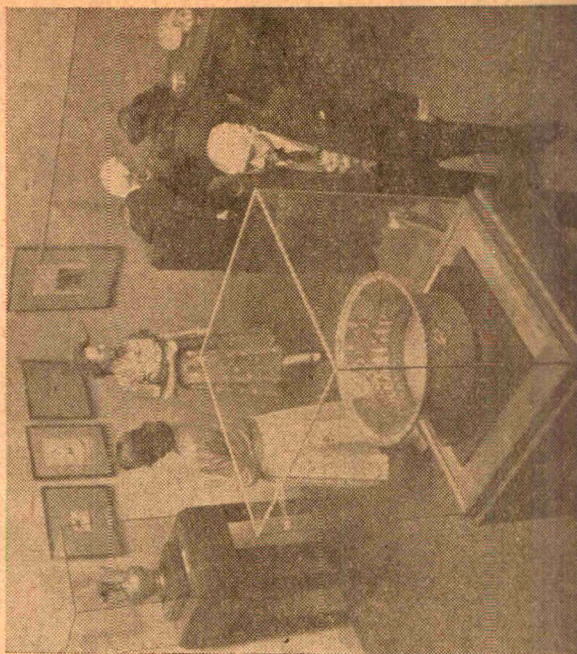
The building of the Freer Gallery is in the style of Florentine Renaissance palace architecture



Open-air courtyard of the Freer Gallery



A pottery platter with kufic inscriptions from Eastern



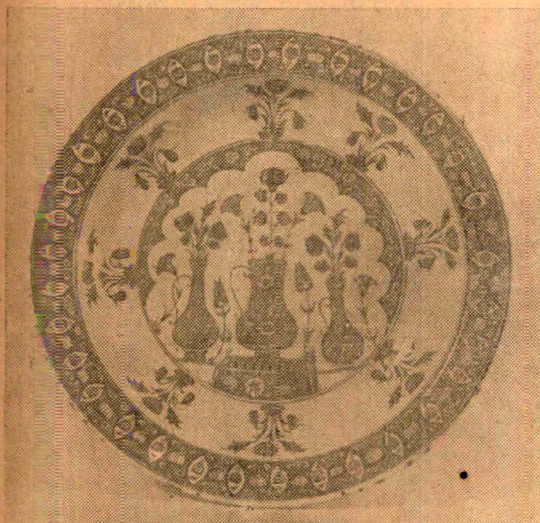
Foreground—the brass basin (Syrian, 13th century); Left—brass ewer (Syrian, 1232 A.D.), and Upper

abroad, who more and more are discovering one of America's unique treasure-troves, the Freer Gallery of Art.



Corrosion on a Persian bronze bowl is examined with a binocular microscope

In the Gallery's display cases and vaults lie more than 10,000 items, among them some 2,700 pieces of rare Near Eastern art: sculpture, glass metal work, paintings; pottery and



A handsome plate produced by an Ottoman craftsman in the 16th century

virtually priceless manuscripts. For the most part, they are from Persia, Iraq, Egypt, Syria, Turkey, and India, and their designs and in-

scriptions, more often than not, tell an important chapter in the history of those lands.

"The Freer" is exceptionally rich in pottery (there are some 600 Persian pieces alone). And its 600-odd Persian and Indian miniatures are the envy of curators in the States and abroad. Under a magnifying glass their exquisite painted detail is even more remarkable than when glimpsed by the casual gallery passerby.



Technical researchers examine pieces of pottery preparatory to cleaning

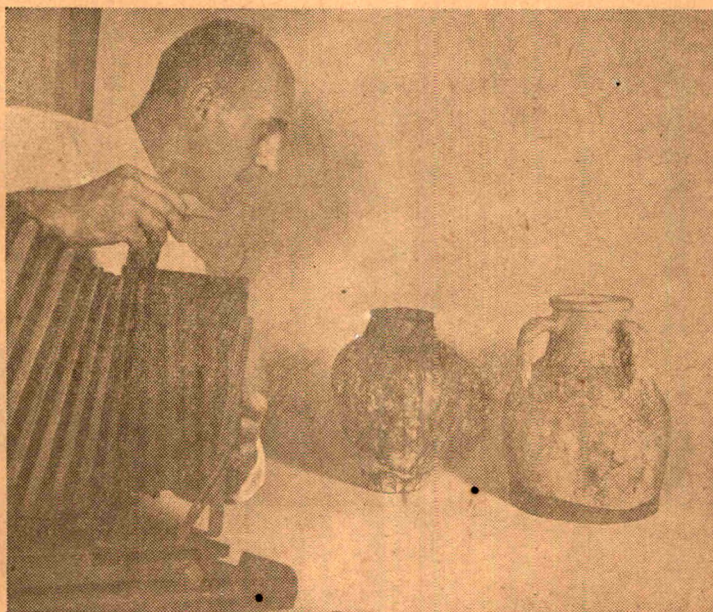
As fascinating as the Gallery's exhibits, however, are its origin and history; the story of how an American industrialist brought up in modest surroundings came to be interested in the art of the East and in giving others an opportunity to see it firsthand.

Charles Lang Freer was born of French-Huguenot ancestry over a century ago in Kingston, New York. He commenced collecting paintings and art objects in the early 1880's. In his fiftieth year (on May 5, 1906) a formal deed was executed, assigning to the Government on his death, his already sizeable collection, a building to house it, and an endowment fund "to provide for the study and acquisition of Oriental Fine Arts."

Ground was broken for the new gallery on September 23, 1916. When Charles Freer died three years later, the building was still un-

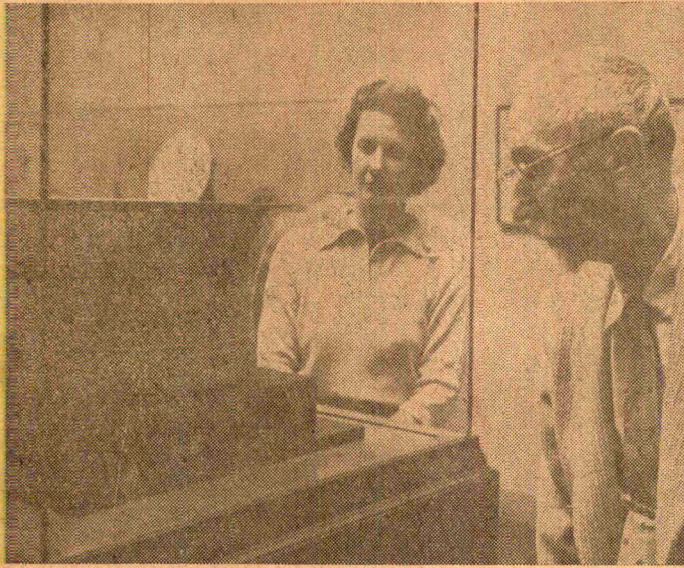


An Indian Gandhara frieze (*2nd century*) showing four scenes—Birth, Enlightenment, First Preaching and Nirvana—from the life of Buddha



Ancient Near Eastern pottery are thus photographed for museum catalogues

finished. But by 1921—36 years ago this spring and to explore avidly the artistic legacy of—it was completed, and on May 2, 1923, the those other countries. official opening took place.



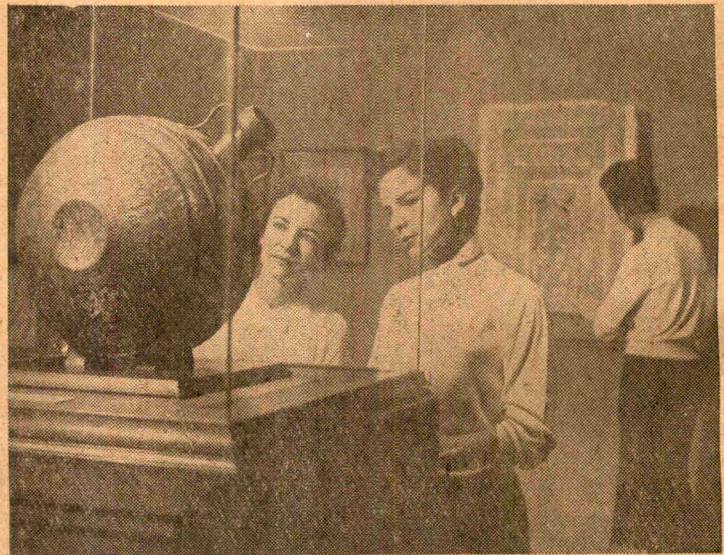
A 13th century silver inlaid brass basin is among the art objects from Syria

Charles Freer was a farm boy who went from public school to work in a cement factory at 14 and to a general store clerkship at 16. By the early 80's, he had helped organize and had become an officer of a railroad car works in Detroit. By 1900, he was a man of great means, had completed his work in a merger of his industrial interests with the not-inconsiderable American Car and Foundry Company, and had retired from active business.

In the 80's, Freer began buying lithographs and etchings, including a number produced by the great James McNeill Whistler. Spurred by Whistler's interest and debt to Japanese art, Freer soon turned to studying and acquiring works from Japan and, in time, from China. Trips to Europe and the Orient provided him the opportunities to visit not only Japan and China but Egypt, India, Ceylon, and Java;

Never the scholar, Freer understood nonetheless the need for serious study and competent scholarship in the Oriental art field. His bequest, left in the care of the Smithsonian Institution and under the leadership of its second director, Archibald Gibson Wenley, pays for such endeavors and provides the Gallery with funds to buy new items for the collection. (Acquisitions in the form of loans or gifts are forbidden by the original gift deed).

Today, the Freer Gallery visitor making his rounds sees only about eight per cent of the museum's holdings. The other 92 per cent are kept in storage. (Two men from the staff are available to show items in the latter category upon request).



A brass canteen of the Syrian Mosul School
(Mid-15th century)

The Gallery's theory of revolving its displays is simple.

"We try not to show too much at once," says Richard Ettinghausen, Freer's Associate in Near Eastern Art. He and other Gallery

officers believe it is unfair to befuddle the visitor with vast spreads of intricate design and antique craftsmanship.

Actually, while Near-East items comprise only about a fourth of the Gallery's holdings, their rare qualities sometimes outshine the more familiar works in the Freer collection by Western artists, like Whistler, Winslow Homer, John Singer Sargent, Joseph Lindon Smith and others.

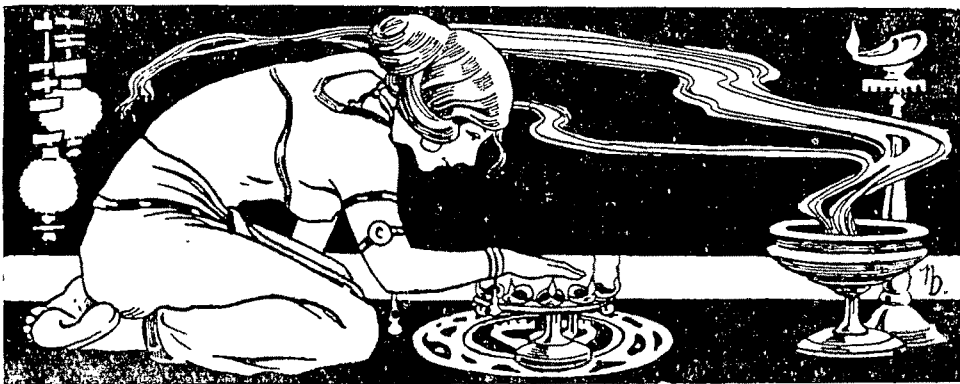
There are 1,000 pieces of Egyptian glass on hand and some 200 illuminated manuscripts from Persia and India, but the Freer appraises its possessions not on the strength of numbers alone. The criteria for purchasing new items are: good state of preservation and the determination if a piece is the best available example of its type.

What is the Gallery's most valuable Near-East piece? With true academic disdain for the commercial price tag, its department heads probably would decline to answer that question. Certainly, the brilliant partially gilded Fourth Century Persian silver dish with its high relief of King Shapur II hunting boar is one of the rare items in the collection. And the Gallery's Greek, Aramaic and Armenian Biblical manuscripts—some of which were put on papyrus in the Third Century A.D.—are among the antiquities most exciting to students of the past, and, in particular, students of the history of religion.

Besides its exhibit halls, the Gallery maintains a reference library of more than 32,000 books, pamphlets and periodicals, an auditorium, a publications program, a lecture series, and all the offices and laboratories necessary to carry on its work. (Infinite care is required just to preserve the delicate pieces on view or in the storage. The color pigment on Persian miniature paintings, for example, has a tendency to chip off due to the gum arabic and, possibly, the egg-white vehicle with which it was originally mixed. And aged bronzes, unless cared for painstakingly, corrode easily in a damp atmosphere.)

When Charles Freer conceived of the collection and gallery that now bear his name, the art of the Near-East and Asia was, for Americans at least, little more than the sacred preserve of rich men and scholars. But today—thanks in great part to his discriminating taste and generosity, a vast number of people have come to know its meaning. Last year, for example, there were 80,000 visitors at the museum.

They came for a variety of reasons—some to draw upon its exhibits for fabric and jewelry designs—others, to learn more about the artisans who created them, and virtually every visitor came to marvel at those craftsmen's eternal skills.—From *Land East*: Courtesy: The Middle-East Institute, Washington, D.C.



INDO-AFRICAN RELATIONS THROUGH THE AGES

By HARI SHARAN CHHABRA

India and Africa are next-shore neighbours and largely because of this geographical juxta-position, the people of India and those of the African Continent have maintained intimate and friendly relations with each other for the past many centuries. Much before the Europeans colonised Africa and even before Vasco da Gama reported about the route to India via Africa, Indians and Africans had known the route and free and flourishing trade used to flow between the two peoples.

Early Indo-African Trade

The Indian Ocean has been a great highway of commerce and intercourse for at least three thousand years. The Indians, the Phoenicians, the Arabs—in fact all the seafaring nations of the East—have considered this to be the chief area of trade and navigation.

There is a peculiar device of nature that has facilitated human intercourse in the Indian Ocean, ever since men first went down to the sea in ships. Every December the trade winds or the monsoons begin to blow from north-north-east and continue blowing with remarkable steadiness till the end of February. Every April till September the process is reversed; a strong wind blows from south-south-west. It is admitted by many historians that this useful phenomenon of trade winds must have been known to the Indian and other Eastern seafarers at a very early date—certainly long before it was known to the Europeans in 45 A.D. and given the name Hippalus after its reputed discoverer. The straight course over the Indian Ocean from Bombay to Zanzibar is little over 3000 miles. Bombay is 20 degrees north-east of Zanzibar and Karachi lies 30 degrees in that position, so that the merchants from north-western India, having learnt to trust in the persistence of the winds, could make the voyage across the ocean very safely.

The earliest recorded proof of the ancient Indo-African relations is to be found in the Puranas of the Hindus.

Colonel John Speke, an officer in the Indian army, who went in search of the source of the River Nile from 1859 to 1861 and who was financed by the Royal Geographical Society, has categorically affirmed that he took a lot of help from the Puranas in his exploration of the source of Nile—the river that is born at Jinja from Lake Victoria. He writes:¹

“Colonel Rigby gave me a most interesting paper with a map attached to it about the Nile and the Mountain of the Moon. It was written by Lt. Wilford from the Puranas of the ancient Hindus. It is remarkable that the Hindus had christened the source of River Nile. This I think shows clearly that the ancient Hindus must have had some kind of connection with different parts of Arrica.”

Speke ridicules the Egyptian geographers for their ignorance of the source of the Nile and adds:

“All our previous information concerning the hydrography of these regions originated with the ancient Hindus . . . and all those busy Egyptian geographers who disseminated the knowledge with a view to be famous for their long-sightedness in solving the mysteries, which shrouded the source of Nile (the holy river), were so many hypothetical humbugs.”

As per directions in the map, he went from Zanzibar to Kenya and thence to Uganda, where he found the sweet water lake (Lake Victoria) and to his joy found the River Nile flowing out from it. In his book Speke has given the map which was prepared by Lt. Wilford with the help of information provided in the Puranas.

This discovery of the source of the Nile with the help of the Puranas is also referred to at length by Kakasaheb Kalelkar in his book, *Our Next-Shore Neighbours*. He says that our ancients who wrote the Puranas knew of Misir, the ancient Egypt. They knew of the great sweet-water lake—Victoria, which our

1. *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of Nile* by J. H. Speke, p. 13.

ancients, called Amar or lake immortal. They also knew the Mountain of the Moon—Ruanzore—near about the place where the Nile took its source from Amar Lake.

The reference about the Nile in the Puranas can be easily explained from the fact that the Hindus had been trading with Rome, Greece, Egypt and Eastern Africa much before the birth of Christ. A number of Greek travellers wrote about the trade in the first century A.D. This voyage from India to Egypt consumed two years and the centres of trade were Broach and Calicut on the western coast of India.

Towards the latter half of the first century A.D., a Greek sailor in Egypt, undertook a voyage to India along the Red Sea Coast, passed through the Horn of Africa and went southward down the Indian Ocean and recorded a minute account of his experiences in a book called, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. This book² has served as a navigational manual for many centuries. Periplus refers to the arrival of Indian ships in the East African coastal towns. We also learn that there was an active trade between India and western world. There were important harbours on the coast such as Barbarika, Barygaza, Korkai and Pohar. Ships built and fitted up by Indians sailed from the ports with their merchandise, which consisted, among other things, of pearls, precious stones, spices, wheat, rice, sugar and fine cotton cloth called muslin, all of which were in great demand in the world. The exports from Africa to India were ivory, alabaster and slaves.

In Periplus there are some interesting references of the slave trade by Indians

with the east coast of Africa. But such references are casual and have not been commented upon in details by W.H. Schoff, who translated *Périplus* and also made a classical commentary on it. Probably Schoff considered slaves, part of normal export from the African Continent.

From *Periplus* we gather that coconut, the well-known fruit of Indian origin, was found in Zanzibar. The lac insect also came from India along with many Indian plants and herbs. From this Schoff says that one can easily confirm that India had trade relations with Zanzibar and other parts of Africa much before the voyage of the Greek sailor in the first century A.D.

Further and still more convincing proof of the historic Indo-African relationship is to be found from the writings of various historians and archaeologists, who have taken part in the excavations of the famous Zimbabwe ruins in Southern Rhodesia. R. N. Hall, Caton Thompson, L. Pouche and several others have come to identical conclusions about Indian beads and coins being found in these ruins. Caton Thompson believes that Southern Rhodesian commodities like gold and copper found a steady market in south-western India before the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. Another archaeologist L. Fouché holds the view that iron spearheads, coiled wire, bronze object and some imported glass beads found in the ruins are of Indian manufacture.

African Slaves in India

It has already been told that there was some import of African slaves in India during the time of *Periplus*. Slaves then ranked high among the raw materials of Africa, which the Arabs were busy exchanging for manufactured goods, cloth, metal works and beads of India, Persia and Arabia. A very large number of these slaves came from Abyssinia—the Horn of Africa. In the seventh century and later with the Arab and Indian settlement on the east coast of Africa, the African slaves were being imported in India, cargo by cargo. Some indication of the extent of

2. The Indian Ocean and its adjuncts the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf were known to Greek and Roman geographers as Erythraean Sea. The title "*Periplus*" was applied in Greek and Roman times to what would be termed today a guide book. Scholars are now agreed that the author was a Greek shipmaster, engaged in eastern trade, whose name is unknown. The earliest surviving text is a parchment MS. of the 10th century, which has been preserved in the library of Heidelberg.

the slave imports in India is afforded by the fact that the Muslim King of Gaur in Bengal, who ruled between 1459 and 1474 possessed some 8000 African slaves.

These African slaves are reported in the pages of Indian history to be brave and magnificent fighters. Some of the African names went down gloriously in these pages and legendary tales are told about their bravery, ability and adventurousism.

We have the story of Razia Sultana, whose ruling career was largely influenced by an African slave called Yakut, who was a stable boy. Her name is romantically linked with Yakut, whom she elevated to the post of master of stables. Razia's undue favours to this Abyssinian youth offended the nobles of the Court, who revolted against her and this revolt led to the arrest of Razia and the murder of Yakut.

In India many of these slaves joined the armies of various rulers. Many a time these soldiers revolted against their rulers and usurped power, as it happened in Bengal in the year 1486, when the Kingdom of Bengal was ruled by an African slave. In 1490 came to the throne another Abyssinian, who seized power under the title of Shams-ud-din Abu Nassar Muzaffer Shah. This rule by the two Africans was marked by tyranny and disorder, which caused widespread discontent among officers and the public. Commenting on above, a well-known author Coupland has this to say: "Had they (African slaves) suffered to stay in Bengal, it is conceivable that they might have mastered the Kingdom as the Mamelukes, three centuries later, mastered Egypt."³

Ibn Batuta, who was in India in 1342, has talked at length about the African slaves in India. He writes of his visit to Alapur a small town south-east of Gwalior. The Governor of Alapur, he writes, was an Abyssinian, who was once a slave of the Sultan. His bravery passed into a proverb. He was tall and corpulent and used to eat

a whole sheep at a meal and Ibn Batuta was told that after eating, he would drink about a pound and a half of ghee, following the custom of the Abyssinians in their own country.⁴

During the Moghul rule in India, the Africans continued to play an important part in the political life. In Deccan when the Moghul Emperor Jahangir came into conflict with the Hindu ruler of Ahmednagar, he could not make much headway, largely because an African Minister called Malik Amber was in command of all power. Amber was a born leader of men, a great statesman and an experienced general in the predatory warfare.

It was not only in the army, but also in the navy, where these Africans distinguished themselves. They have shown a wonderful record of service in the navy during the time of Sivaji. It was in the year 1670, that recognising the ability of these Africans, Emperor Aurangzeb appointed one Siddi as his Admiral.

Africans were also found in the armies of the Nizam of Hyderabad till the Police Action. The Nizam's forces are now disbanded, but these Africans who call themselves ex-fojis, have settled in Hyderabad as labourers, rickshaw-pullers and petty vendors. On the west coast of India as well, these Africans have settled. In Junagarh District of Bombay State there is a complete village inhabited by the Abyssinians. These sturdy Africans are now working as labourers in the famous Gir Forests—the home of Indian lions.

4. Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, trans., by H.A.R. Gibb, p. 223.

It is interesting to note that these slaves also reached Ceylon. Ibn Battuta also records that in Kalambu (Colombo), he found some 500 Abyssinian slaves with the ruler. P. 260.

5. In 1956, these Africans were invited to Delhi at the Folk Dance Festival during the Republic Day Celebrations. They brought with them their drums and other instruments and gave a very vigorous and manly display of their Siddi Dance with swords and spears.

3. *East Africa and Its Invaders* by R. Coupland, p. 32.

Indian Settlers in Africa

While the African slaves were being imported in India, a large number of Indians had at the same time settled on the east coast of Africa for the purpose of trade and commerce. It is not exactly known as to when the first Indian settlement grew up in Africa, but Coupland believes that some sort of Indian settlement came about the same time as that of Arabs in the 7th century. The number of Indians and Arabs in East Africa kept on increasing year after year.

There was, however, a vast difference in the social and economic life of the Indian and Arab settlers. While the Arabs were real colonists and behaved like aristocrats, being closely associated with the ruling class, the Indian settlers were only interested in trade and commerce. The Arabs owned lands and in general never showed any aptitude for the technique of business and shopkeeping, even though they did keep the prosperous slave trade in their hands. The Indians were from the earliest days what they still are in East Africa—the masters of finance, the bankers and also shopkeepers. Much of the actual trade was either directly in their hands or managed by them for wealthy Arab land-owners. But if the Indians thus rendered an essential service to the community as a whole, the Arabs had to pay in the long run for not doing it themselves. Dependence on Indian industry and skill did help the Arabs to get rich for sometime, but it did slowly and slowly weaken their economic independence and initiative.

Modern historians associate the name of Vasco da Gama with the discovery of the trade route between Europe and India via Africa. But they generally ignore an important historical fact that the men who actually guided him from East Africa to India were Davane, the Arab broker of Bombay, and a Gujrati Muslim pilot, named Kanji. It was on May 20, 1498 that led by Kanji, the Portuguese explorer reached the Court of the Zamorin of Calicut.⁶

Vasco da Gama in his report to the King of Portugal writes of the Indian shops he saw on the east coast of Africa. He purchased a cap from an Indian trader in Mozambique. When Vasco da Gama left Malindi for India on April 4, 1498, he saw four Indian ships anchored in the port.⁷

In the next two centuries after Vasco da Gama, with the spread of news in India about the prosperity of Indians in East Africa, the immigration from India to Africa increased considerably, so much so that Col. Rigby in 1860 wrote that nearly all shops in Zanzibar were kept by Indians.

The Said of Zanzibar, who took control of the island by usurping the sovereignty of Muscat in 1806, gave all sorts of encouragement to Indians in East Africa. Said fostered the growth of the Indian community, not only by giving them complete religious, social and economic freedom, but also by personal relationship with some of the ablest Indians and use of their services in administration and finance. And this he did for the good reason that Arabs in general lacked the aptitude and the industry needed for management of business.

When Kirk, the Political Agent of India in Zanzibar from 1866 to 1887, arrived in Zanzibar, there were five or six thousand Indians settled in the coastal towns and at the trade posts in the interior. Of these about 3,660 came from British India or from Indian States in Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch and the rest from other parts of the country. The large majority of Indian immigrants were Moslems belonging to Khoja and Bohra com-

6. Early in the 10th century, El Masudi, the famous traveller, travelled in the company of some Indian merchants from Bombay to Kilwa in Tanganyika.

7. It is not known with certainty, whether during the time of Vasco da Gama, any Indian ship went south and rounded the Cape and sailed up the west coast of Africa, but K. M. Panikkar says by referring to Hudson, Covilham and Fra Mauro's map that two Indian ships before Vasco da Gama did sail round the Cape and touched West Africa.

minorities. Unlike the Hindus who came without wives and children to make money and return someday to their motherland, the Moslems were true colonists, bringing their families with them and making East Africa their home.

The Indians had a monopoly of trade and with it naturally was linked the Indian monopoly of finance. Kirk estimated that the amount of British Indian capital invested in Zanzibar at no less than £16 lakhs. About £2 lakhs of this had been advanced to Arabs residing in Zanzibar. Besides the Indian monopoly of trade and finance, an incidental point is that Indian rupee and not sterling was the East African currency till the end of the First World War.

Recent Indian Immigration

While Indians had settled in East African coastal areas for the past many centuries, it is important to note that the large majority of the present Indian population in Africa is of recent growth. Heavy influx of Indians started after the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1833. The abolition of slavery in British Africa and especially in Natal and Transvaal was about to sound the death-knell of the vast sugar plantations. Thus it became necessary for the white planters to obtain labour from somewhere to continue the sugar plantations. The African native after emancipation from slavery was unwilling to come under any sort of contract with the European planters.

The owners of the sugar plantations began to look for labour towards India, because they knew of the adaptability of the Indians to the life in Africa. Thus from 1850 onwards indentured labour from India, with the connivance of the then Government of India, has entered in South Africa.

In East Africa, the Indian population till the end of the nineteenth century mostly comprised of traders. With the start of the construction of Kenya-Uganda Railway in 1897, a large number of technicians and some efficient labour were brought from India to East Africa to help

in the construction of the railway. It is estimated that over 18,000 Indians were employed during the construction of the railway. Of them more than 90 per cent returned home after the expiry of their contract. Fresh lots of professionals—doctors, lawyers, engineers and teachers—from Gujarat and Punjab entered East Africa in the early days of the twentieth century and later. This fact is contrary to the usual belief of the Africans and the Europeans in East Africa, who are convinced that the present Indian population is composed of the descendants of the "coolies" employed during the railway construction.

It is noteworthy that the early Indian settlers always remained on the coast and they did not venture to settle inland. There was not a single Indian duka (shop) inland. But with the coming of the railway, the Indian traders began to develop business enterprises along the new railway line. Outstanding among those merchant traders was Alladin Visram, perhaps the greatest single figure in the economic history of East Africa. This "charming little gentleman," who entered in response to the challenge of great economic and social change was respected by everyone in the country, high or low, black or white. An early advertisement described him as "dealer in provisions, beads, piece goods, copper and iron wires, equipment of caravans, enamel ware, etc. Buyer of ivory, rubber, hides and skins and all kinds of East African and Uganda produce. Importer of merchandize from Europe, America and India." By 1904 his activities extended from Dar-es-Salaam to Hoima, and from Zanzibar to Gondokoro. There were then 30 Visram branches. His services were recognised by the Kabaka of Buganda as well as by the Kenya and Uganda Governments. He even acted as a banker advancing cash against cheques and in time issuing his own cheques.

The Indians who followed Visram were not pioneers on the grand scale like him. But they all played an important part in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika by carrying trade enterprises into the tiniest and

the most isolated villages. Today there is hardly any important village or town in East Africa, where one will not come across Indian shopkeeper or a professional.

In the present day Indians are to be found in many parts of Africa; in the Union of South Africa, Madagascar, Central Africa, East Africa, the Congo, Ethiopia, the Sudan, Ghana, Nigeria and even in Portuguese territories of Mozambique and Angola. The total population of Indian settlers in Africa is estimated at 700,000; 90 per cent of them being in the Union of South Africa and East Africa.

Trade and business still remains the major occupation of a large section of Indian population. Their role in the development of the general economy of the Continent has been significant and has been aptly recognised by several European writers. However, Indian contribution in supplying the services of professionals—lawyers, doctors, engineers, civil servants—is not in any way small. Indian contribution in every field is the most apparent in East Africa.

In spite of the above services rendered by the Indians, their present status and position is none-too-rosy. The white oligarchy in the Union of South Africa has deliberately made the Indians, along with the Africans, suffer through many discriminatory laws based on the policy of apartheid. The position of East African Indians, of course not as bad as that of their compatriots in the Union, has been made awkward by the white settlers, who are, for obvious reasons, jealous of the present prosperity of the Indians. These white settlers talk in terms of Indian menace, Indian competition and even Indian imperialism.

The Government of India have nothing much to do with these Indian settlers in Africa, because they are no more Indians. But since the Government of India were a party to the immigration of the Indians to

Africa, the former consider it a moral obligation to help the Indians, when they are made to suffer through discriminatory laws.

Without in anyway trying to interfere in the internal affairs of the various Governments of Africa, the Government of India have tried to advise the Indian community in Africa to identify themselves with the people of Africa, and that they should not ask for any special privileges, but should see to it that they co-operate with the indigenous population of Africa. The relations between Indians and Africans have been a matter of concern to us in India. In the Union, it is encouraging to find that Indians and Africans have made a common cause against the white imperialist rule. In East Africa, the Indians have sympathised with the African cause all along, but till lately it was only a lip sympathy. Today the Indians have totally changed their political outlook and are giving a fuller political support to the Africans in their nationalist movements, especially in Kenya and Tanganyika.

In the previous paragraphs we have been trying to study the Indo-African relations going down the ages. Today it is the intense desire of the people and the Government of India to increase our relationship with the people of Africa on the basis of friendship and absolute equality. In view of the fact that the people of Africa have undergone immense sufferings at the hands of imperialist powers, it is the desire of the Indians here to help the Africans to stand on their own legs. In a modest way, we are giving them help in the matter of education, because proper educational facilities are still not available in many parts of Africa. Government of India have during the past ten years offered hundreds of cultural scholarships to the students from Africa to come and study in the various universities of Africa.

INDUSTRIAL FINANCE CORPORATION—A REVIEW

By DHIRENDRA MOHAN KAR, M.COM.

A DECADE has passed since the inception of Industrial Finance Corporation in India. It will be worthwhile to attempt a review of what achievements and progress I.F.C. has made during these years with a view to making an appraisal of its working. Industrial Finance Corporation has been established under the Industrial Finance Corporation Act, 1948, in order to make long-term credits, more readily available to "industrial concerns" in India particularly in cases where normal banking accommodation was inappropriate or recourse to capital issue method was impracticable. In absence of a well-developed capital market and dearth of issue houses and underwriting firms in India and due to the policy pursued by the commercial banks on the analogy of British Banking practices, to eschew long-term industrial financing, the Industrial Finance Corporation has been assigned to play a distinct role in the promotion and development of "industrial concerns" in India, by contributing to the solution of at least one particular kind of their problems, viz., the problem of long-term finance.

An "industrial concern" under the Act has been defined to mean any Public Ltd. Co. or Co-operative Society incorporated by an Act of Legislature and registered in India, engaged in the manufacturing or processing of goods or in mining or in the generation or distribution of electricity or any other form of power. The Original Act was amended in 1952 and included Shipping Companies in the schedule of "Industrial Concerns."

SCOPE

The Corporation was empowered to provide financial assistance by:

(i) granting loans or advances to or subscribing to the debenture of "industrial concerns" repayable within 25 years;

(ii) granting loans floated in the money market by "industrial concerns" repayable within 25 years;

(iii) underwriting the issues of stocks, shares, bonds and debentures floated by "industrial concerns" subject to their being disposed of in the open market as early as possible, but in no case later than 7 years;

(iv) acting as an Agent for the Central Government and/or, with its approval, for the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (I.B.R.D.) in respect of loans sanctioned by them to "industrial concerns."

I.F.C. (Amendment) Act, Nov. 1957, extended the scope and empowered the Corporation to guarantee deferred payments by importers of capital goods who are able to make such arrangements with foreign manufacturers.

LIMITATIONS

(i) The Corporation does not grant and guarantee any loan unless it is secured against a sufficient pledge, mortgage, hypothecation or assignment of Government or other securities, stocks, shares or secured debentures, bullion, movable or immovable property or other tangible assets.

(ii) The maximum limit on the amount advanced to a single industry was originally 50 lakhs. I.F.C. (Amendment) Act of 1952 increased the limit to 1 crore. Again by virtue of this Amendment, the Corporation can now advance money more than Rs. 1 crore if and/or only if the Central Government guarantees such advances.

(iii) The Corporation may impose such conditions as it considers necessary, including the appointment of a Director on the Board of the concern assisted, to take over the management of the concern which makes default in repayment and to appoint Directors of such concerns. It can proceed against its defaulting debtors and can also call for repayment before the due date.

(iv) I.F.C. (Amendment) Act, Nov. 1957, enables a large number of industries including new industrial concerns, which are not in a position to offer adequate security but deserve encouragements from the point of view of the national economy, to avail themselves of the Corporation's loan assistance, if such assistance is guaranteed as to the repayment of the principal and payment of interest by the Central Government, State Government, a Schedule Bank or a State Co-operative Bank.

• RESOURCE STRUCTURE

(i) *Share Capital*:—The Corporation was registered with an authorised capital of 10 crores, divided into 20,000 shares of Rs. 5,000/- each. 10,000 shares of Rs. 5,000/- each were issued and were fully paid-up. The Corporation is now jointly owned by (i) The Central Government, (ii) The Reserve Bank, (iii) Scheduled banks, (iv) Insurance companies, investment trusts and other financial institutions and (v) Co-operative banks. The shares are transferable only between the above categories of share-holders. No one else can hold them. No institution can hold more than 10 per cent of the shares prescribed for the class of institution to which it belongs. 2½ per cent annual dividend and repayments of shares are guaranteed by the Central Government. When reserve equilises paid-up capital, dividend may be paid up to 5 per cent, and again any surplus over 5 per cent will be paid to the Central Government at this stage.

(ii) *Debenture Capital*:—The Corporation issued its first series of 3½ per cent bond 1964, amounting to Rs. 7,80,50,000 in 1954. Second series of 4½ per cent bond 1967 followed it in Nov. 1957 amounting to Rs. 4,56,00,000. On Nov. 17, I.F.C. has decided further to issue 4½ per cent bond 1958 for Rs. 4,00,00,000. (u/s 21 of I.F.C. Act). This makes the debenture commitments of the Corporation to Rs. 16,36,50,000 in total.

It was authorised by the original Act to issue and sell bonds and debentures carrying interest, the total of which should not at any time exceed 5 times the paid-up share capital plus reserve fund, but I.F.C. (Amendment) Act, 1957, which came into force from 21st Dec. 1957, empowers the Corporation to borrow up to a limit of 10 times its Share Capital plus reserve.

(iii) *Borrowing from Reserve Bank*:—It has the power to borrow from Reserve Bank u/s 21 (3) (a) for a period of 90 days against securities of Central Government or State Government. It can also borrow against its own debentures for a period not exceeding 18 months, provided the amount borrowed does not exceed 3 crores in the aggregate. The Corporation's outstanding borrowings from Reserve Bank increased from 1.06 crores on March 29,

1957 to Rs. 2.97 crores in Sept. 1957, the borrowings, however, completely repaid by the end of March 1958.

(iv) *Deposits*:—The Corporation has been authorised to accept deposits from the public. I.F.C. (Amendment) Act, 1957, empowers it further to accept deposits from State Government or local authorities. No deposit has yet been accepted.

(v) *Borrowing in Foreign Currency*:—I.F.C. (Amendment) Act, 1952, empowered the Corporation to borrow from the World Bank on Government of India's guarantee. In 1952, there was a proposal to borrow 8 million dollars from I.B.R.D. but it was given up later on. There was no borrowing in foreign currency since its inception.

(vi) *Borrowing from the Central Government*:—In terms of Sec. 21 (4) of I.F.C. Act as amended in 1952, the Corporation has the power to borrow from the Central Government. The Corporation has borrowed from the Central Government an aggregate sum of Rs. 22.25 crores, carrying an interest at 4½ per cent.

MANAGEMENT

In accordance with the I.F.C. (Amendment) Act, 1955, substantial changes in management of the Corporation were effected from September 18, 1955. Previously, the general superintendence and direction of the affairs and the business of the Corporation was entrusted to a Board of Directors which with the assistance of an Executive Committee and a Managing Director exercised all powers and did all Acts that might be exercised by the Corporation. Now I.F.C. has a full-time stipendiary Chairman, assisted by a General Manager in place of the past arrangement of an honorary Chairman and a paid whole-time Managing Director.

The Board of Directors consists of 4 directors nominated by the Central Government, 2 nominated by the Reserve Bank, 2 elected by Scheduled Bank, 2 elected by the Insurance Co., and investment trusts, etc., 1 director elected by the Co-operative Banks.

The stipendiary Chairman is appointed by the Central Government in consultation with the Board of Directors of the Corporation. The Chairman has to hold his office for 3 years or

until his successor is appointed. He exercises such powers and discharges such duties as may be assigned to him by the Act or as may be delegated to him by the Board of Directors.

The executive committee has been abolished and replaced by the Central Committee under I.F.C. (Amendment) Act, 1955. The Central Committee consists of a chairman, two directors elected by the nominated directors, two directors elected by the elected directors. The chairman of the Board of Directors is the chairman of the Central Committee.

The I.F.C. Act requires the Board of Directors to act on business principles and to pay due regard to the interests of trade, industry and the general public. The Board in discharge of its functions is guided by such instructions on questions of policy as may be given to it by the Central Government. The board is liable to be superseded if it fails to carry out such instruction (Sec. 6).

FUNCTIONINGS

The Industrial Finance Corporation of India in its ten years of existence ending on June 30, 1958, has rendered pioneering services in the field of long-term industrial finance in India. During the last ten years the Corporation received applications for loans for Rs. 124.34 crores and the total amount of loans granted by it stood at Rs. 62.90 crores. A state-wise distribution of loans indicate that Bombay has received the largest amount of loans for her 58 industrial units. Bombay has received Rs. 18.69 crores, Madras Rs. 8.57 crores, West Bengal Rs. 6.33 crores, Bihar Rs. 4.77 crores, Kerala Rs. 4.27 crores, U.P. Rs. 5 crores, Mysore Rs. 4.80 crores, Punjab Rs. 2.96 crores, Andhra Rs. 3.10 crores, Orissa Rs. 2.94 crores, Rajasthan Rs. 74.50 lakhs, Assam Rs. 45 lakhs, Delhi Rs. 20 lakhs and M.P. Rs. 3.50 lakhs.

Of the total loans sanctioned so far Rs. 32 crores were sanctioned for States which were industrially under-developed. Of this amount, new industrial concerns received Rs. 22 crores. The principal borrowers were sugar, chemical, cotton, textile and cement companies.

A notable development in the activities of the Corporation during the year 1957 was in the field of underwriting which was a first venture in its ten years of life. The I.F.C.

underwrote the issue of $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent (subject to income-tax) redeemable and convertible debentures for Rs. 1.60 crores issued by a borrower concern. This underwriting was undertaken in conjunction with the I.C.I.C. and L.I.C. of India. The share of the Corporation's commitment under the underwriting arrangement amounts to Rs. 75 lakhs. The amount is inclusive of the loan of Rs. 45 lakhs which is to be redeemed out of the proceeds of the debenture issue. On the basis of amended provision of the I.F.C. Act, the Corporation has now started guaranteeing deferred payments due from industrial concerns in India on account of the import of capital goods from abroad. Up to the end of June, 1958, the Corporation extended its guarantee to deferred payments to the extent of Rs. 5 crores. For the last two years in succession there has been a decline in loan applications to the Corporation. The main cause of this decline is the increasing difficulty experienced by industrial concerns and entrepreneurs in the matter of securing the necessary licences for importing the capital goods required for starting new industries or expanding the existing ones.

Industrial concerns on co-operative basis are being encouraged by the Corporation through its liberal loan accommodations.

FINANCIAL RESULT ANALYSED

The earnings of the Corporation presented a gloomy picture since its inception up to the year 1956-57, but the year 1957-58 brings a new light to its life. Previously it had not been in a position to meet its guaranteed dividend liabilities. During the year 1957-58, the Corporation has earned a record amount of profit aggregating Rs. 58.2 lakhs. This increase in profits enabled the Corporation to repay a substantial amount of subvention received by it from the Government of India in previous years. The Corporation has paid, for the first time, the guaranteed dividend of $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent to its shareholders out of its own earnings.

COMMENTS AND CRITICISM

The I.F.C. was under a big fire at the time of discussion of the I.F.C. (Amendment) Bill 1952 when not only both the Houses of Parliament but also the members from the

party in power made allegations of varied nature against the activities of the Corporation. The following were the main charges against I.F.C.

(a) It was alleged to be "guilty of nepotism and favouritism" in granting loans.

(b) In absence of its being owned and controlled by the State, the Corporation was operating as a "Big Business Racket."

(c) I.F.C. had failed to develop industries in the backward regions and "provinces with apathy" were given preference in providing loans.

(d) I.F.C. management were more interested with and showed preference to well-established large-scale industries and overlooked the interests of small-scale and medium-scale industries.

(e) Loans were granted to industrial concerns which did not fall under the framework of the Five-Year Plan. Basic and capital goods industry had a meagre percentage of the assistance while consumer goods industry had the substantial accommodations.

(f) The Corporation has failed to maintain supervision over loanee companies which did not raise production or installed new capacity.

(g) I.F.C. had granted loans to those who could raise loans in the open market on their own initiative.

(h) The Corporation did not provide equity capital though a extreme necessity.

(i) It provided loans to public limited companies only and kept private limited companies out of its assistance.

Most of the criticisms arose on account of the ignorance about constitution and working of the Corporation. The association of a former chairman (Sri Ram) of the Corporation with certain loanee companies and the non-disclosure of the names of the loanee companies added fuel to fire. And, hence, Government of India decided to investigate these charges and appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Srimati Sucheta Kripalani. The terms of reference to this committee were:

(i) To scrutinise the loan transactions with reference to the allegations about nepotism and favouritism.

(ii) To verify whether in general due care had been exercised in granting loans.

(iii) To review generally the policy followed by the Corporation in the grant of loans with due regard to the objective of the Act and directions issued by the Government.

(iv) To make recommendations, if necessary, for improvement in the working of the Corporation.

The committee submitted its report on May 7, 1953. The committee found that the allegations made in Parliament about nepotism and favouritism were not established and generally exonerated the Corporation. It, however, made some adverse remarks in regard to some applications in which the chairman and the other directors took interest and received more expeditious and liberal treatment. The Corporation was found carrying a bias in favour of established concerns with which any prominent industrialist was associated.

The following recommendations were worth mentioning:

(i) Loans to industries in backward areas should be given preference.

(ii) Besides granting loans, there should be guaranteeing and underwriting industrial securities.

(iii) The directors should disclose their interest, if any, in the loanee company and while sanctioning loans unanimous vote of the two-thirds of the directors qualified to vote would be necessary.

(iv) There should be a regional panel of advisers, out of which a few could be selected *ad hoc* to deal with loan applications.

(v) The Corporation should have a full time paid chairman instead of a part-time Honorary Chairman.

(vi) The Board of Directors should include an economist, a managerial expert and a Chartered Accountant in addition to industrialists and Government officials.

(vii) All loans exceeding 50 lakhs should be sanctioned on the consent of the Central Government.

(viii) Well-informative annual reports of its working should be published by the Corporation.

In pursuance of these recommendations the I.F.C. Act was amended in 1955 and a sub-

stantial reorganisation had been made in the managements of the Corporation.

CONCLUSION

Though the Corporation has not achieved anything spectacular, it has made slow but steady progress. The assistance which the Corporation has been able to extend to the "industrial concerns" have been meagre compared to the enormous need of capital for the promotion, modernization, extension and diversification of the country's industry. In India, Industrial Finance required today in the private sector alone is about Rs. 200 crores a year, but the Corporation has granted as yet only 62.90 crores, and in that background the performance of the Corporation is none too enterprising nor is there anything in this connection to cause rejoicing. The main reason for this poor performance is the limited resources of the Corporation. The Corporation, particularly the volume of its share capital, was conceived at a time when there was no idea regarding the Plan, nor was the magnitude of the resources required for the implementation of the Plans conceived at that time. Now it is quite evident that the Corporation is seriously handicapped. To remedy this "bottle-neck" the I.F.C. Act was amended in Nov. 1957,

strengthening the resource position of the Corporation and extending the scope of its activity.

In the concluding lines, attention may be drawn to some glaring defects in the constitution and organisational set-up of the Corporation. I.F.C. is debarred by statute from taking up share capital of "industrial concerns" when they are often in need of equity capital. Paradoxical enough, however, the Corporation is at the same time authorised to underwrite the share issues of "industrial concerns." This is illogical, for, "under-writing business may be more risky than direct subscription to equities. If the underwriting business continues to be sanctioned by law, the legal bar against the subscription of equity capital should go." A major organisational defect seems to be worth mentioning. It has been argued for some time past and the Kripalani Committee also endorsed it thoroughly that the Corporation should have a technical investigation department and economic and statistical section under the supervision of trained economists. Customers of I.F.C. are often in need of technical, economic and engineering and marketing advices. Such department can easily provide these facilities. It is yet to be formed.

—:O:—

PEACEFUL EXPLOITATION OF SPACE

BY PROF. DR. R. C. HINGORANI, J.S.D. (Yale)

With the prospect of conquest of space becoming more imminent day by day, many allied problems arise therewith. One of such problems which faces the world elites is that of peaceful exploitation of space. Ever since the first sputnik was fired into space by the Soviet Union in October, 1957, there has been clamour by peoples all over the world that these rapid strides towards man's conquest of space should be strides of peace rather than of war. The whole humanity has a stake in this issue and this has been sufficiently ventilated at the United Nations forum by a number of representatives of various countries. Eisenhower is already on record for making this cosmos an area for peace rather than arena for combat. Sir Leslie Munro, President of the Twelfth Session of

the U. N. General Assembly also reiterated this demand in his last speech in that capacity. Now, of course, the United Nations is seized of the matter.

Launching of the satellites by Russia and United States of America has been in observance of the International Geophysical Year. Although it commenced from July, 1957, it received momentum in October, 1957, when the first Russian sputnik was launched into space to study the stratospheric layer of atmosphere as well as to peep into the mysteries of space and other planets. Sixty-eight nations are participating in this experiment, although the United States and Russia are the only active participants committed to launch satellites and help in providing equipment to other countries for monitoring any.

message received from satellites in orbits. Ostensibly, therefore, the purpose of these strides into space is peaceful and scientific.

However, one should not lose sight of the fact that scientific progress has often been abused by adventurous politicians who have not hesitated to use it as an instrument of their national policy. History will not belie us in this finding and present trends will only confirm it. To be sure, it is necessary to note that satellite launching program was first conceived by the defence departments of the bipolarized powers much before the decision of observing the International Geophysical Year. Conspicuously enough, the Defence Department is guiding the program in most of the countries. Added to this is the fact that the Soviet Union fired the sputnik with the help of the Inter-Continental missiles while the United States of America did so with the Army-developed Jupiter-C Rockets. The world should also not forget the Soviet threat to the effect that the same rockets which fired the sputniks into orbits can also deliver hydrogen bombs in any corner of the earth. The program, therefore, has military importance also and that was the main reason why America was so much perturbed over the Russian launching of the sputnik.

The military aspect of the launching of satellites is inseparable from the peaceful aspect of the program. Nevertheless world statesmen having preconceived the military potentialities of a satellite have demanded to devote space research for peaceful purpose. This is the urgent need of the day lest yet another scientific advancement should convert a boon into a disastrous burden. The first official anxiety toward that end was witnessed during the London Disarmament Conference in the Fall of 1957 when the United States of America proposed for the peaceful exploitation of space. This was followed by the statement of Mr. Dulles advocating for international body under the United Nation's auspices to conduct the space research. Sir Leslie Munroe the immediate past President of the United Nations General Assembly has also voiced similar

feelings. Recently, the U. N. General Assembly has passed the 20-power U.S.-backed resolution envisaging establishment of a special committee to study and report on (a) activities and resources of various international organizations and agencies relating to peaceful uses of outer space, (b) facilitation of international control, and (c) nature of legal problems involved in carrying out of problems to explore outer space. Russia has unfortunately chosen to disassociate with such Committee.

Apart from the above views as given out by world politicians, there is also a suggestion from Dr. Schacter of the United National Legal Bureau. In this context he has advocated for some sort of international control over space activities by nation-states. Thus he has proposed for registration of satellite flights, establishment of radio stations for international verification of such flights and agreement on radio frequency to monitor information transmitted. The International Astronautical Congress has also advocated for some international control of outer space in its recent August Conference in Amsterdam. These suggestions, therefore, require our thoughtful consideration.

If all the above suggestions were to be perused it would be observed that there is stress on the peaceful exploitation of space. But how this stress could be implemented is a difficult question. Undoubtedly the Big Powers also contribute to this idea. There remains, therefore, only one obstacle—the obstacle of lack of confidence in each other. Each of the two Big Powers has suspicions about the other with the result that no appreciable agreement on cosmic research and its peaceful utilization is in sight. There can be no guarantee for peaceful exploitation without mutual confidence and there will be no mutual confidence without peaceful exploitation of space. Recent threats of annihilation by Krushchev will only worsen the situation.

In the circumstances, some minimum agreement is necessary, relating to the launching of satellites. In this connection Schacter's suggestions could well be taken

use of. His enumeration of minimum controls is a welcome idea so long as it does not affect the subjacent state's sovereignty. Reaching of such an agreement will not be a difficult task in so far as launching of satellites for peaceful purposes, i.e., in observance of the International Geophysical Year, is concerned. Difficulties may, however, crop up when space research is done for military purposes as in the case of launching of inter-continental missiles and such other space instrumentalities

which may hereafter be invented. Such launching or experiments may not possibly be divulged to the public. Such difficulties are not easy to be solved because big political-cum-strategic issues are involved therein. Perhaps, some settlement may be reached on *ad-hoc* basis or within the scope of over-all disarmament agreement. But how far the public opinion will be respected and space used for peaceful purposes is yet to be seen. Future events will alone show how the wind blows.

—O:—

THE ROLE OF WOMAN IN MODERN INDIA

By SANTOSH KUMAR BANERJEE

With the advancement of education amongst women in this country they are gradually coming in the forefront of every sphere of activities—religious, social, political and even international. In Western countries where percentage of literacy is much higher than in India and where the number of educated men and women is much greater, women have already proved their efficiency in different fields of activities like men. Even for such jobs wherein physical strength is needed, women of Western countries have demonstrated their equality in skill and valour like men. During the last war there had been many instances when women belonging to the Air wing of the army had shown exemplary courage and devotion to duty, which was of course inspired by the true love of the country to which they belonged.

Formerly in pre-independence days Indian women were mainly found in teaching and nursing services. Gradually educated women began to take interest in some social and political work. They began to organise women's centres or clubs (Nari Samitis) where the women of particular localities could meet occasionally or at regular intervals and discuss amongst themselves various matters relating to women. At this time they also began to get themselves enlisted as members of different political organisations, which were set up in the country for the removal of foreign rule. The stories of intense suffer-

ings and even courting death by many Indian women for the political emancipation of the country are yet related by the older people with respectful admiration and pride to the young citizens of the country. Now after independence educated women are found to occupy more and more eminent positions in society. In politics their contribution is not less than the men politicians. They have proved their success as legislators in Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha and also in different State Legislatures. They have also shown their mark as members of the Central Cabinet and also State Cabinets. Even as an ambassador an Indian lady has achieved remarkable success creating an impression in foreign countries that our women are equally competent to bear the great burden of carrying on diplomatic relationship with other countries.

Besides the two old professions of teaching and nursing educated Indian women are now-a-days found in other professions and callings. There are Indian women engineers, chemists and scientific research workers, who have already brought a good name not only for themselves, but also for the country they belong to. As clerks and assistants they are now found in large numbers in almost all Government offices and in many leading commercial concerns. As sales-girls their efficiency is very much known to the heads of the organisations, who are directly

concerned with the increased sales of their products. As story-writers in several periodicals, which are published in this country in different languages, they have become very popular to regular readers. As insurance agents their contribution to the increased volume of insurance business is considerable. As social workers they are doing a lot for the eradication of various age-long superstitions, which have yet remained in the country, specially in rural areas. In fact the present-day women of India are very conscious of their political independence and seem to be more serious than men in removing the remaining shackles of social and economic bondage, which have prevented the progress of the country with rapid strides.

From the history of other countries it is known that the all-round advancement of a nation depends very much on

the high efficiency and sincerity of both men and women. It is a happy sign that our country, which has achieved independence only a few years ago, can depend to a great extent on the energetic resourcefulness of the young generation of men and women. The role of woman in modern India is now all the more important at this stage of the country's development because not only she is to discharge her own duties honestly and sincerely, but she has to train the future generations of men and women of the country in discipline and inspire in them a true love for the country. Apart from the satisfaction of rendering service to the country, the greatest reward for her work will be that she will be remembered by the coming generations of men and women for many years with gratitude and respect.

—:O:—

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

“ EDITOR, *The Modern Review* ”

ENGLISH

ASOKAN INSCRIPTIONS: By Radha-govinda Basak. *Progressive Publishers. Calcutta, 1959. Pp. 162. 1 plate and a map. Price Rs. 15.00.*

Thanks to the researches of numerous scholars, both Indian and foreign, for more than a century past, an extensive literature has grown around the inscriptions of Emperor Asoka which have rightly been acclaimed as one of the most important set of epigraphic records in the ancient world. We may nevertheless welcome the present handy volume from the pen of the well-known Sanskrit scholar on which, as he tells us in his interesting Preface (p. vii), he has been engaged off and on for nearly half a century as a student, as a University teacher, and as a guide of advanced stu-

dents. Written with the object of stimulating 'the study of these very ancient epigraphic records of India by graduate and post-graduate students of the different Universities in India and abroad' (Preface, p. viii), it well fulfils its purpose. The author begins with a short introduction under four heads, viz., the list of the inscriptions with their geographical distribution, Asoka's administration, his *dhurma* and the language of his inscriptions. The list is made sufficiently up-to-date to include the now-famous bilingual (Greek-Aramaic) Old Kandahar inscription of Asoka discovered last year, with a summary of its contents. The body of the work consists of the text of the whole set of inscriptions (in different recensions where there are such) in *Devanagari* script, the word-for-word Sanskrit rendering English translation and notes on selected words. The

author's interpretations are supported, as might be expected, by sound philological and other arguments and frequently by quotations of equivalent words from works of ancient Brahmanical and Buddhist literature. Among his original explanations requiring careful consideration of scholars may be mentioned *nij-hati* (p. 36) as meaning deep consideration or discussion or contemplation or deliberation or debate, and *abhihala* (p. 96) as signifying 'arrest'. In a number of other examples like *rajpracharika* (p. 12) and the important passage relating to the functions of the *rajukas* (pp. 12-13 and 95) discussed by the present reviewer in the course of his studies in ancient Indian administrative system, the author's interpretations appear to be quite sound. On the other hand, we find it difficult to agree with the author's explanation of *pradesika* (pp. 11, 13) after Kautilya's *pradeshtri* as 'magistrates who try criminal cases', *nagalaviyohalaka* (p. 12) as the probable equivalent of Kautilya's *nagerika* or *nagaraka* ('City Mayor') and *bali* (pp. 150-51) as 'any kind of tax.' As has been suggested by the reviewer elsewhere, the first term probably means a local or provincial officer, the second signifies a city judiciary after Kautilya's *paura-vyavaharika* and the third should be taken to mean the extra cess over the king's usual grain share.

An Index of important words, a chart of Asokan Brahmi script, transcripts of five selected Asokan inscriptions and a map bring this useful work to an end. The paper, print and get-up are good.

U. N. GHOSHAL

TALKS ON THE GITA: By Acharya Vinoba Bhave. Published by Akhil Bharat Sarva Siva Sangh Prakashan, Kashi (U.P.), May, 1958. Pp. Crown 8vo, 283. Price Card Board Cover Rs. 2.00; Library Edition, Rs. 3.00.

A unique commentary of the *Gita* though not in the sacred language accompanied by texts. The author who has given us *Gita-Pravachane* of which the book under review is the English version could produce an orthodox commentary equal to any that there is. Instead he has chosen the layman's language. So has he avoided scriptural terminologies as far as has been possible without sacrificing scriptural approach. It is a commentary capable of satisfying any taste. The common man will find in it the wisdom and solace he needs, the scholar the intellectual fare he delights in, the seeker the light he seeks, the seer the life experiences

of one who lives the life the *Gita* prescribes to compare his own experiences with.

The author does not plead for any of the *Vadas*—*Adwaita* or *Dwaita*. Nor is his key tuned to any particular note—action, devotion or realization. He has, therefore, seen further than many of his great predecessors just as a spectator sees more of the game than the participant.

But he has differed from them with a rare grace and charity and a humility all his own. The author sets forth his approach almost at the outset of the discourses:

"The *Gita* often uses old scriptural words in new sense. Grafting new meanings into old words is the non-violent way of bringing about thought-revolution. Vyasadeva was quite an adept in this art. This has given the words of the *Gita* wide connotation and an ever-refreshing flexibility. And this has left commentators free to interpret its words according to their light and need. From their stand-points those interpretations may be quite proper. And I hold that without taking exception to them, we are free to give them different meanings."

And that is that. He has given *vikarma* a meaning other than the accepted one and it has in its turn given so agreeable a new meaning to *yaṇa*, *dana* and *tapa*. Thus the author has struck out a line for himself.

Thirty years' deep study accompanied by deep thinking has gone to the making of *Gita-pravachane*. The author says somewhere:

"Chapter V took years of me in ascertaining the meaning of the *Gita*. I regard that chapter as the key to the *Gita*. And the key to that key is the eighteenth verse of Chapter IV—action in inaction and inaction in action. The meaning of it as I have understood, I have projected on *Gita-pravachane*. It is pervaded by it."

"*Karma* means performance of duties we are born to. *Vikarma* is the twin to it, viz., assents of approval to external actions in the form of *yaga-yaṇas* detailed one after another in Chapters VI to XVII. From the practice of *karma* and *vikarma* comes self-realization and from self-realization comes the state of ease called *akarma*. This state of ease may appear as two—(1) inaction in action and (2) action in inaction. The first is called *yoga* and the second *sannyasa*. They are one both in principle and practice. And the end-result of both is same—*moksha* . . ."

The book is a precious gift more than you think of. To read it is to commune with one :

who communes with his Maker through these talks.

A word about the translation. To translate a masterpiece is ever so difficult a job. Add to that the fact that the author is so great a master of expressions; he is so terse tart and at times elliptical. Yet the translation is fairly good though it leaves much to be desired. It is faithful to a fault. Indian idioms clothed in English garb will leave foreign readers guessing as to what they may mean. There are four instances of misparaphrasing compared to the fifth Marathi edition. Instances of mistranslation are not numerous, nor are they so serious. A glossary should have been added. The paper used is good; the printing is excellent and so the get-up. There are two printing errors—one in page 130 and the other in page 191.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA (A Kaleidoscopic Survey): *Editors: V. K. Narasimhan, A. G. Venkatachary, V. K. N. Chari. Our India Directories and Publications, Private Ltd., Madras-18. Price Rs. 5.*

I have had occasion sometime back (September 1957, October 1958) to notice in these pages two valuable publications giving critical and historical accounts of the literature produced in the different regional languages of India. The book under review concerns itself with a study of different aspects of the languages, especially with their growth and development as also with 'a comparative study of linguistic peculiarities including scripts and sound-structures'. Contributions to the study are made by twenty writers all of whom are claimed to be 'front-rank scholars.' Usually one language is covered by one writer; there are a few which are dealt with by two writers each. A good many of the writers have not confined themselves to a treatment of the languages but have also—rather mainly—given scrappy accounts of literatures in them. On the whole the surveys, with a few honourable exceptions like the introductory essay on the languages of India by Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterji, are not generally happy. There are occasionally statements occurring in some of them which are confusing, e.g., 'Hindi deviates rather too much from Sanskrit in spelling and pronunciation, whereas Bengali adheres to both as far as practicable' (p. 26) 'Later on the language of Asoka's inscriptions came to be known as Prakṛita' (p. 39). No uniform method of trans-literation appears to have been followed.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

THE BOOK OF MIRDAD—A LIGHTHOUSE AND A HAVEN: *By Mikhail Naimy. Published by N. M. Tripathi Ltd., Princess Street, Bombay-2. Pp. 210. Price Rs. 7-8 or Sh. 15.*

The first edition of this book was brought out in Beirut, Lebanon, in 1948, after a certain Publishing House in London declined to handle it, because "it entails such a change from the normal Christian dogma" yet acknowledged it to be a "most unusual book."

Reviewing this book before the Indian Institute of Culture at Bangalore Mr. Gordon Muirhead called it a heart-seaching sermon, teaching the essence of religion, yet wholly free from dogma. Only poetry or music could adequately convey the almost inexpressible ideas in the several passages quoted. Dudley W. Barr who reviewed the book in the Canadian *Theosophist* observed, "Everyonce in so many decades a book is born, a book by the authority of its inner power quietly, effortlessly but inevitably moves forward through the crowded ranks of bookdom and assumes its place of seniority in the Vanguard. Such a book is the book of Mirdad and aspirants of this generation and generations to come will be under a debt of gratitude to the author."

The author, who is an acknowledged literary figure in the Middle East, belongs to Biskinta of Lebanon. He tells in this book the interesting story of spiritual pilgrimage in a mystic vein. The book, divided into forty chapters, is written in a language which is quite allegorical and Biblical. This book may be worthily compared with John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and is immensely suggestive and instructive. Mirdad plays the part of a mystic teacher and reveals the secret mysteries of spiritual science. The thirteenth chapter contains inspiring sermons on prayer. Therein Mirdad says, "You pray in vain, when you address yourselves to any other gods but your very selves. And where is God that you shout out into His ear, your whims and vanities, your praises and complaints? Is He not in you and about you?"

This is what also Vedanta declares. In the Gita, Lord Krishna tells Arjun that God resides in the heart of all beings. In another place of the same chapter Mirdad says, "No fraction of Himself did God endow you with, for He is infractionable but with His Godhood entire, indivisible and unspeakable did He endow you all. What greater heritage can you aspire to have? And who or what can hinder you from coming there into except your own

timidity and blindness?" This exactly resounds like the essential message of our Vedanta.

The literary merits of this beautifully got-up cloth-bound volume are as excellent as those of his two English books—*Biography of Kahlil Gibran* and *Memoirs of a Vagrant Soul*, published by the Philosophical Library in New York. He has eighteen Arabic works so far published on poetry, drama, short stories and essays. They are very popular in the Arabic world. Seated like a sage in his solitary hermitage on the flint slopes of the majestic Mount Samneen, 4500 feet high above the Mediterranean, the master mind educated in Palestine, Russia and U.S.A. moves his facile pen elegantly and produces original works which the reading public of the world peruse with interest and wonder.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE NEW DIMENSIONS OF PEACE:

By Chester Bowles. Published by Bantam Books, Inc., 25 West 45th Street, New York-36 N. Y. Price 10 cents.

Mr. Chester Bowles is well-known for his bold thinking and bold speaking on politics and matters political. *The New Dimensions of Peace* keeps up the reputation.

We live in an era of unprecedented opportunities and unprecedented perils at one and the same time. On the one hand, the progress of science and technology, by opening up new vistas of international co-operation, holds out the promise of a greater than ever future to Man. The new-fangled nuclear weapons and the threats of a nuclear war looming large on the horizon, on the other threaten our species with extinction.

The awakening of the oppressed and down-trodden humanity is one of the characteristics of this era of threats and opportunities. "Men and women all over the world," points out Wendell Wilkie, "are on the march physically, intellectually and spiritually. After centuries of ignorance and dull compliance, hundreds of millions of people . . . have opened the books. They are beginning to know that men's welfare throughout the world is interdependent. Men and women are conscious of their potential strength." (*One World*).

The challenge must be met. Failure to respond to the challenge of the age have the bane of many a mighty people and empire in the past. The challenge of our age, as Mr. Bowles points out, is the challenge of men and ideas. Referring to the rebuffs of America and the Western powers in Asia, Mr. Bowles observes,

"Through these simple miscalculations, runs the same common denominator; our excessive faith in military strength and our failure fully to understand what dynamic ideas can accomplish when keyed to the aspirations of hungry and frustrated peoples." Little wonder that America and her allies are losing the "battle for the minds of men" in Asia and also in Africa. This failure accounts for the steadily growing popularity of the leftist ideology all over the Asian and the African world.

"A century that began with Lenin, Sun Yat-sen, Gandhi and Wilson is certain to be shaped by ideas." America has many advantages over the U.S.S.R., her rival for the world-leadership. These advantages, Mr. Bowles frankly admits, are neutralised by certain weaknesses, such as the isolation of many Americans from the hopes and aspirations of a majority of the world's people, their ignorance of Asia, Africa and South America, the belief of many in other countries that the American nation created out of its "faith in the liberty and integrity" of the individual as it was, now pins its "faith on money, the military and moralizing," glaring contradictions in some spheres of the American national life, public statements by leaders of American opinion, which make America appear "calculating and selfish" and the like.

These weaknesses must be removed and must depend on the individual American. "If a sizeable number (of Americans) will begin to live by the faith that (they) are their brothers' keeper (they) as a nation will begin to provide (themselves), with purposes mighty enough to constitute the 'moral equivalent of war.' Once (they) begin in this way to solve the problems of Class and War, (they) will find as a by-product that (they) have achieved the only genuine commitment of Communism possible."

The author's prescription merits a careful consideration and is well worth a trial. By putting an end to the cold war it may make the ideal of peaceful co-existence a reality. The world will be united in that case by a heart unity and humanity will open a new chapter in its history.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI.

HINDI

JEEVAN-DARSHAN: Published by Manav-Seva-Sangh, Vrindaban, Mutha, with a Foreword by Shri Madanmohan Varma, Member, Rajasthan Public Service Commission, Price Rs. 2.

This is a collection of thoughts on various aspects of Human Life, 'dispersed meditation' by a holy man who does not court publicity line, who has already secured for himself a place in the hearts of serious-minded readers of Hindi. Let us take up the subject of rest. The writer has devoted two chapters on the subject; the importance of rest and the way to take rest. How many thoughts are folded up in these two!

As sister Devaki has put it in the preface: "The language is difficult; the arguments are incontrovertible; but through the medium of the incidents of our daily life, the explanations have been given with great simplicity. Whatever has been said has been said in a positive manner." There is no air of speculation about it. Such a book should be read by serious people all over the country.

P. R. SEN

GUJARATI

1. VASANTNUN AGMAN (The Advent of Spring): By Chhotubhai J. Bhatt. Pp. 29. Price four annas.

2. ADALATNE ANGNI (On the Threshold of a Judicial Court): By Keshavlal M. Shah, B.A., LL.B. Pp. 277. Price Rs. 1-8.

3. HINDUSTANI SANGIT: By Mulsukhlal A. Divan. Pp. 88. Price 8 annas.

All three published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature and printed at its own printing press, Ahmedabad, 1951.

An admirable private school, called "Shreyas" is being conducted at Shahibag in Ahmedabad, for very small children. *The Advent of Spring* is written for them in very simple language, printed in bold type and is illustrated and also cheap. It is bound to be popular. Justice N. H. Bhagwati of the Bombay High Court leads off with a Foreword to the work of Mr. Shah who in popular language has furnished a guide to laymen as to how to approach Judicial Courts, in case they have to do so. In the third book, the writer has illustrated with apt illustrations the different *ragas* of Indian music and their significance. It is a useful book, specially for beginners.

K. M. J.

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Indian Periodicals

East and West The Cultural Bridge Today

The second part of the article "East and West" by Professor H. D. Lewis appearing in *The Aryan Path* is given below:

It is possible, however, to be unduly cautious and down to earth, as we shall see. Some Western philosophers, in a healthy reaction against the excessive and occasionally facile optimism of their idealist predecessors, seem to have swung to an even more vicious extreme by repudiating all forms of speculation altogether. The time now seems to be ripe for putting the lessons learnt from the philosophy of analysis, and its often disconcerting techniques, to a new purpose in the form of a constructive philosophy which shall essay afresh the task of seeing how things look as a whole or unity—the traditional task of philosophy. Increasingly philosophers are coming round to this view, and wondering what the future has in store for us now that we turn again to metaphysical problems fresh from our bath of linguistic analysis and common-sense philosophy.

It is here, at this vital growing point of contemporary Western philosophy, that the impact of Eastern thought, both ancient and modern, can be peculiarly fruitful, much more so, I am sure, than Western philosophers generally realize.

This is partly because these twin theses of sceptical positivism and constructive metaphysics appear to have been more subtly intertwined in Eastern thought than has been the case in the West, where rival philosophies alternated and opposed one another more sharply. But this in itself is closely bound up with certain insights into ultimate problems which have a peculiar relevance to the present state of Western philosophy.

This shows itself most clearly in regard to the way we should think about God. Contemporary philosophers, in turning again to religious problems, have realized more effectively than in the past, and especially the recent past, that, at the core of these problems, they encounter an ulti-

mate and irreducible mystery. This is the crux of our problem. At the edges of all reality and the limits of experience there lies something we cannot hope ever to fathom. We are not content to say that the world just happens to exist, and even our sceptical analytical thinkers are showing an extraordinary interest in such questions as "Could the world come to be out of nothing?" But if we feel impelled to say "No" to such questions, we cannot venture further and say anything about the all-encompassing mystery in which we find ourselves set, for by so doing we bring it under the sort of explanations which hold within the world as we find it, and not at the limits. This is where the traditional and peculiar formulations of the causal arguments for the existence of God usually come to grief. But somehow we feel we must come to terms with the mystery which confronts the discerning mind everywhere, and that not by subjecting it as the idealists did to the principles of our own understanding.

A singular reflection of this tantalizing situation of the finite mind confronted with the "unconditioned" from which somehow it derives is found in a story from a text quoted by the thinker and commentator Shankara, but not otherwise known. It tells of a pupil who pleads with his teacher to expound to him the nature of the Absolute Self understood religiously as Brahman. To each request the teacher turns a deaf ear until at last he answers to the insistent "Teach me, Sir" with the words "I am teaching you, but you do not follow; the Self is silence." Few observations could accord better with the outlook of contemporary Western philosophers turning again to religious questions. But unhappily they only too often understand this silence in a wholly negative way by reducing the transcendent reference of religion to disguised assertions about the present world, some saying that religion is a matter solely of subjective religious emotions, and others, like Professor Brinton-waite of Cambridge, equating religion with a moral policy. The problem is to make

the silence a pregnant, articulate one without disrupting it; and I believe that if we discover what an Eastern teacher would really mean by "silence" in the context in question we shall find something peculiarly needed today for the enrichment and directing of our present experience. Modes of contemplation, detachment and spiritual disciplines have their place here. But these, in themselves, are not the matters of most interest; or rather, their interest is bound up with appreciation of ways in which the inexpressible can be made a matter of present quickened experience.

Let me now attempt a few more precise indications of the sort of advances which seem to me possible in the ways suggested. One of the most important, I think, concerns our understanding of Buddhism and especially the assertion so commonly made that Buddhism is a religion without God. This subject is too vast to be dealt with closely here, and there are by now many forms of Buddhism. I am thinking primarily of what seem to be the earlier and more authentic forms of Buddhism, generally taken to be the most obviously atheistic. Now I do not believe that many who know properly what they are about today would consider Nirvana in Buddhist teaching and aspiration to be a purely negative conception, to mean sheer literal extinction. However obsessed the Indian mind may have been with the sadness and pain of the endless cycle of re-birth, the more positive ways in which Nirvana is often alluded to, the peace, delight and blessedness associated with the attainment of it, the rapturous ways in which it is hymned, suggest clearly more than release from unendurable wretchedness; there is some state to be attained; and scholarly investigation of the etymology of the term Nirvana and others associated with it fully confirms this. The real question is whether Nirvana is merely a state of ourselves. Consideration of the Vedic background from which Buddhism cannot be dissociated has much relevance here, since the preoccupation of the Vedic writings, and especially of the *Upanishads*, with some supreme transcendental reality is unmistakable. But two other matters are more directly relevant. The first is the reluctance of Buddhism to describe the goal of salvation in any terms

other than the path by which it is to be attained; we must be content to know the way. The second is the seemingly downright refusal of Buddha, as represented at least in the Pali Canon, to countenance any kind of metaphysical speculation. No modern positivist has been more anxious to turn his disciples from idle and wasteful controversy about questions to which no answer is conceivable, questions which are not real questions at all; and it has been a source of much surprise to me, and an indication of the not insignificant limitation of range and interest of much recent empiricism, that our out-and-out positivists have not made more, for reinforcement and illustration of their view, of the extremely positivist character of much of the substance of the Pali Canon.

Among the questions which Buddha would regard it as idle and misleading to ask are the questions whether the soul or the world are eternal, whether the soul survives the dissolution of the body and retains consciousness after death, together with questions about finite and infinite, the caused or fortuitous origin of the world, and so on, the list in one place mounting to sixty-two questions. A Western philosophical sceptic might well be delighted with this, as with the very Humeian view of the self which often goes with it. But it is nonetheless doubtful grist to his mill. For it is positivism with a difference, and just as some positivists in the West have been a little embarrassed and much puzzled by the curiously mystical facet of the writings of their main apostle, Wittgenstein, so they would be even more embarrassed by the mystical setting of Buddhist scepticism. And, since I must be brief, I suggest what we find essentially in the seemingly rigorous and unrelieved scepticism of Buddha is something closely akin to the *via negativa* of Western religious thought and the scepticism which the eminent theologian Paul Tillich declared to be inseparable from belief. I suggest that the experience which Buddha himself had at his enlightenment, toned and conditioned by his natural environment as authentic religious experience is, was an impressive form of the sort of experience which others identify more expressly as union with a supreme unconditioned reality; and while this experience has, from the Christian point of view, certain limitations of con-

lent and understanding, due mainly to the absence of the substance that comes from the patterning of kindred experiences where they have elsewhere been significantly linked and extended in association with a very distinctive history which they conditioned—yet the experience of Buddha is in one sense highly rarefied and illuminating. For it gives us the impression of an ultimate, and in some way completely satisfying, mystery which is only found in its invasion of present experience. What Buddha, I submit, was most concerned to avoid was the travesty and distortion of such experiences in crudely anthropomorphic and rationalistic accounts of them and the ascription to the object of them of identity and personality in an all-too-human and finite form. He might not have fully appreciated what induced his revulsion against metaphysics, but the motivation of it is plainly not primarily philosophical, but religious. And if we ponder this I think we shall learn a great deal about the proper way in which we are to think of the Beyond as also present, not in the form of pantheism or of the more commonplace changes we ring on the themes of immanence and transcendence, but in a new and exciting apprehension of the extremely subtle and elusive interweaving of the Beyond, which really is Beyond—eternal and immutable—with the passing scene of our present existence; so that in a way there is nothing but the shifting scene, and at the same time there is infinitely more.

To make this plainer is far beyond the limits of this discussion. I do not wish to draw striking comparisons of substance in the content of various cultures and religions—that is not at all my theme and that is why I agree that we have to heed the cautious warnings of Professor Zaehner. But I am trying to give as clear a hint as I can in this article of the way in which the new understanding we have achieved in quite recent philosophy may enable us, on the one hand, to understand much better how a religion like Buddhism is to be assessed, and also exhibit how much we have to learn from it for the refinement of the understanding we are just now achieving ourselves. There can be few things

more beneficial and instructive for Western philosophy today than to turn carefully and attentively to the main Buddhist writings, and examine them afresh—they are much neglected—in the light of the present state of Western thought and culture.

I am sure we can approach in the same way some of the leading conceptions of other cultures and religions. Behind a great deal of Chinese thought and the religion of Confucianism, for example, lies an intriguing and subtle notion of a Heaven and Earth relationship; and what is distinctive of this is again that there is some reality too elusive for us to lay hold on it directly and describe it, which is nonetheless a power working for righteousness in the present world. It is a great mistake, in my view, to regard Confucianism as merely a social and ethical system; but what there is over and above this is not clearly defined; it is to be sought in some reference beyond the here and now which we discover and make specific only within the here and now. Rightly understood, this has also a great deal to teach us today and brings us to an impressive meeting-point of cultures. So do the recent attempts of thinkers like Sri Aurobindo to give Hinduism a more dynamic quality than it has usually possessed, for this again is found in some transformation of the present by infusion into it of something which is not merely present.

None of these things can be properly illustrated in a few pages. But they do provide pointers to ways in which we may fructify one another's cultures and apprehend our differences more correctly—and remove many of them.

In politics, faced with new difficulties and new opportunities, we hear much at present about summit talks. The time is ripe for something like this at the cultural level also. Scholars do meet, but not enough and not in sufficiently sustaining ways. One of the urgent problems of today is to find the way to the summit, not merely in politics but in matters of thought and culture as well, so that understanding instead of being a matter of incidental strategy, may be permanent, true and deep.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

From India to Bolivia

Unesco Chronicle, January-February, 1959, pages:

Two cosmic ray laboratories—one high in the Bolivian Andes at Chacaltaya and the other at Ahmedabad in the Indian state of Bombay—are now working closely together thanks to a link supplied by Unesco in the form of a scientific mission, three fellowships and research apparatus.

Unesco brought them together as part of its activity in connection with the International Geophysical Year. In all, Unesco awarded a dozen fellowships upon the recommendation of the Special Committee for the IGY, created by the International Council of Scientific Unions. Most of these fellowships, intended mainly for scientists, were granted sufficiently in advance to enable their holders to return to their own countries in time to participate in the International Geophysical Year.

The case of the Chacaltaya laboratory was not quite the same. Created by the University of La Paz in Bolivia's capital, this laboratory is the world's highest—it is located at an altitude of 16,000 feet—and it has been studying cosmic rays for the past 10 years. Scientists from the world over have worked there and it is a true offspring of international co-operation. The University of La Paz—known as the Universidad Mayor de San Andres—has received help in establishing it from the Brazilian Centre of Research in the Physical Sciences, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the University of Chicago and several other foreign institutions.

Unesco has been associated with Chacaltaya since its foundation. In 1956, the University of La Paz and Unesco's Science Co-operation Office for Latin America organized a course in high-altitude physics which drew some fifteen scientists from various countries. Just about the same time, the Bolivian Government requested help from Unesco in developing the laboratory. A project was drawn up under Unesco's Participation in Member States' Activities Programme—it called for the sending of an expert and the supplying of physics apparatus.

The expert was a Spanish scientist, Rafael Armenteros. He was particularly qualified for his assignment: an experienced physicist, he held a diploma from the Imperial College of Science at the University of London, he had won his doctor's degree in science at the University of Paris, and he had worked both at the French National Scientific Research Centre and with the celebrated Professor Leprince-Ringuet at the Ecole Polytechnique in Paris.

Mr. Armenteros's mission began on 1 January 1957, and he had prepared it carefully. To learn about conditions at Chacaltaya, he consulted British and American physicists who had worked there. He kept a watchful eye on the manufacturing of the apparatus he needed—it was constructed at the Imperial College in London and tested in his presence. This problem of equipment was a particularly knotty one and Unesco agreed to grant \$10,000 to help solve it.

Once in Chacaltaya, Mr. Armenteros set up his new apparatus and put it into operation. Then he went to work on another problem: the training of scientists to use it. Here, he realized that he would have to begin by teaching nuclear physics and he organized seminars and special courses. He gave lectures, he led symposia and did everything in his power to familiarize the laboratory's staff with the research methods they would need.

While Mr. Armenteros was working in Bolivia, Unesco awarded a fellowship to a member of the laboratory's staff, Eduardo Maria Maldonado. First, Mr. Maldonado spent six months at the Imperial College in London where he studied cosmic rays, electromagnetism and wave mechanics, and took part in laboratory work. Then he went to the Jungfrau in Switzerland to look at research in the field of high-energy particles. Still in Switzerland, he visited the European Nuclear Research Centre near Geneva and then finished his studies in the Pyrenees in France at the laboratory operated by the University of Toulouse on the Pic du Midi, where he worked on cosmic rays. He returned to Chacaltaya in time to take part in an international exchange of data on cosmic rays.

Another young Bolivian physicist received a one-year fellowship to study at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the United States. Both fellowships had been awarded by Unesco to train specialists who would be able to assist Mr. Armenteros and to carry on his work after he had left the country.

Meanwhile, Indian scientists on the other side of the earth were carrying on similar research at four stations located near Ahmedabad. They were very anxious to have some comparative data on research at Chacaltaya in order to determine with greater accuracy the variation of cosmic ray intensity at different altitudes. While the Indian stations were at almost opposite poles from the Chacaltaya Laboratory—68 degrees west longitude and 16 degrees south latitude in the case of Chacaltaya; 75 degrees east longitude and 22 degrees north latitude for the Indian stations—there was a difference in altitude. Chacaltaya was at 16,000 feet but the Indian stations had been set up some 5,000 feet lower at an altitude of 11,000 feet.

At this point, the Indian Government asked Unesco to help. Unesco awarded a fellowship to the Ahmedabad laboratory which was granted to a laboratory staff member, Narayan Waman Nerurkar. Mr. Nerurkar had special apparatus manufactured in India and Unesco took charge of

transporting it to the Bolivian Andes. A month after the beginning of the International Geophysical Year on 4 August 1957, the Indian scientist began to work.

For nine months—that is, the duration of his fellowship—he familiarized the staff of the Chacaltaya laboratory with the apparatus he had brought. At the same time he conducted experiments and studied the analysis of relative data on the effects of meteorological factors upon the hard component of cosmic rays and upon cosmic ray showers. He also gave a series of lectures on 'Time Variations of Cosmic Ray Showers'—a subject which was on the programme of the International Geophysical Year.

In this way, a continuous collaboration was established between Bolivia and India—to be exact, between the two laboratories—in what is now the international field of cosmic ray studies. The idea of comparing results obtained in the two laboratories proved fruitful.

Mr. Nerurkar was nearing the end of his stay in Bolivia when it became obvious that he could achieve even more interesting results if the fellowship were extended. Unesco gave him an additional grant for three months of study at Cornell University in the United States. There, he did further research upon cosmic ray showers.

Then the Bolivian Government decided it needed Mr. Nerurkar's services at Chacaltaya and Bolivia asked Unesco to appoint him as an expert so that he could help develop the laboratory's activities. In other words, a former Unesco fellow was asked to become a expert upon the request of a government satisfied with his work both as a student and as a teacher and an adviser. The Bolivian request is now being studied.

As for Mr. Armenteros, his mission ended last March. He completed it successfully and he was awarded the title of honorary professor at the Science Faculty of the University of La Paz.

And the world's highest cosmic ray laboratory is now functioning even more efficiently in Bolivia thanks to international co-operation in general and—in particular—a helping hand from Unesco.

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Stage in Communist Construction

is an excerpt from the *Report* by N. R. Khrushchev to the 21st. Ordinary Congress of C.P.S.U.:

There is, first, the question of the phases of communist society and the governing the growing of socialism into communism.

The founders of scientific communism—Marx, Engels, Lenin—indicated that following the overthrow of capitalist and landlord domination, society would pass through two stages. The first would be socialism, and the second, higher stage, classless communist society.

This Marxist-Leninist prediction of two phases of communism has been substantiated by the development of Soviet society. The Soviet people have built a socialist society and have entered a new period, in which socialism grows into communism.

Marxist-Leninist theory, and our practical experience in building socialist society, enable us to draw some important conclusions concerning the nature of our forward movement to communism.

First, the transition from the socialist to the higher stage is a law-governed historical process that cannot be violated or passed at will. The building of communist society is the ultimate goal of the Marxist-Leninist Parties. But society cannot leap straight from capitalism to communism without going through the socialist stage. "From capitalism," Lenin wrote, "mankind cannot pass directly only to socialism, i.e., to the social ownership of the means of production and the distribution of products according to the amount of work performed by each individual. Our Party looks farther ahead: socialism must inevitably pass gradually into communism, upon the banner of which is inscribed the motto, 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs'."

Some comrades might, of course, suggest that we accelerate the introduction of the principles of communism. But to do so prematurely to distribution according to needs, at a time when the economic conditions for this do not, as yet, exist, when we have not yet secured an abundance of material values, and when people have not yet been prepared to live and work in a communist way—would only

impair the work of building communism. It should be borne in mind that with the present level of production there is not enough of the good things of life for all, and we cannot as yet fully satisfy the requirements of the people. This "equalitarian communism" would only eat up our stockpiles, make extended reproduction impossible and block successful expansion of the economy.

We must advance step by step, creating the material and spiritual requisites for a methodical transition to communism.

Second, notwithstanding all the differences between the communist and socialist phases, there is no wall separating these two stages of social development. Communism stems from socialism as its direct continuation. It would be wrong, erroneous, to believe that communism will somehow appear on the scene suddenly. Communist forms of labour and industrial organization as well as such forms of satisfying the requirements of our people as public catering, boarding schools, kindergartens and day nurseries are already developing on an increasing scale. There are many tangible and visible features of communism in our society, and they will continue to develop.

Third, gradual transition to communism should not be understood as a decelerated movement. On the contrary, it is a period of rapid development of modern industry, of large-scale mechanized agriculture, rapid progress in all economic and cultural fields with the active and conscious participation of the millions who are building communist society. This objective process of socialism growing into communism can be accelerated on the basis of the high level of material production attained in the period of socialism. There must be no undue haste, no hurried introduction of measures that have not yet matured. This would lead to distortions and would discredit our cause. But, on the other hand, we must not stop long at what has already been achieved; that would lead to stagnation.

The country's fundamental practical task today is to *build up the material and technical base of Communist Society, secure a further powerful expansion of the socialist productive forces.*

Why, is this now our principal task, in

economic development? The present level of socialist production does not, as yet, enable us to create the abundance of material and cultural values necessary to satisfy the rising requirements of our people and ensure their harmonious development. But communism is impossible without that. Consequently, the first job is further to develop the production forces and step up the production of material values. Communism is feasible only if we surpass the output levels of the leading capitalist countries and raise labour productivity to a level way above that of capitalism.

Building the material and technical base of communism implies, first and foremost, a highly developed, modern industry, total electrification, scientific and technical progress in every branch of industry and agriculture, comprehensive mechanization and automation of all production processes, maximum utilization of new power sources and our rich natural resources, new synthetic and other materials, a higher cultural and technical level of the people, further improvement in the organization of production, and higher labour productivity.

It would be an oversimplification to believe that when we catch up with the United States economically, that will signify completion of communist construction. No, that will not be the end goal, only a decisive stage in the competition with capitalism.

Social development confronts us with another major problem of scientific communism, namely *distribution of the material and cultural values produced by society among its members*. Marxism-Leninism teaches that in social development distribution is not determining, but a derivative, factor and that its forms and principles depend on the mode and quantity of production.

Under socialism distribution is, basically, founded on the principle of from each according to his abilities, and to each according to his labour. This means that the biggest share of the material and cultural product is distributed in accordance with the labour contribution each member of society makes to social production.

Under capitalism distribution is, in effect, based not on work, but primarily on capital and is regulated by the laws of value, price and rent. For that reason the biggest income goes not to those who work more, but to those who have more capital.

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It will thus be seen that there is a fundamental difference in the way the values produced are distributed under capitalism and socialism.

The socialist principle of distribution, linking to work is based on the understanding that, in the socialist stage equalitarian distribution is impossible. Distribution according to need is the only reasonable and just principle under prevailing conditions. We cannot regard the fact that levelling would lead to an unjust method of distribution: the bad worker and the good would receive an equal share, which would be to the advantage of the bad workers. The material incentive for people to work better, raise productivity and produce more, would be dampened. Levelling would mean not transition to communism, but the crediting of communism.

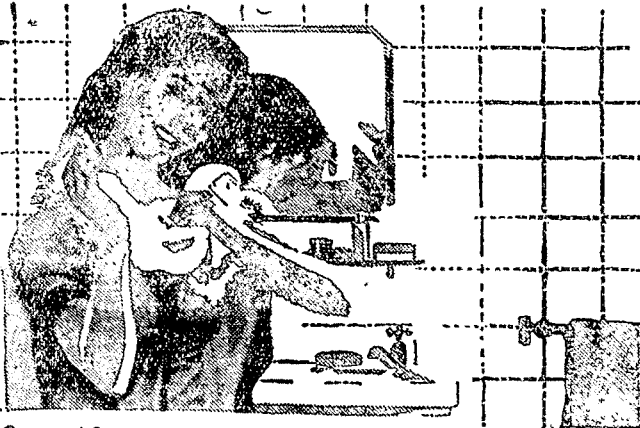
Regulated distribution of the social product among the members of society disappears only under communism, when the productive forces have reached a stage of expansion sufficient to provide an abundance of all the necessary consumer goods, and when all people voluntarily and irrespective of their share of material means, work to the full measure of their ability, knowing that this is necessary for the common weal.

There is a vulgarized conception of Communist society as a loose and unorganized anarchistic mass of human beings. No, it will be a highly organized and closely co-ordinated commonwealth of men of labour. For the machine to be properly operated, every worker will have to perform his production job and social functions in a definite time and according to a definite system. The highly mechanized and automated industry of the future will not require long hours of work. There will be ample time for study, art, literature, sport and so forth.

The question of how to *develop and bring closer together the collective-farm and public forms of socialist property* acquires great theoretical and practical importance in Communist construction.

It should be perfectly clear that in the future the collective-farm-co-operative, and state forms of property will merge into an integral Communist property. Why then, it might be asked, are we not pressing for their merger, and consider that in the present stage we must develop collective-farm-co-operative property alongside with state property?

Property forms cannot be changed at will. They develop in accordance with economic laws and depend on the nature and level of the pro-



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ductive forces. The collective-farm system fully accords with the present level and development requirements of the productive forces in agriculture. It makes for the most effective use of modern farm machinery, which is impossible under parcelled-out small peasant farming. Now that the collective farms are being directly supplied with powerful modern machinery, they are increasing output at a more rapid pace.

The continued development of the productive forces will tend to raise the degree of socialization of collective-farm production and bring collective-farm-co-operative property into closer approximation with public property, gradually obliterating the line dividing the two. This is shown by the following characteristic processes:

(i) Uninterrupted increase of collective-farm non-distributable assets, which are the economic basis for continued expansion of collective-farm production and gradual approximation of collective-farm and public property.

(ii) Enlargement of collective-farm production to include more and more branches of agriculture.

(iii) Inter-farm production ties and diverse forms of co-operation. These are being more widely applied, and will inevitably develop on a bigger scale still in the future.

(iv) Agricultural electrification, mechanization and automation will lead to the pooling—in a certain sense even the merger—of collective-farm production facilities with state and public facilities. Agricultural labour will gradually become a variety of industrial labour.

The merger of the collective-farm and public forms of property is historically inevitable. It will be brought about not by dispensing with collective-farm property, but by raising its level with the aid and support of the socialist state.

The merger of collective-farm-co-operative property with state property into an integral public property is not a simple organizational and economic measure, but is the solution of the cardinal problem of bridging the essential distinctions between town and country.

Parallel with these problems of economic

development, we are squarely faced with *problems of the political organization of the state and administration in the period of extensive building of Communism.*

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that under communism the state will wither away and that the functions of public administration will no longer have a political character, and will pass under the people's direct administration. But we should not take an oversimplified view of the process. We should not imagine that the withering away of the state will resemble falling of leaves in autumn when the trees left bare.

The withering away of the state, if we approach the question dialectically, implies the development of the socialist state into communist public self-administration. For under communism, too, there will remain certain public functions similar to those now performed by the state, but their nature, and the methods by which they will be exercised will differ from those obtaining in the present stage.

Now that the building of socialism is no longer confined to one country and there exists a world socialist system, *new theoretical problems have arisen in the struggle for the victory of socialism and communism.*

The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the formation of a world socialist system immeasurably strengthen the force of the international working-class movement and open up new vistas for it. The brilliant scientific prediction Vladimir Ilyich Lenin made in his last pronouncement is now coming true: "In the last analysis he said, 'the outcome of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. And it is precisely this majority that, during the past few years, has been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity, so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest shadow of doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense, the complete victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured.'"

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for June, 1959 ("Iswarchandra Pathabhaban"), p. 468, col. 2
1. 25: Read—of the members of the family the whole for of peaceful . . . extreme.

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